Chapter 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter investigates texts of the two newspapers carefully in order to trace out meanings and later discuss into the findings of the study. It is divided into two parts – part I as Description, part II as findings and discussion. The stories to be analyzed are scanned and attached along with description for every story. The first part of description is for The Telegraph followed by The Times of India. Findings and discussion is club together for both the newspapers.

**Headline: Energiser for Manipur power**

OUR BUREAU

April 28: The 1,500MW Tipaimukh hydroelectric project in Manipur may finally see the light of the day. A memorandum of understanding was signed in New Delhi today by Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam Ltd (SJVN), NHPC Ltd and the Manipur government to jointly develop the project.

The project has witnessed stiff opposition from Bangladesh, intense diplomatic parleys between India and its eastern neighbour and protests by tribals in Manipur and Cachar.

At the centre of controversy is a proposed dam for the hydel project to be built on Manipur’s Barak river that branches into the Surma and the Kushiara rivers after entering Sylhet district of Bangladesh.

The dam could affect water flow into Bangladesh. It will also impact the livelihood of around 60,000 people.

The Bangladesh government had been voicing its concerns since the project was conceived.

In July last year, a 10-member joint parliamentary committee from Bangladesh had visited the project site and studied the possible impact of the project.
Bangladesh Opposition leader and former Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia had asked Prime Minister Manmohan Singh not to go ahead with the project.

In a joint communique issued after the three-day visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to India in January, Manmohan Singh had reiterated that “India would not take steps on the Tipaimukh project that would adversely impact Bangladesh”.

Environment minister Jairam Ramesh had also said the central government would take a fresh look at the project following protests in Manipur and Bangladesh.

By regulating excess water, the Tipaimukh project is expected to help control floods in Sylhet, western Manipur and southern Assam.

It will also open a new waterway from Haldia port in Bengal to the Northeast via Bangladesh.

The project is estimated to cost Rs 8,138 crore. NHPC will pick up a 69 per cent stake in the joint venture, while 26 per cent will be held by SJVN and the remaining 5 per cent by the Manipur government.

The NHPC stock gained marginally by Rs 0.15, or 0.50 per cent, to close at Rs 30.40 on the BSE.

“After a meeting of the shareholders at New Delhi today, the MoU was signed in the afternoon,” a source close to the development said.

A detailed project report will now be prepared after which the final impact of the project could be known.

Earlier, North Eastern Electric Power Corporation had also prepared a project report.

“However, a fresh study will be done,” the source said.

Text 4.1 Source: http://www.telegraphindia.com/archives/archive.html
Analysis I

DESCRIPTION

The Telegraph, April 29, 2010
Headline: “Energiser for Manipur power”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   The words “light of the day, a 10 member joint parliamentary committee, studied the possible impact, fresh look at the project, help flood control, new water way, detailed project report, a fresh study” are used to express about the Tipaimukh dam in Manipur and the steps taken by the government following stiff opposition in Manipur and Cachar, Assam.

   b. Sentence:

   The story speaks about the steps taken by the central government to assess the dam impact following stiff opposition from Manipur, Cachar and Bangladesh. Therefore, the sentences of expression about the central government are positive and active. The following sentences provide evidence: “In a joint communiqué issued after the three-day visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to India in January, Manmohan Singh had reiterated that “India would not take steps on the Tipaimukh project that would adversely impact Bangladesh”, “Environment Minister Jairam Ramesh had also said that the central government would take a fresh look at the project following protests in Manipur and Bangladesh”, “A detailed project report will now be prepared after which the final impact of the project could be known”.

   When we look into the coherence of the sentence, it appears that the story tries to explain the measures taken by the central government to assess the dam impact. “A fresh study to the project and its impact” is the main focus of the story. This topic and knowledge control the whole story. This is evident by the sentences “Environment Minister Jairam Ramesh had also said the central government would take a fresh look at the project following protests in Manipur and Bangladesh”, “A detailed project report will now be prepared after which the final impact of the project could be
known”, “Earlier, North Eastern Power Corporation had also prepared a project report”, “However, a fresh study will be done,’ the source said”.

c. **Proposition Sequence:**
   1. MoU on Tipaimukh project signed in New Delhi.
   2. Stiff opposition on the project from Bangladesh, Manipur and Cachar.
   3. Joint communiqué of Bangladesh and India.
   4. Environment minister for fresh study at the project and its impact.
   5. The positive effect of the project.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**
   All these sentences “By regulating excess water, the Tipaimukh project is expected to help control floods in Sylhet, western Manipur and southern Assam”, “It will also open a new waterway from Haldia port in Bengal to the Northeast via Bangladesh”, “Environment minister Jairam Ramesh had also said the central government would take a fresh look at the project following protests in Manipur and Bangladesh”, “A detailed project report will now be prepared after which the final impact of the project could be known”, “Earlier, North Eastern Power Corporation had also prepared a project report”, “ ‘However, a fresh study will be done,” the source said.” are euphemistic expressions about the central government. These sentences are expressed in response to the sentence “The dam could affect water flow into Bangladesh. It will also impact the livelihood of around 60,000 people”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**
   The positive actions taken by the central government to counter the adverse impact by the project are explained clearly. But little is mentioned about the benefits that the project would bring to the people. More importance is given to the central government by stating measures taken by it in order to prevent dam impact.
Barak team resists Tipaimukh
- Delegation petitions Ibobi

OUR CORRESPONDENT
Imphal, Sept. 9: A conglomerate of non-government organisations from the Barak valley today announced that it was ready to “resist” any attempt to construct the controversial Tipaimukh dam in Manipur, saying the project would ruin lives in south Assam.

A three-member team of the Committee on Peoples and Environment — an umbrella organisation of 38 NGOs in Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi — is camping in Imphal since yesterday.

They submitted a memorandum today to Manipur chief minister Okram Ibobi Singh urging him to scrap the project. “We will not allow the dam to come up. We are ready to see that the project is scrapped,” Jishnu Duta, vice-chairman of the committee, announced at a news conference here today.

The threat to stall the project came on the eve of a meeting convened in Guwahati tomorrow by the ministry of forests and environment to assess the impact of dams on the downstream areas in the Northeast.

A separate team of the Barak valley committee plans to submit a similar memorandum to environment minister Jairam Ramesh, who will attend the Guwahati meeting.

Stating that the release of water by Loktak project to the network of Barak river worsens the flood situation in the Barak valley every year, the memorandum said if the 390-metre long and 162.8-metre high Tipaimukh dam cracked because of an earthquake or any other reason, the entire downstream civilisation be washed away.
The Barak committee urged Ibobi Singh to cancel the MoU signed between the Manipur government, the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) and Sutlej Vidhyut Nigam Ltd on April 28 this year.

Environmentalists, NGOs and people in Manipur and Bangladesh to be affected by the dam have also been objecting to the dam.

“We request you to cancel the MoU for the sake of the people of Manipur, Assam, Mizoram and Bangladesh,” the memorandum urged the chief minister.

Ibobi Singh, however, is determined to go ahead with the Rs 8,138.79-crore project to be taken up at the confluence of the Barak and Tuivai rivers in Churachandpur district, despite the objections.

The project will generate 1,500MW of power.

Ibobi Singh did not even meet the Barak valley delegation.

“The Centre and Jairam Ramesh are not sincere. None of the people to be affected by the Tipaimukh project has been invited to the meeting. Even if a few of them were invited, they would not be able attend the meeting because they could not afford the travel fare and expenses for staying in Guwahati,” Pijush Kanti Das, the general secretary of the Barak committee, said.

The Telegraph, September 10, 2010

Headline: “Barak team resists Tipaimukh- Delegation petitions Ibobi”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The terms “resists, threat, scrap the project and stall the project” are used to explain the stance non-governmental organizations from Barak Valley, Assam. Using of these terms shows that NGOs of Barak Valley are resisting the construction of Tipaimukh dam. The word ‘assess the impact of dams’ reflects the initiative taken by the government in response to the agitation from different organizations against downstream impact of the dam.

   b. Sentence:
      The resistance of NGOs to the construction of Tipaimukh dam is explained in active sentences. The headline “Barak team resists Tipaimukh” itself is the evidence of it. There is a negative sentence expressed about the Barak team. The sentence is “Ibobi Singh did not even meet the Barak valley delegation”. This sentence reflects the Barak Valley delegation was not being recognized and acknowledged by chief minister Ibobi Singh. This sentence further appears that the request, threat and accusation made by NGOs to the government are in vain.

      Looking into the coherence aspect, NGOs’ resistance to the construction of Tipaimukh dam despite government initiative to mitigate the downstream impact is the main focus of the story. This idea and knowledge control the story. This is evident by the sentence “The threat to stall the project came on the eve of a meeting convened in Guwahati tomorrow by the ministry of forests and environment to assess the impact of dams on the downstream areas in the Northeast.” The story further expressed the importance of the project which is in the sentences “Ibobi Singh, however, is determined to go ahead with the Rs. 8,138.79 crore project to be taken up at the confluence of the Barak and Tuivai rivers in Churachandpur district, despite the objections. The project will generate 1,500 MW of power.”
c. **Proposition Sequence:**

1. NGOs from Barak Valley resist construction of Tipaimukh dam.
2. The Barak team is in Imphal to submit memorandum to Manipur chief minister.
3. Threat to halt the project.
4. Impact of the project.
5. Barak committee urges CM Ibobi Singh to cancel the MoU.
6. Environmentalists, NGOs and people of Manipur and Bangladesh oppose the project.
7. CM Ibobi Singh is determined to go ahead with the project despite objections.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   The sentence “The threat to stall the project came on the eve of a meeting convened in Guwahati tomorrow by the ministry of forests and environment to assess the impact of dams on the downstream areas in the Northeast” is a euphemistic expression regarding the central government. This sentence shows that the state is taking initiative and has concern for the downstream impact of the dam.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Opposition to the nation development project by the Barak Committee is expressed clearly. Reason and cause for the opposition are stated briefly. The adverse effect to be caused by the dam to the entire downstream regions is mentioned very little.
Caught in the eye of a dam storm

BY JOY KR SHARMA

Dhulri, July 1: The big dam debate has left 15 sailors from Bangladesh high and dry on the Brahmaputra.

Adilur Rahman (captain), Abdul Jalil, Mohammad Abdul Haque, Mohammad Asadur Zaman and 11 others are now yearning to return home to Bangladesh after having been in India for almost a year now.

They have still not been able to deliver the consignment of turbines they have carried all the way from Calcutta for the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation's Lower Subansiri hydel project at Garmukh because of protests against big dams, which prevented two attempts to supply the machinery.

It is unlikely that they can return home before they complete their mission. Steps are afoot to ensure that the turbines are delivered though their country. Bangladesh, is just about 15 km from Bongshihfar.

"We have been living the life of nomads for the past one year. If the turbines had been delivered on time, we would have been home with our families by now. But we are helpless and forced to stay here by our company," Jalil said. "I don't know how my family is doing," he said of Bongshihfar, about 5 km from Dhulri, where the vessels are anchored.

Haque, who hails from Zia Nagar of Ferangipur under Barishal district, while expressing deep resentment over the shutting of the vessels from one place to another over the past year, said the Indian government should either arrange to facilitate the delivery of the turbines or allow them to return home.

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Bangladeshis trapped

FROM PAGE 1

"We are fed up with this trapped life. My ailing father keeps calling me up to return home. We are feeling very insecure here. If no step is taken by the Bangladesh and Indian governments to send us back by this month, we may flee from here," Haque added in exasperation.

Zaman said he was the eldest among five brothers and sisters and had joined navigation on February 20, 2009. After staying in Dhaka for a few months, he was assigned on this trip.

"We are getting 4,000 taka as monthly salary which is being sent to our families in Bangladesh and Rs 60 for food. But that is not good enough. We need to visit our families. Being in the eldest, I have a lot of responsibilities. How can I remain totally cut off from my family for one year?" Zaman asked.

Rahman, the captain, was more categorical. "We do not want to sail back to deliver the consignment. We just want to go home," he said.

They had entered India from Dhulri on July 24 last year in two vessels with their cargo of turbines.

More concerned about a storm in the river as they sailed towards Tezpur, they had no clue that a storm of another kind was brewing on the land over the issue of big dams and that they were about to get sucked into the eye of it.

They were bounded out of Tezpur soon after the vessels arrived there on December 7 with the All Assam Students Union not allowing the turbines to be unloaded and sent to the project site at Garmukh as the AASU is against big dams.

Returning to Pandu in Guwahati, they dropped anchor for about four months before being told to proceed once again to deliver the consignment.

This time, the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) was waiting for them at Biswanath Chariali. Against big dams like the AASU, the KMSS created enough noise for the vessels to sail back once again to Pandu.

The KMSS followed them there and extracted an assurance from the ABC India Limited, the transporters, that the vessels would be sent out of India. The vessels returned to Bongshihfar and have been there since May 12.

"I am getting no support from our company in Bangladesh as they are insisting that we stay and wait for further orders. But how can I sail again when my crew is not willing?" Rahman wondered.

In the meantime, Rahman said, one of the crew, Abdul Bakkar Sheikh, had died on the ship while another, Moosad Rana, had fled to Bangladesh. Three others had also left for Bangladesh because of family problems.

Text 4.3 Source: The Telegraph, July 2, 2011
The Telegraph, July 2, 2011
Headline: “Caught in the eye of a dam storm”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

The words “high and dry, yearning to return home, just about 15km from Bongshichar, hounded out of Tezpur, all the way from Calcutta, dropped anchor for about four months, deep resentment, eldest among five brothers, on July 24 last year, one place to another, over the past year, a storm of another kind” are used to describe the plight of Bangladeshi sailors who are assigned to deliver the turbines to the project site at Gerukamukh in Assam.

The words “dam storm, created enough noise, not allowing, protests, prevented” are used to explain the action of anti-dam activists like AASU and KMSS in the story.

b. Sentence:

Sentences explaining the pathetic condition of the sailors from Bangladeshi are expressive. This is evident by the sentences “15 sailors from Bangladesh yearn for home which is just 15 km away” and “15 sailors from Bangladesh high and dry on the Brahmaputra”. The phrase “just 15 km away” tell us that the sailors are stranded in a place which is just 15 km away from their home, which means that they could have gone home very easily but could not because of the continuous protests. The sentence “It is unlikely that they can return home before they complete their mission” shows that they could neither go home nor deliver the turbines to the project site because of the protest. The phrase “yearn for home” reflects the emotional attachment to their families. “15 Bangladeshi sailors longing to go home” is the main focus of the story. This topic and knowledge control the entire story. The story also shows that Bangladeshi sailors tried many times to reach the turbines but are shuttled from one place to another because of the protest. This is evident by the sentences “They have still not been able to deliver the consignment of turbines they have carried all the way from Calcutta … because of protests against big dams, which prevented two attempts to supply the machinery”, “They were hounded out of Tezpur soon after the vessels arrived there on December 7 with the All Assam Students Union not allowing the
turbines to be unloaded and sent to the project site at Gerukamukh as the AASU is against big dams” and “...over the shuttling of the vessels from one place to another over the past year”.

When it comes to the activists like AASU and KMSS, the story explains their action of continuous agitation against carrying of turbines to the project site and against construction of big dams. This is reflected by the sentences “They were hounded out of Tezpur soon after the vessels arrived there on December 7 with the All Assam Students’ Union not allowing the turbines to be unloaded and sent to the project site at Gerukamukh as the AASU is against big dams” and “This time, the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) was waiting for them at Biswanath Chariali. Against big dams, like the AASU, the KMSS created enough noise for the vessels to sail back once again to Pandu. The KMSS followed them there and extracted an assurance from the ABC India Limited, the transporters, which the vessels would be sent out of India. The vessels returned to Bongshichar and have been there since May 12”.

Negative sentences “They have still not been able to deliver the consignment of turbines they have carried all the way from Calcutta” and “They were hounded out of Tezpur soon after the vessels arrived there on December 7 with the All Assam Students’ Union not allowing the turbines to be unloaded and sent to the project site at Gerukamukh as the AASU is against big dams” describes the hardship faced by Bangladeshi sailors bringing turbines all the way from Calcutta and are not allowed to unload them by AASU.

c. **Proposition Sequence:**

1. 15 Bangladeshi sailors are stranded on the Brahmaputra River.
2. They are prevented two times to sail dam machinery by dam activists.
3. Yearning for home which is just 15 kms away.
4. Big dam storm brewing on the land.
5. Bangladeshi sailors hounded at Tezpur by AASU.
6. KMSS waiting for Bangladeshi sailors at Biswanath Chariali.
7. One crew died and others fled to Bangladesh.
2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   There is a euphemistic expression regarding government intervention to defuse the situation. This is reflected implicitly in the sentence “Steps are afoot to ensure that the turbines are delivered though their country, Bangladesh, is just about 15 km from Bongshichar”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   As a result of the protest, the pathetic condition of 15 sailors from Bangladesh is explained clearly and in detail. Expression of their condition is exaggerated but the cause of the protest is neglected at all. There was no mention about the downstream impact because of the dam. The agitation by AASU and KMSS is also described clearly.
DIPANKAR ROY

Guwahati, July 8: The National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) today said it was hopeful that the turbines now lying manhandled along with the two vessels that are carrying these at Bongshichar in Bumla district would eventually reach the hydroelectric project site at Gerukamukh.

“We have not taken any particular decision in this regard. Let us see what happens. We will go by the advice of the government. It is a government of India project after all,” Om Prakash, general manager, told The Telegraph on the eve of the joint satyagraha by the All Assam Students’ Union and All Mising Students’ Union here tomorrow. The protesters are demanding that work on the Lower Subansiri project be stopped and want attempts to take back the turbines to Gerukamukh to stop. The two student groups will stage another joint satyagraha at Tezpur on Monday.

The vessels carrying the turbines were sent back twice by AASU and the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), once from Tezpur and again from Bumla on Monday. Even since then, the Bangladeshi vessels have remained anchored at Bongshichar with the crew has become increasingly restive and wanting to return home. It has been a year since they have been burdened with the consignment with no immediate sign of being relieved of it.

The NHPC official sought to assuage fears about the dam, saying all risk factors had been taken into consideration at the time of designing.

“There is no need to fear, really,” he said adding, “Instead, it would only help mitigate Assam’s perennial flood problem.” According to him, what was being described as a big dam or mega dam, was not big or mega at all when compared to some other dams in the country “The project is mega, but not the dam. The Bhakran Nengal dam is 228 metres high while the one at Tehri is 261 metres, but the one we are building on lower Subansiri is only 118 metres. That the lower Subansiri dam is located in a high seismic zone has also been considered and very conservative measures taken to minimise risks,” he said.

On objections raised by some sections as to the size of the dam, Prakash said a committee had been set up in the PMO and the NHPC would go by recommendations made by it.

According to another official, Alstom, the company that manufactured the turbines, is under contract to deliver the machinery at the project site.

“We expect them to do that and if there is any problem that may require administrative intervention then we are certain the government is going to address that,” the official said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Earlier this week, the AASU had held a meeting with transporters engaged in ferrying various materials from the project site. On the request of the AASU, the transporters had given an assurance that they would not do anything that could go against the interests of the state, which in these times would mean they would no longer transport the materials. One of the transporters is ABC India Ltd, which has been engaged by Alstom to deliver the turbines.

According to the NHPC official, Alstom has already informed that it would send some other transporter if ABC India Ltd refused to carry the turbines.

But would any other transporter step in given the opposition by the AASU and the KMSS? “That is not our look out really… this is where the government would have to intervene if it wants the project to be completed. The bottom line as far as the NHPC is concerned is that we will do the work entrusted to us, but only if the government provides the right environment, which, of course, we think it would,” the official said. He added that about 50 per cent of the work had been completed so far and the project had been completed so far.

CMO sources said Dispur was committed to facilitating the movement of the turbines to the project site, as it was a national project. “We would act once we get the schedule for movement of the turbines from the NHPC. National interest is superior to other concerns. The project is NHPC’s concern, while law and order is ours,” one of them said in response to whether Dispur would intervene to transport the, before swinging into action.

KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi, after his release from judicial custody last evening, had warned that his people were ready to lay down their lives to prevent the turbines from reaching the project site.

Hundreds of KMSS activists today staged a road block on NH15 at Hingoli in Sadiya in protest against the attempt to transport the turbines to Gerukamukh.
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   It appears that the writer is trying to tell the condition of turbines which are meant for construction of Lower Subansuri Dam. The word ‘marooned’ in the sentence ‘the turbines now lying marooned along with two vessels’ of lead paragraph reflects implicitly about the bad condition of turbines, which need to be taken care before it become worse. It also pays attention to the pathetic condition of Bangladeshi sailors who are longing to go home. Their condition is reflected by the words ‘increasingly restive’, ‘wanting to return home’, ‘burdened’ and ‘with no immediate sign’.

   On the work of NHPC, the story conveys the assurance about the harmless effect of the dam given by NHPC which is evident by the words ‘allay fears’, risk factors’, ‘consideration’, ‘was not big or mega’, ‘no need to fear’ in the sentences of fourth and fifth paragraphs of the story. It also reflects NHPC as flood problem solver in Assam which is evident by the words ‘mitigate’ in the sentence “it would only help mitigate Assam’s perennial flood problem”. By the words ‘facilitating’, ‘national project’ and ‘national interest’ in the eleventh paragraph, the state is projected as an institution which brings development to the nation and its intervention in reaching dam materials to the project site is mandatory.

   By the words ‘protesters’ and ‘block on NH37’ in second and last paragraphs, All Assam Students’ Union (ASSU), All Mising Students’ Union and Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) are projected as anti-government and anti-development, who are violent in nature even though there is no sign of demonstration and violent nature in the representation of the story. KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi is portrayed as a law breaker which is evident by the words ‘judicial custody’ in the sentence ‘after his release from judicial custody last evening’.
b. Sentences:

Looking into the sentence structures of the story, NHPC, transporters and the state are represented in a positive way while activists in a negative way. The story is also written in a disclaimer statement that NHPC is not responsible if the dam is not completed because of the protests even after considering all the dangers as per experts’ advice and the acceptance of the state to act. The responsibility of reaching the turbines and completion of the project is shifted to the state. This is evident by the statements of NPHC general manager, ‘we have not taken any decision in this regard … we will go by the advice of the government. It is a government of India project after all’, ‘if the government provides the right environment, which, of course, we think it would’. Besides, the acceptance of the state to act is made clear in the statement ‘CMO sources said Dispur was committed to facilitating the movement of the turbines to the project site’. The story gives more emphasis on how to reach the turbines to the project site by legitimizing the work of NHPC.

c. Proposition Sequence:

Looking into the textual structures of the story, it consists of many propositions given in a sequential manner:

1. NHPC pins hopes on government for the turbines to reach project site.
2. Activists’ action to stop the project.
3. Pathetic condition of vessels and sailors.
4. NHPC assurance not to fear for the dam.
5. Call for State intervention to reach turbines to the project site.
6. ABC India Ltd. is in the interest of the state.
7. NHPC demands for right environment.
8. State facilitation is NHPC demand.
9. Threat from KMSS.

2. Relational Elements:

Euphemistic Expression:

Looking into the statement about the State intervention into the matter, it appears that the act of the State is euphemistically expressed which is evident in the sentence ‘Dispur was committed to facilitating the movement of the turbines to the project site’. Here the literal meaning of the act of ‘facilitating the movement’ is
nothing but using of force against the activists in the name of law and order. This meaning is reflected in the statement of CMO sources. It also appears that the story endorsed the dam by explaining explicitly all the measures are taken against the danger of the dam.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Description about the measures taken by NHPC from the dangers of the project is exaggerated. It explained clearly how all the risk factors have been considered. But when it comes to the activists’ action, it is more negative to KMSS than other groups. The action of State intervention in the matter is expressed implicitly which is reflected in the sentence ‘Dispur was committed to facilitating the movement of the turbines to the project site’, ‘The project is NHPC’s concern, while law and order is ours’. Here the implicit words ‘law and order’ is about the using of force by the state to reach turbines to the project site.
Big dams figure in UN meet

WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE VOICES CONCERN ON KAZIRANGA

ROOPAK GOSWAMI

Guwahati, July 9: The raging debate in Assam over construction of big dams in the Northeast seems to have drawn the attention of the World Heritage Committee.

The committee, in line with its decision taken during its 39th meeting that concluded in Paris on June 29, has asked the Centre to keep it informed about any planned developments, including dams, which could have a negative impact on the "outstanding universal value" of the park, in accordance with paragraph 172 of the convention’s operational guidelines.

The committee also expressed regret over the fact that the Centre had neither submitted a report on the state of conservation of the national park nor an environmental impact assessment of the alternatives to the proposed upgrade of NH37, as requested by it after it visited the site in 2009 and has asked the latter to furnish these reports within February 1, 2012.

It has also asked for data on the park’s key wildlife populations and poaching records.

Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention says: "The World Heritage Committee invites the states, parties to the Convention, to inform the committee, through the secretariat, of their intention to undertake or to authorise, in an area protected under the Convention, major restorations or new constructions, which may affect the outstanding universal value of the property. Notice should be given as soon as possible (for instance, before drafting basic documents for specific projects) and before making any decisions that would be difficult to reverse, so that the committee may assist in seeking appropriate solutions to ensure that the outstanding universal value of the property is fully preserved."

A number of organisations from all over the state have been protesting against construction of big dams in the region, voicing apprehensions about the impact of such dams on the ecology of the downstream areas.

In 2005, a joint paper by Unesco and United Nations Foundation — Opportunities and Challenges for Kaziranga National Park over the Next Fifty Years — had already warned about future threats to the park.

It said the continued survival of Kaziranga National Park over the next century and consolidation of the conservation successes achieved in the last hundred years will depend, to a large extent, on what happens beyond the park’s boundaries and also on ensuring that management options elsewhere, in the river and in the surrounding landscape, do not undermine the ecology and integrity of the park.

In fact, the park is already taking steps to declare an area of 10km around it an eco-sensitive zone to help restrict or prohibit activities that are not conducive to the park’s future. It will also ensure that it does not fall prey to “pressures” like floods, economic activities, climate change, change in land-use patterns and development of roadways.

Regarding the committee’s allegation about non-submission of the state of conservation report, park director Surajit Datta told The Telegraph: "We had submitted the report to the Centre through proper channels a long time back."

On the other hand, the National Highway Authority of India has abandoned its plans to upgrade NH37, which runs along the southern boundary of the park, and is considering a new alignment that will circumvent the park along an existing road on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra.

The good news for Kaziranga, however, is that the committee has received reports from International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) that the park authorities have increased efforts to prevent poaching, and that poaching is now largely under control.

The committee has also asked the park authorities to develop and implement a monitoring and management system to curb the spread of invasive species of shrubs like mimosas rubidulais and mimosa invisa.

In the meantime, the All Assam Students’ Union and Takam Mising Perin Kebang, a Mising student body, jointly staged a satyagraha here today to protest against construction of big dams.
1. Experiential Elements:
   
a. Words:

   The expression in the headline ‘Big dams figure in UN meet’ is made in a nominal fashion. Describing the story in the light of allegation on the Centre, which is in the lead paragraph, it appears that the World Heritage Committee draws its attention to big dams issue only after a serious and strong debate in Assam. It seems that the World Heritage Committee has no idea at all about the park since the Centre did not submit its report. This is evident by the words ‘The raging debate’ and ‘seems to have drawn the attention’ in the lead paragraph. But interestingly, the story implicitly defends this allegation.

   The story is followed by World Heritage Committee’s allegation on the Centre for its non cooperation in prevention of any development plan in Kaziranga National Park including big dams in the region. This allegation on the Centre is reflected in the words ‘asked the Centre to keep it informed’ in the second sentence of second paragraph, ‘expressed regret’ and ‘to furnish these reports within February 1, 2012’ in the first and second sentences of third paragraph. Further, it is evident from the words ‘asked for data’ in the fourth sentence. Responding to the allegation, the story conveys the positive action of the National Park authority and the Centre. This is evident by the words ‘abandoned its plan’ and the quotation of park director ‘we had submitted the report’ in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs. Positive action of the park authority towards park safety is expressed implicitly in twelfth paragraph by the words ‘received reports from International Union for Conservation of Park’ and ‘increased efforts’. But when it comes to the impact of big dams in the downstream region, it is generalized in its expression by the word ‘on the ecology of the downstream areas’ in the sixth paragraph.
b. Sentences:

Looking into the sentence structures of the story, the expression on the managements of the park authority and the National Highway Authority of India (where the Centre is responsible for it) is expressed in a positive way stating that it abides by the Paragraph 172 of the World Heritage Convention. This is evident in the sentence structures of paragraphs nine, ten, eleven and twelve. Further, the work of the park authority and the National Highway Authority of India is expressed in active sentences. The coherence of sentences is functional, that is subordinate clauses provide more details to the main clauses. The story tries to mitigate the allegation made on the Centre for not submitting its report to the World Heritage Committee and justifies that the park authority and the National Highway Authority of India are carrying out their management in accordance with the convention of the World Heritage Committee in safeguarding Kaziranga National Park from big dams. These expressions are found in paragraphs nine, ten, eleven and twelve of the story. Action of protest by the anti dam activists is described in active as evident in the last paragraph.

c. Proposition Sequences:

The following points are the sequential proposition of the story:

1. Debate on big dams draws attention of the World Heritage Committee.
2. The Centre’s asked to inform about any planned development.
3. Allegation on the Centre for not submitting report.
5. Protest against construction of big dams.
7. Steps taken by park authority.
8. The National Highway Authority of India’s alternative plans.
9. Park report to the Committee through International Union for Conservation of Nature.
10. Advice from the Committee.
11. Anti-dam activists protest against big dams.
2. **Relational elements:**

**Euphemistic Expression:**

The Centre has been accused by the World Heritage Committee for not submitting the report on Kaziranga National Park, but the story tries to mitigate this allegation by focusing on the positive steps taken by the park authority and the National Highway authority of India. This reflects that the state is carrying out its management in accordance with the prescriptions of World Heritage Convention.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

**Hyperbole:**

Steps taken by the Kaziranga National Park Authority and the National Highway Authority of India as preventive measures for the park are explained in details in paragraphs nine, ten, eleven and twelve of the story. This can be construed as a cover-up for the allegation made against the Centre.
PRANAB KUMAR DAS

Tezpur, July 11: The All Assam Students’ Union (AASU) and Takam Mising Porin Kebang (TMPK) put up a massive show of strength here today, with over 5,000 activists taking out a procession opposing construction of the mega dam as part of the Lower Subansiri Hydroelectric Project at Gerukamukh.

Led by AASU adviser Samujal Bhattacharya, president Sankar Prasad Rai, secretary Tapan Gogoi and TMPK president Jahan Dolay and secretary Indra Kumar Sungkru, the activists marched from Joymoti Field with placards registering their protest. They submitted two memoranda addressed to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and chief minister Tarun Gogoi through Sonitpur deputy commissioner Tapan Chandra Sarma.

The memoranda, quoting reports on the Lower Subansiri Hydroelectric project, said the North East Student Organisation (Neso) had initiated a series of agitations since 2001, warning that if the dam were to be constructed at Gerukamukh, the people of Assam would be badly hit.

In this connection, a committee was constituted with representatives of the state government, AASU and NHPC on December 8, 2006, which stated in its report that there would be a massive downstream impact if the project were to be implemented.

Arunachal Pradesh had proposed construction of 168 hydroelectric projects that would affect the downstream areas, for which a cumulative downstream impact study was necessary.

Subsequently, another expert committee, constituted with representatives of Gauhati University, Dibrugarh University and IIT Guwahati, submitted its preliminary report on February 10, 2009 recommending immediate stoppage of the project.

In its final report, the committee had stated that investigations had revealed gross anomalies regarding construction of a mega dam of such proportions at the selected site, as the area was geologically and seismically sensitive. The committee advised reduction in height of the dam or its relocation, as the Himalayan foothills were not geologically stable enough to support such a mega dam.

Subsequently, a state Assembly committee had opined that the safety and security of the state’s people could not be compromised at any cost.

The memorandum further said the organisations were not opposed to construction of power projects, as Assam needed more power generation to cope with the power crisis.

It suggested that the government construct micro dams instead of one major dam, which might affect people living in the downstream areas, particularly in Assam.

Three members of TMPK, on their way to Tezpur from Gohpur to take part in the rally, were seriously injured when their vehicle hit a stationary truck on NH52 at Behalli in Sonitpur district.
The Telegraph, July 12, 2011

Head Line: ‘5000 rally against mega dam’

1. Experiential Elements:

   a. Words:

      The words ‘show of strength’ in the lead paragraph reflect that 5000 activists taking out rally against construction of Lower Subansiri dam is as if showing its strength to the state. But the truth is that these 5000 activists and more are fighting for their lives and for their coming generations from the impact of big dams. The words ‘In this connection’ in the fourth paragraph reflects as an acknowledgement and response of the State to the agitations against construction of Subansiri dam. The words ‘safety and security’ and ‘could not be compromised at any cost’ in the eighth paragraph show concern of the State for its people and further this reflects that the State government has taken all the preventive measures of dam impact. The story made generalized and probable consequence if the dam is constructed which is evident by the words ‘would be badly hit’, ‘would be a massive downstream impact’ and ‘might affect people’ in three, four and ten paragraphs of the story. The words ‘had opined’ in the eighth paragraph reflect the State had taken preventive measures to the dangers as per experts’ advice. The story also provides importance to the downstream impact of the project by repeating about it in many sentences and paragraphs.

   b. Sentences:

      The story consists of three main topics: ASSU and TMPK rally, expert committees and its reports and the State government and thus these topics and knowledge control the coherence of all the sentences of the story. The coherence of all the topics is represented in the functional way, where following sentences provide additional information to the previous sentence. First part of the story is focused on opposing action of All Assam Students’ Union (ASSU) and Takam Mising Porin Kebang (TMPK) against construction of Subansiri dam. It is expressed in active sentence where ASSU and TMPK are subjects who perform the action of opposition. This reflects negative action of the activists. The representation of the opinion of the State assembly committee on safety and security for its people is also in active sentence at the same time reflecting its positive action. The story of ASSU and TMPK
is scripted according to the script of rally against the construction of Subansiri dam led by its leaders. Likewise, representation of the State assembly committee is also functionally coherent.

By the transitional phrases ‘In this connection’ in the sentence “In this connection, a committee was constituted with representatives of the State government, AASU and NHPC on December 8, 2006, which stated in its report that there would be massive downstream impact if the project were to be completed” in the fourth paragraph and ‘Subsequently’ in the sentence “Subsequently, another expert committee, constituted with representatives of Gauhati University, Dibrugarh University and IIT Guwahati, submitted its preliminary report on February 10, 2009 recommending immediate stoppage of the project” in the sixth paragraph and detailed report in the next paragraph, the producer of the story wants to tells that State government, AASU and NHPC studied and were aware about the downstream impact of the project and also want to tell that the State government acknowledges the expert committee’s report. By the sentence “Subsequently, a State Assembly committee had opined that the safety and security of the State’s people could not be compromised at any cost” it reflects that the State government had taken all the preventive measures and have concern for its people. It doesn’t specify the affected people but generalized to all the people of the state and hence provide no space for the affected people. In the last paragraph, there is a mention of an accident caused by three members of TMPK on their way to rally. This is not related to the topic of the story but it reflects negativity about the activists.

c. Proposition Sequences:

The proposition sequences of the story are:
1. AASU and TMPK activists’ rally is led by their leaders.
2. Activists’ two memoranda are submitted to Prime Minister and chief minister of Assam.
3. Constitution of the committee with representatives of State government, AASU and NHPC in response to the agitation.
5. State Assembly committee’s concern for its people.
6. Activists for micro dams.
7. TMPK’s three members injured in accident.

2. **Relational Elements:**
   
   **Euphemistic Expression:**
   
   It appears that the sentences “In this connection, a committee was constituted with representatives of the State government, AASU and NHPC on December 8, 2006, which stated in its report that there would be a massive downstream impact if the project were to be implemented” and “Subsequently, a state Assembly committee had opined that the safety and security of the State’s people could not be compromised at any cost” reflect that the State government and NHPC are aware of the downstream impact and this downstream impact has been taken care of.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**
   
   **Hyperbole:**
   
   The expression regarding the activists and their actions in the rally is described in detail. The expert committee report is also explained clearly.
RTI activist seeks public explanation of dam benefits

Akhil ‘open letter’ to CM

Guwahati, July 12: Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti leader Akhil Gogoi today wrote an “open letter” to chief minister Tarun Gogoi, saying he and his supporters would continue to oppose the construction of big dams on the Brahmaputra even at the cost of their lives.

Seeking a public explanation from the chief minister regarding the benefits of big dams, including the Lower Subansiri hydel power project at Gerukamukh, the RTI activist said Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Tarun Gogoi would become “villains” in history if they did not do anything to stop the construction of dams.

He said it had become inevitable for him to write the letter to the chief minister following the latter’s recent statement before the media that the government would provide all kinds of support and cooperation to the National Hydel Power Corporation (NHPC) in transporting turbines to the Lower Subansiri project site along the Assam-Arunachal Pradesh border.

The letter said the KMSS would not allow transportation of turbines to the project site under any circumstance.

Akhil questioned the chief minister on how much electricity the state would gain after completion of the Lower Subansiri project and other big or small dams being built at various sites in Arunachal Pradesh. “The NHPC has been saying that Assam will receive only 25MW of free power from the Lower Subansiri project. On the other hand, Assam would not receive any quantum of free power from the projects being constructed in Arunachal Pradesh. However, the dams being built will have devastating impact on Assam,” the letter stated.

Criticising Tarun Gogoi’s role in treating the expert committee report on construction of the Lower Subansiri power project, Akhil asked the chief minister to immediately explain his government’s stand on the report.

“We will not allow corporate groups to take control of water in Assam. It is time to go for construction of small and environment-friendly dams to generate electricity in the state,” the letter stated.

Text 4.7 Source: The Telegraph, July 13, 2011
The Telegraph, July 13, 2011

Headline: “Akhil ‘open letter’ to CM”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   By the words ‘Akhil’ and ‘open letter’ in the headline, it is clear that Akhil Gogoi is the one who wrote a letter as another form of protest to the CM. The story is trying to remind its reader that Akhil Gogoi is the one who wrote an open letter to the CM, by repeating his name and the letter many times throughout the story. By the words ‘continue to oppose’ and ‘even at the cost of their lives’ reflect Akhil Gogoi and his party as protesters who are deadly against a national project. By the word ‘He said’ in the sentence “He said it had become inevitable for him to write the letter to the chief minister…”, appears to tells that Akhil Gogoi is trying to be in a high subjective position who has some authority and become the savior for the affected people from the project. By using the word ‘Villains’ in the second paragraph, the producer is trying to tells that RTI activist Akhil Gogoi is insulting the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and chief minister Tarun Gogoi.

   b. Sentences:

   Sentences expressing about Akhil Gogoi and his party is in negative, who is opposing the government. Since the story is on Akhil Gogoi writing open letter to the CM, the representation about him is in active sentences. The doer of action of opposition is none other than Akhil Gogoi. Looking into the coherence of the sentences, the story is limited to only Akhil Gogoi and the letter written by him. This topic and knowledge control the entire story. Sentences reflect Akhil Gogoi threatening, asking the State government to answer him and criticising the State. This is evident by the sentences “The letter said the KMSS would not allow transportation of turbines to the project site under any circumstance” and “criticizing Tarun Gogoi’s role in treating the expert committee report on construction of the Lower Subansiri power project, Akhil asked the chief minister to immediately explain his government’s stand on the report”. Akhil Gogoi favouring small dams is mentioned in the last paragraph of the story. But the interesting thing is that there is not a single response from the government side to the protest. The story is silent on it.
c. **Proposition Sequence:**

The propositions expressed in a sequential manner are:

1. Akhil’s open letter to the CM seeking explanation of dam benefits.
2. Reason to write the letter.
3. Akhil’s question to the CM on how much the state will gain from Lower Subansiri dam.
4. Akhil’s question to the CM about his stand on the expert committee report.
5. Akhil and his party favour small dams.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   It appears that the open letter is an allegation against the State on its stands towards the construction of Lower Subansiri dam. This is evident by the sentences “… the government would provide all kinds and co-operation to the National Hydel Power Corporation (NHPC) in transporting turbines to the Lower Subansiri project site …” and “The NHPC has been saying that Assam will receive only 25 MW of free power from the Lower Subansiri project”. In the story there is not a word from the government side against the allegation. The silence of the State reflects its side stepping of the allegation.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   The representation of the story about the letter is exaggerated. It directs the readers to know in detail the threat to the state government by Akhil Gogoi and its criticism.
Power minister outlines project’s progress before MLAs

Dispur allays fears on dam

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Guwahati, July 19: The Assam government today gave a detailed presentation on the Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project to its MLAs in an apparent attempt to allay fears over the downstream impact of the mega project.

Power minister Pradyut Bordoloi made a PowerPoint presentation on the progress of the project and apprised the MLAs about steps taken to counter the downstream impact of the project.

The presentation was made at the Central Hall of the Assam Legislative Assembly after today’s Assembly session ended.

Lower Subansiri is the biggest hydro-electric project undertaken in the country so far.

The National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) is implementing the project at Gerukamukh near North Lakhimpur on the border of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

The 2000MW hydro-electric project, including a 116-metre concrete gravity dam, is likely to be completed in 2014.

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Environmental activists and several local organisations and political parties have raised concerns about the possible downstream impact of the project.

The power minister told the MLAs that on behalf of the Assam government, the Planning Commission has constituted a committee of technical experts, comprising former secretaries of ministry of water resources and Central Water Commission C.D. Thatte and M.S. Reddy, to look into the structural and seismological aspects of the project.

The committee will also examine the technical parameters for the safety and stability of the dam.

Bordoloi said that March 7 this year, a joint steering committee of the power ministry had recommended that the reservoir should be operated in such a way that high floods can be suitably moderated by regulated discharge, minimisation of discharge of water from the dam, installation of warning systems, strengthening and raising of embankments.

The power minister said the Assam government wanted that Assam and Arunachal Pradesh should “equally” share the power from the project.

He also said the All Assam Students’ Union and Prafulla Kumar Mahanta led AGP government in the state had, on several occasions, urged the Centre to construct a dam on the Subansiri.

“The permission to construct the project was granted when the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government was at the Centre and AGP government was in the state,” the minister said.

Moreover, BJP Lok Sabha MP from Assam Bijoya Chakraborty was the Union minister for water resources when the project was cleared. Surprisingly now she feels ignorance about it,” Bordoloi said.

However, an eight-member panel of experts, jointly constituted by NHPC, the All Assam Students’ Union (AASU) and the Assam government, had found “gross inadequacies” in its design and construction of the dam.

According to the panel of experts, the site selected for the mega dam of the present dimension “was not appropriate in such a geologically and seismologically sensitive location”.

The expert group, comprising experts from IIT Guwahati and Dibrugarh universities, was set up to study the downstream impact of the project.
The Telegraph, July 20, 2011
Head Line: “Dispur allays fears on dam”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The story has used polite and formal words like ‘allays fears’, ‘apparent attempt’, ‘apprised’ and ‘implementing’ while expressing about the action of the State government and the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC). By the word ‘concrete gravity dam’, it explains about the structural strength of the dam. But when it comes to the downstream impact, it uses the word ‘possible’ downstream impact. The word ‘gross inadequacies’ is blame on BJP-led NDA government in the Centre and the AGP government in the State for their work of clearance given to the project.

   b. Sentences:
      The work of the State government and the mega project are positively expressed throughout the story. Action of the power minister is expressed in active sentences which is clear and evident throughout the story.

      The central idea of the story is that the Assam government has taken all the steps to counter the downstream impact of the project since it is an important project of the country. It further expresses that the project was cleared by AGP government in the State and BJP-led NDA government in the Centre, upon the request of AASU and Profulla Kumar Mahanta led-AGP government, and are responsible for the gross inadequacies found out by the expert committee constituted at the initiative of the present government. Therefore, the story is controlled by this topic and knowledge. It gives more emphasis on the power minister and the project, as evident by the repetition of these two words throughout the story.

      The importance of the project is reflected in the sentence “Lower Subansiri is the biggest hydro-electric project undertaken in the country so far”. It supported that this 2000 MW project is a ‘concrete gravity dam’. Steps taken by the State government to counter the fears of downstream impact is explained in detail by stating that the Planning Commission of India, on behalf of Assam government, has constituted an expert committee and a steering committee to inspect the anomalies of
the project. Upon the controversy over the benefit of the project, it has mentioned the statement of power minister that Assam should get free power like Arunachal Pradesh.

c. **Proposition Sequence:**

1. Assam government’s presentation on Lower Subansiri project to its MLAs over downstream impact.
2. Importance of Lower Subansiri project and its structure.
3. The State government’s response to the concerns raised by activists against the construction of dam over downstream impact.
4. Blame game over the project and clarification from the present government.
5. Expert committees’ reports.

2. **Relational Elements:**

**Euphemistic Expression:**

The story itself is a euphemistic expression about the State government. It states that the State government has taken all the measures in order to counter downstream impact as raised by various organizations. There is a disclaimer statement made by the present government about the gross inadequacies of the project being cleared by its predecessor. This is evident by the sentence “Moreover, BJP Lok Sabha MP from Assam Bijoya Chakraborty was the Union Minister for Water Resources when the project was cleared”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

**Hyperbole:**

Positive action of the State government is explained in detail.
Anti-dam stir to continue

KMSS accuses Tarun Gogoi of siding with ‘colonial’ lobby

Guwahati, July 22: The Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) today accused chief minister Tarun Gogoi, power minister Pradyut Bordoloi and a few other ministers of being part of a “colonial” conspiracy to sell off Assam’s water resources to the corporate lobby.

The accusation came a day after Bordoloi categorically said the state government would not concede to the KMSS demand to halt construction of the 2000MW Lower Subansiri Hydroelectric Project.

KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi told reporters today that his organisation would not allow construction of the hydroelectric project under any circumstances and added that the samiti’s workers would not mind sacrificing their lives agitating against construction of the dam or any other big dam project in the state. “We will not allow the big corporate lobby to exploit water resources of the state. The chief minister and a few of his ministerial colleagues have become the slaves of colonial power,” Gogoi said.

The Lower Subansiri project, being implemented by the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC), is the biggest hydroelectric project undertaken in the country so far and is a run-of-the-river scheme on the Subansiri that includes a 116-metre-high concrete gravity dam.

Pointing out the power minister’s reference to formation of an inter-ministerial group to study the effects and concerns associated with construction of big dams, Gogoi said Bordoloi was trying to give an impression that formation of the group was the result of the Assam government’s constant efforts to persuade the Centre in this regard. “We want to clarify that the inter-ministerial group was constituted only to accelerate hydro-power projects in the region. The group’s report does not recommend basin studies on the Subansiri. Bordoloi was trying to mislead the people of Assam yesterday by giving various false explanations in favour of big dams,” Gogoi said.

Referring to the Bordoloi’s statement about formation of an international technical team to study structural and geological issues related to the project, he said if such was the case, why did the Tarun Gogoi government announce a compensation package for those who would be affected by the project?

“Even before the international team gives its report, the Gogoi government has assumed that the report would be in favour of a big dam on the Subansiri. If the technical team is examining the project, then why did Bordoloi say that the government would go ahead with the project?” Gogoi asked.

Text 4.9 Source: The Telegraph, July 23, 2011
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   By the words ‘stir to continue’ in the headline reflects that the protest by KMSS will continue. The agitation of KMSS is regarded as a trouble to the government. This trouble caused by KMSS is supported by the word ‘accused’ which occurred three times in the story as another form of protest against the government. Further, by the words ‘under any circumstances’ and ‘sacrificing’ in the third paragraph, the opposition of KMSS to the project is demonstrated.

   To the Tarun Gogoi ministry, the story uses the expression ‘colonial lobby’, which is under the influence of corporate houses. But by the words ‘reference to’ and ‘referring to’, it directed its readers to know about the positive steps taken by the State government.

   It appears that the story attributes the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) and the structure of dam by the words ‘being implemented by the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation’ and ‘a 116-metre-high concrete gravity dam’.

   b. Sentences:

   The action of KMSS is expressed in negative sentences which is evident from the sentences “would not allow construction of the hydroelectric project under any circumstances and added that the Samiti’s workers would not mind sacrificing their lives agitating against construction of the dam or any other big dam project in the State”. Further, the action of KMSS accusing the State government is explained in active sentences.

   When looked into the coherence of the sentences, firstly, it appears that the story tries to tell about the KMSS accusing, as another form of protest, the Tarun Gogoi ministry of colonial lobby and giving false explanation about the project. It further tries to explain that KMSS is causing trouble to the State government by
opposing the construction of Lower Subansiri dam project. Secondly, it tries to explain about the importance of Lower Subansiri dam project to the country and allays fears because it is a 116 metre-high concrete gravity dam being built by the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC). And thirdly, it tries to explain that the Tarun Gogoi government has taken measures to counter the downstream impact by forming inter-ministerial group and international technical team to study dam effect and structural and geological issues related to the project.

c. Proposition sequence:

   The propositions explained in sequence in the story are:
   1. KMSS accuses Tarun Gogoi ministry of colonial lobby.
   2. KMSS’s deadly against the project.
   3. Importance of the project to the country.
   4. Akhil Gogoi responding against the inter-ministerial and international technical teams’ reports.

2. Relational Elements:

   Euphemistic Expression:

   There is an expression that the Tarun Gogoi ministry has formed an inter-ministerial group to study the effects and concerns of dam impact and an international technical team to study structural and geological issues of the project. This expression has safeguarded the State government from the accusation made by KMSS against it.
ROOPAK GOSWAMI

Guwahati, July 26: Under fire from many quarters on the safety of the 2,000 MW Subansiri Lower Hydroelectric Project, the NHPC today said there was no reason for the people of the state to “worry” as it has been vetted by topmost agencies of the country.

“They should not worry as detailed studies have been undertaken by topmost agencies and all of them have vetted the project,” a senior NHPC official looking after the Subansiri Lower Hydroelectric Project said here today.

The Subansiri Lower Hydroelectric Project, which is now under construction, is the biggest hydro project not only in India but also in South Asia.

“We should believe in some authority, if we do not believe, there is no end then. There has been no case of dam failure till now,” the official said, adding that the NHPC had commissioned 14 projects. Ten more projects are under commission at various places in the country.

The official said the company had built dams higher than the Subansiri project and there have been no problems.

The Chamara hydroelectric project in Himachal Pradesh, where the dam height is 141 metres, and the 118-metre dam of the Salai project in Jammu and Kashmir are functioning perfectly.

The Subansiri Lower project, with eight units of 250MW each, is a run-of-the-river scheme on the Subansiri. The height of the dam at Lower Subansiri is 116 metres.

“Some groups are exploring the situation by saying that the project is unsafe. That is completely untrue,” said, adding that the combined efforts of the Centre and the state are required for a smooth commissioning of the project.

A steering committee has been constituted by the NHPC on request from the state government, which will be suggesting remedial measures on the downstream impact of the project. “There have been two sittings already. The report would be a comprehensive one, which will look into the downstream impact and suggest remedial measures,” the official said.

Members of the committee have travelled from the downstream of the project right to the confluence of the Subansiri.

The Assam government is also preparing a detailed project report to protect the villages downstream of the Subansiri, in the event of a dam breach on the project.

Allaying fears of downstream impact, the official said there will be flood cushioning and the project has the capacity to absorb 425 million cubic metres of water.

“We will lower the reservoir level to 15 metres in the monsoon months and adequate warning will be given,” the official said.

The expert committee on the downstream impact had recommended proper and adequate flood cushioning to minimise the dam-induced flash floods like in the Raiganj project of Neepco.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4
The Telegraph, July 27, 2011
Headline: “NHPC allays dam fears”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      As an attempt to remove fears from the mind of people, the story has used the words “no reason… to worry”, “detailed studies have been undertaken by topmost agencies”, “vetted the project”, “functioning perfectly”, “remedial measures”, “no case of dam failure till now”, and “challenges have overcome”. All these words support the idea of not to fear of the project.

   b. Sentences:
      Throughout the story, sentences about the NHPC are positive and active. Looking into the coherence of the sentences, firstly, the reason for not to fear is that the project is being built by NHPC. The story is attributed to the work of NPHC for its reliability and credibility. This is evident by the sentence “There has been no case of dam failure till now”, “the NHPC had commissioned 14 projects” in the third paragraph. Secondly, it appears that the story tries to support the project by reflecting that the project is important for the country and is safe. Thirdly, it explains all the steps taken by the NHPC and the State government to study the downstream impact, and finally, the NHPC is worried by the delay of the project.

   c. Proposition Sequence:
      1. Reason for not to fear of the project.
      2. The project is important for the country.
      3. Credibility and reliability of NHPC.
      4. Comparison of Lower Subansiri with other national projects.
      5. Activists against dam construction as exploiters.
      6. Formation of expert committees to study dam related issues.
      7. NHPC is worried over delay of the project.
      8. Signing of MOU with Assam government
      9. Project benefit for Assam.
2. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   The story provides detailed information to say that there is no reason to worry and fear from the project and the work of NHPC is clearly described. Formation of different committees to study different issues related to the project and the work carried out by them are explained clearly and in detail.
AASU turns down Akhil offer citing ideological differences

KMSS joint drive plan stubbed

Our correspondent

Guwahati, July 30: The proposed joint movement of the Krushak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) against construction of big dams in the Northeast today received a setback with the AASU categorically refusing to join hands with it citing “ideological differences”.

“AASU has been spearheading the movement against big dams since 2001 and later joined hands with other like-minded student and youth bodies. But we will never work with any organisation having ideological differences with us, like we have with KMSS,” AASU adviser Samujal Bhattacharyya told The Telegraph here today.

Bhattacharyya, while refusing to throw light on the “ideological differences”, said, “It was AASU which brought to light the fact that the dam construction had started without taking advice from an expert committee and later, the government was forced to form the expert committee. We later joined hands with 36 other organisations and met the Prime Minister on the issue. We will continue to protest jointly to stop construction of big dams.”

On July 10, KMSS leader and RTI activist Akhil Gogoi had appealed to AASU, AJYCP and other local organisations to join hands with them and make the agitation more broad-based and cohesive. The plan was to jointly prevent the turbines and other materials required for the 2,000MW Lower Subansiri hydel project from reaching the project site at Gerukamukh in Arunachal Pradesh and stop big dam constructions by any means.

The AASU and 36 other organisations today took out a massive procession in Guwahati in protest against big dams, update of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) in accordance with the Assam Accord and solution to interstate boundary disputes.

Nearly 10,000 students and youth activists from across the state took part in the protest, advocating construction of small dams to meet local requirements. “We are not against development and the electricity required for development work. We want small dams to be constructed instead of the big dams, which will have adverse impact on the downstream areas in Assam,” Takam Mising Porin Kebang leader Ronoj Pegu said.

Several organisations, including TMPK, All Assam Tai Ahom Students’ Union, All Assam Chutia Students’ Union, Karbi Students’ Union, Mising Mimag Kobang, Tiwa Yuva Chatra Parishad, All Assam Karbi Students’ Union, North Cachar Hills Indigenous Students’ Union, All Assam Tribal Sangha, Assam Tea Tribes Students’ Union, All Koch Rajbongshi Students’ Union, All Tiwa Students’ Union, Dimasa Students’ Union and All Assam Sonowal Kochiari Students’ Union, All Assam Adibasi Students’ Union and All Rabha Students’ Union joined the AASU-led protest.

Text 4.11 Source: The Telegraph, July 31, 2011
The Telegraph, July 31, 2011

Headline: “KMSS joint drive plan stubbed”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   The words ‘stubbed, received a setback, categorically refusing, ideological differences’ are used about KMSS. Use of these words reflects KMSS being rejected by others. At the same time AASU and other organizations are also reflected as protesters by the words “massive procession” and “protest”, which carried out massive procession in protest against big dams.

   b. Sentence:

   KMSS receiving refusal from AASU to join hands on the ground of ideological differences is expressed in positive and active form. This is evident by the sentence “The proposed joint movement of Krshak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) against construction of big dams in the Northeast today received a setback with the AASU categorically refusing to join hands with it citing ‘ideological differences’” in the lead paragraph. Ideological difference of KMSS with AASU is the central theme of the story.

   Further looking into the coherence of the sentences, the story seems to target KMSS for its ideological difference with AASU.

   c. Proposition Sequence:

   1. AASU refuse KMSS’s appeal to join hands citing ideological differences.
   2. AASU claimed their agitation forced government to form expert committee.
   3. KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi appeals to AASU and AJYCP to join hands.
   4. Massive procession by AASU and 26 other organizations in Guwahati.
2. **Rhetorical Elements:**

**Hyperbole:**

KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi appealing other organizations to join hands against construction of Lower Subansiri project and AASU refusing to KMSS appeal and the action of AASU against the project are clearly explained.

Text 4.12 Source: The Telegraph, August 31, 2011
The Telegraph, August 31, 2011

Headline: “AASU warns Dispur over Subansiri impact”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   The words ‘warns Dispur, not to ignore experts recommendations, adverse downstream impact, immediately stop, serious and disastrous, irresponsible attitude’ are used to explain the AASU stance and the project. Using of these words reflects AASU’s concern about the dam impact.

   b. Sentence:

   The expression about AASU warning the State government is in active sentence. There is a negative sentence in the second paragraph “the Assam government had not yet stopped the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) from going ahead with execution of the project”. The intertextual coherence of this sentence reflects that the State government is not acknowledging expert committee’s recommendation against dam impact. Further looking into the coherence of sentences, it appears that the story warns the state government along with AASU over the Subansiri impact. Warning of not to ignore experts’ recommendation over dam impact is the central idea of the story. It has focused on the adverse downstream impact on ecology, aquatic life and people as recommended by the expert committee. This topic and knowledge control the story.

   c. Proposition Sequence:

   1. AASU warns Dispur over Subansiri impact.
   2. Assam government ignores experts’ recommendations.
   3. Bhattacharyya says ‘Irresponsible attitude of the government would cause serious and disastrous consequence’ during a workshop on Subansiri project.
   4. Experts find adverse downstream impact on ecology, aquatic and people.
   5. Expert committee wants AASU to impress New Delhi over Subansiri impact.
2. **Rhetorical Elements:**

**Hyperbole:**

Expression about adverse downstream impact on ecology and aquatic life and the ignorance of State government about the downstream impact are explained clearly.

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**Text 4.13 Source:** The Telegraph, September 11, 2011
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   ‘Statewide protests, spilled onto the streets, staged dharna, lathicharge, blank fire, stop trains, arrested, blocked highways and accused the government’ are the words used to express about KMSS and its activities. This reflects KMSS supporters as protesters who are violent in nature. But by the use of the words ‘remained stranded for months’, it reflects about the pathetic condition of the vessels of Bangladesh carrying the turbines.

   b. Sentences:

   The action of KMSS is expressed in positive and active sentences. For instance, the headline “KMSS protests sail of turbines” is evident from the expression about the action of KMSS. Looking into the coherence of the sentences, the KMSS protest is the main focus of the story. This topic and knowledge control the entire story. It appears that KMSS agitation has gone up to the extent that police are forced to act. This is evident by the sentences, “Party activists also spilled onto the streets in front of Cotton College this morning” and “Several KMSS activists were injured when police resorted to lathi charge and blank firing to disperse protesters at Jamuguri and Beelgaon in Golaghat district. Two of them, Semen Baruah and Lakheswar Dutta, have been admitted to Golaghat civil hospital. More than 300 KMSS activists gathered in these areas to stop trains. Many activists were arrested in Jorhat, Sivasagar and Dibrugarh districts as they blocked highways”.

   c. Proposition Sequence:

   1. KMSS and AASU launch statewide protest.
   2. Two Bangladeshi vessels stranded for months in Dhubri district.
   3. KMSS protests reach the office of ABC India Limited.
   4. KMSS’s Akhil Gogoi warns of bid to make dam movement to feature in the national movement.
   5. Police act to disperse KMSS activists.
6. State administration forced ABC India Limited to make dam materials reach the dam site.
7. KMSS and AGP accused State government for diverting issues of land swap deal and irregularities of about Rs.270 crores.
8. No immediate reaction from the State government.

2. Relational Elements:
   Euphemistic Expression:
   The action of police and State government are explained in a subtle manner. The story reflected that police were forced to act according to the situation. This is seen in the sentence, “Party activists also spilled onto the streets in front of Cotton College this morning” and “Several KMSS activists were injured when police resorted to lathi charge and blank firing to disperse protesters at Jamuguri and Beelgaon in Golaghat district. Two of them, Semen Baruah and Lakheswar Dutta, have been admitted to Golaghat civil hospital. More than 300 KMSS activists gathered in these areas to stop trains. Many activists were arrested in Jorhat, Sivasagar and Dibrugarh districts as they blocked highways”. It further reflects that the State government is bound to facilitate the transportation of turbines as its duty. This is also evident by the sentence, “There was no immediate reaction from the government but sources in Dispur said it was its duty to facilitate the transportation safely”.

3. Rhetorical Elements:
   Hyperbole:
   Actions of KMSS activists are explained throughout the story. They launched statewide protests against the movement of turbines to the project site. As part of the protest they spilled onto the streets in front of Cotton College, staged dharna near Jogighopa river port, stop trains, and blocked highways. But the action of police and State government are explained in brief. The action of police is described as they are forced to act according to the situation and at the same time the State government is doing its duty by facilitating transportation safely.
KMSS asks workers to leave project site

Guwahati, Sept 17: The Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), fighting against the construction of big dams, today asked outsiders engaged in NHPC dam construction at Gerukamukh to leave the region immediately, warning that goons might attack them, taking advantage of the ongoing protest.

“I appeal to all the workers at the NHPC site in Lower Subansiri to stop working for the construction company and help in the fight against big dams. Those coming from outside the region should leave the state because goons may target and attack them. We are leading peaceful movements and appeal to all to help us to stop constructing big dams,” KMSS general secretary and RTI activist Akhil Gogoi told reporters here.

He warned all existing workers, officials and technicians from outside Assam to leave the state or get ready for a mass social boycott.

The KMSS today blocked transportation of construction materials to the NHPC dam site in North Bank district.

Gogoi said police in Sonitpur, Dhemaji and Lakhimpur districts have arrested several KMSS members.

“We request all labourers and NHPC employees from Assam to stop work, as the big dam in Arunachal Pradesh will bring destruction in their home state. Our members will soon visit their houses with flowers in their hands and request them not to work in big dam projects,” he said.

The KMSS plans to carry out such protests all over the state in the days to come.

It warned the state government of a “civil disobedience” movement if it kept barricading every peaceful movement of theirs. They said the administration would be responsible for the agitation. “As part of our movement, we will organise massive protests in all the district headquarters, beginning in Nagaon on September 22,” he said.

“Instead of paying heed to the public movement, chief minister Tarun Gogoi has instructed all superintendents of police and deputy commissioners in upper and central Assam districts to take actions against our activists and prevent them from taking out protests and stopping transportation of construction materials to the dam site,” he added.

Continued on Page 4

KMSS slams govt on dams

FROM PAGE 1

Alleging that the state government was resorting to cheap tactics and was trying to break down the movement by creating a divide between the organisations fighting for the same cause, the RTI activist pleaded before the All Assam Students Union (AASU), AJYCP and Takam Mising Porin Kebang (TMPK) to join hands and fight in unison to stop big dams, rather than fighting as separate entities.

“We are all fighting against the same issue of big dams and hence, if we join hands, our fight will be stronger and government would be compelled to stop the work,” he said.

Gogoi said the All-Koch Rajbongshi Students Union (AKRSU) had decided to join hands with the KMSS and fight against the construction of big dams.

“We will continue to fight against big dams because big dams will have adverse impact on the entire river eco-system of Assam despite the harassment and atrocities by government machinery against our activists,” Akhil said.
The Telegraph, September 18, 2011

Headline: “KMSS asks workers to leave project site”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words “fighting, leave the region immediately, goons, attack, outsiders, protest, mass social boycott, blocked, civil disobedience, slams govt.” are used to express the action of KMSS. These words describe KMSS activists as violent in nature.

   b. Sentences:
      The violent nature of KMSS activists is described throughout the story. For instance, the expression in the headline “KMSS asks workers to leave project site”, “The Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), fighting against the construction of big dams, today asked outsiders engaged in NHPC dam construction at Gerukamukh to leave the region immediately, warning that goons might attack them, taking advantage of the ongoing protest” and “The KMSS today blocked transportation of construction materials to the NHPC dam site in North Bank districts.”. All these sentences reflected the violent action of KMSS. The sentence “warning that goons might attack them” shows KMSS activists’ involvement in the activities of goons is referred to indirectly.

      Looking into the coherence of sentences, KMSS threatening outsiders engaged in NHPC dam construction to leave immediately or else face goons attack is the main focus of the story. The negative action of KMSS activists is the topic and this information controls the story. It further reflects that it is KMSS which has asked workers to leave project site immediately, it is KMSS which threatened outside workers to face goons attack, it is KMSS which blocks transportation of dam materials, it is KMSS that warns the State government of civil disobedience and it is KMSS which accused the State government for not paying attention to their agitation.
c. Propositional Sequence:
1. KMSS asks workers to leave the region immediately warning them of goons attack.
2. KMSS general secretary Akhil Gogoi appeals to the workers to stop working and help them fight against big dams.
3. Akhil Gogoi warns workers to leave or else ready for mass social boycott.
4. KMSS blocks dam materials in north bank districts.
5. Akhil Gogoi has asserted police have arrested several KMSS members.
6. KMSS asks workers to stop work as the dam brings destruction to the State.
7. KMSS warns for civil disobedience.
8. Akhil Gogoi accuses the State government for not paying attention to the agitation.
9. KMSS slams govt for playing politics of division between organizations fighting against the project.

2. Relational Elements:

Euphemistic Expression:
The story highlights the claim made by Akhil Gogoi about the arrest saying that police have arrested KMSS members in Sonitpur, Dhemaji and Lakhimpur districts. Thus the action of police is expressed in a straight forward manner.

3. Rhetorical Elements:

Hyperbole:
Action of KMSS activists is explained clearly and in detail. The story explains the different forms of protest carried out by KMSS activists.
Protesters agree to talks after stopping trucks carrying project machinery

CM invites anti-dam activists

Our Special Correspondent

Guwahati, Dec. 1: Dispur today said it was open to discussions with anti-dam activists, a section of whom began a fresh agitation in Lakhimpur town this morning when a vehicle carrying machinery for the Subansiri hydel power project tried to proceed towards the project site in Dhemaji.

The protests began yesterday when a truck carrying a "big machine" for the project left Thelamara in Sonitpur, with anti-dam activists stopping the vehicle at several places.

The agitation peaked when the truck reached Dhalpur in Lakhimpur district yesterday evening, forcing the administration to cane them and fire blank rounds to disperse the protesters.

Protests began anew when the vehicle reached Lakhimpur town around 7.30 this morning.

The administration decided park the truck at the government higher secondary school field.

"I will only be too happy to discuss the issue but nobody has approached me so far. I will ask my power minister (Pradyut Bordoloi) to take steps accordingly. We are not for confrontation. We will talk as far as possible but if we see that the other party is not interested in a resolution we will not waste time in holding talks," Gogoi said.

The chief minister, however, said the truck will "move forward not backward", an indication that he will not bow.

The AASU, whose mem-

bers were part of the protests, reacted this evening by demanding that construction of the dam be halted.

"We want the state government to invite foreign experts and hold discussion with our own experts who have warned of disastrous downstream impact. Till then we want a halt to the construction and to the atrocities on our members," AASU leader with Kamakhya.

The government, however, said it will intensify its democratic movement and Dispur will be held responsible if anything goes wrong if our warning is not heeded," AASU adviser Samujal Bhattacharyya said in Guwahati following the day-long protest in all districts against yesterday's caning and police firing.

While AASU's Tezpur unit took out a torchlight procession this evening in protest against the caning, the organisation's general secretary Tapen Gogoi reached Lakhimpur this evening to guide the protest.

"We had written to the chief minister and the power minister to resolve the issue through discussion but there was no response from their end. Like the government, we are pro-development but not at the cost of those living downstream," the AASU general secretary said.

Security personnel had to fire rubber bullets after protesters hurled stones at them till late this evening. Nobody was injured though.

Lakhimpur deputy commissioner Anwuruddin Choudhury, an acclaimed environmentalist himself, had to use all his persuasive powers to defuse the crisis.

Choudhury told The Telegraph that the situation was under control and that he would convey all the demands of the protesters to appropriate authority.

"Given the overall public mood and law and order situation, we have decided to park the truck carrying machine that is used to discharge water from the powerhouse to the river," Choudhury said.
The Telegraph, December 2, 2011
Headline: “CM invites anti-dam activists”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
   The words ‘protesters, fresh agitation, stopping vehicle, day-long protest, and hurled stones’ are used to describe the action of All Assam Students’ Union. These words reflect the violent nature of AASU.

   b. Sentence:
   Assam CM inviting anti-dam activists for an open discussion is written in positive and active sentences. This is evident by the sentences “CM invites anti-dam activists” and “Dispur today said it was open to discussions with anti-dam activists”. In these sentences, the subject who invites anti-dam activists for talk is chief minister of Assam. Simultaneously the action of AASU is also written in positive and active sentences. In many occasions of the story, for instance, in the sentence “a section of whom (AASU) began a fresh agitation in Lakhimpur town this morning when a vehicle carrying machinery for the Subansiri hydel power project tried to proceed towards the project site in Dhemaji”, the action of AASU is explained in a positive manner. Further the sentence “The protest began yesterday when a truck carrying a ‘big machine’ for the project left Thelamara in Sonitpur”, also explained the action of AASU clearly.

   Anti-dam activists stopping the vehicle carrying dam materials is the main focus of the story. This topic and knowledge controlled the entire story. The story content is about the CM inviting anti-dam activists for an open discussion which is the headline of the story. The protest made by AASU activists and AASU facing consequence for the protest dominates the story. Looking into coherence, the story reflects the State government as the victim of the protest. This is evident by the sentences “The administration decided [to] park the truck at the government higher secondary school field” and “Choudhury told The Telegraph that the situation was under control and that he would convey all the demands of the protesters to appropriate authority”.

c. Propositional Sequence:
1. Protest despite CM’s invitation to anti-dam activists for an open discussion.
2. Anti-dam activists stop vehicle carrying dam materials.
3. Agitation forced administration to resort to caning and blank fire.
4. Agitation forced the administration to park the vehicle at school field.
5. CM invites anti-dam activists for an open discussion to create a conducive atmosphere.
6. CM stands to move forward.
7. AASU protests against police caning and firing into its members.
8. AASU torchlight procession at Tezpur.
9. AASU slams government.
10. Security personnel are forced to control the situation.
11. Lakhimpur deputy commissioner defuses the crisis by saying all the demands will be conveyed to appropriate authority.

2. Relational Elements:
   Euphemistic Expression:
   The sentences “The agitation peaked when the truck reached Dhalpur in Lakhimpur district yesterday evening, forcing the administration to cane them and fire blank rounds to disperse the protesters.”, The administration decided [to] park the truck at the government higher secondary school field.” and “Security personnel had to fire rubber bullets after protesters hurled stones at them till late this evening.” reflects the administration and security personnel had no choice but forced to acts to the situation. This means the onus for acts is on anti-dam activists. Thus the act of the State is expressed in a subtle manner.

3. Rhetorical Elements:
   Hyperbole:
   Action of AASU is explained clearly and in detail on how the protest had been carried out and the State administration is forced to act to the situation in order to maintain law and order in the region. But the story reflects that anti-dam activists protest caused the State administration to intervene to maintain law and order in the area. Thus the action of the State is indirectly supported.
Red ripples down the banks of the raging blue

Dhemaji: There may be many voices in this constituency resisting the construction of dams in neighbouring Arunachal Pradesh, but they are muted. Who would want to risk imprisonment and get paraded as a Maoist for protesting against an anti-people move? “We don’t want to say anything now. If we open our mouth, we will be branded Maoists,” said an anti-dam activist on condition of anonymity.

Only a fortnight ago, two girls were arrested from Dhemaji for having so-called Maoist connections. Then again, six members of Brijat Nadi Bandh Pratirodha Manch, an anti-dam group, were arrested last month from sand island Masaki in Dhemaji.

During the same period, Orissa police arrested three villagers (Aditya Bora, doing by arresting innocent people on charges of being Maoists. People will give an appropriate response through the ballot,” said

As it is people are battered by floods and displacement. Now dams have added to their woes. It is a great injustice the government is doing by arresting innocent people on charges of being Maoists. People will give an appropriate response through the ballot,” said

Things are not the same. The police maintained that they were closely connected with the Reds in Orissa and that one of them had undergone arms training in a rebel camp there.

The close monitoring of anti-dam activists and the arrests have ensured that dams become a dreaded word here. Said another activist without wanting to be named, “Every time we want to protest against big projects, we are dubbed Maoists. This is the pet tactic of the government to crush the people’s movement.”

Jonai legislator representing Sammilta Ganashakti Party, Bhuban Pegu, also felt, “This is a reflection of the anti-people policy of the government.”

Pegu was certain the government highhandedness would find an echo in the people’s mandate. “As it is people are battered by floods and displacement. Now dams have added to their woes. It is a great injustice the government is doing by arresting innocent people on charges of being Maoists. People will give an appropriate response through the ballot,” said

The police claimed that Maoist elements have taken deep roots in the constituencies like Jonai, Dhakua, Majuli, Lakhimpur, Nagaon, and Bongaigaon where anti-dam stirs are gaining ground and likely to dominate elections.

“Maoist forces are set to influence voters in constituencies where anti-dam movements are active. Sympathy for Maoist ideology is growing among people rendered homeless by floods,” observed a senior police official in Dhemaji, adding that about 40 ultras are already active in Sadiya.

He further said, “There are evidences of Maoist involvement in these constituencies. We arrested them only after verifying all evidence. There are confessional statements from the arrested that they had Maoist links and arms training.”

Takam Mishik Porin Kebang (TMPK), a student body for Mishing tribe, said the crackdown brought back memories of colonial times. “In a democratic country, it’s unfortunate that we cannot express our views. The arrests are condemnable,” said TMPK president Johan Doley.

Tilk Doley, a leader of TMPK Silapathar unit in Dhemaji, said, “I was also picked up on charges of being a Maoist and was put behind bars for almost one-and-a-half months. They are trying to crush all movements against dams by those affected or displaced by floods.”

Though it is difficult to gauge the extent of the spread of the ultra-Left movement, experts fear long deprivation of the people could create a fertile ground for Maoist inroads.
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:

   The words “red ripples” in the headline talks about the Maoists and their activities. Maoist, arrested, Maoist connection, imprisonment, closely connected with the Reds, undergone arms training, long deprivation, fertile ground for Maoists, evidence of Maoist involvement and confessional statements of Maoist link” are the words used while describing about the anti-dam activists. Using of these words shows Maoists link with anti-dam activists in their movement against construction of Lower Subansiri project.

   b. Sentences:

   There is a negative expression about the anti-dam activists saying that they have link with Maoists but actions of police are expressed in positive, who are carrying out their duties. Looking into the coherence of the sentences, it appears that the central theme of the story is ‘the movement of Maoists to the place where anti-dam movements are active and anti-dam activists having link with the Maoist and therefore they are arrested’. The flow of the sentences begins with the helpless situation of anti-dam activists who couldn’t raise their voices against the anti-people move. It is stated that when they raise their voice they were branded as Maoists and were arrested as having link with them. This is evident in the first paragraph “There may be many voices … resisting the construction of dams … but they are muffled”. Further the story describes about the arrest and provides evidences justifying the arrest of anti-dam activists for having link with the Maoists by police. This is reflected by the sentences “The police maintained that they (anti-dam activists) were closely connected with the Reds in Orissa and that one of them had undergone arms training in a rebel camp there” and “The police claimed that Maoist elements have taken deep roots…” Further, supporting to the idea of linking with the Maoists, it said that “Though it is difficult to gauge the extent of the spread of the ultra-Left movement, experts fear that long deprivation of the people could create a fertile ground for Maoist inroads.”
c. **Propositional Sequence:**

1. Anti-dam voices are muffled.
2. Arrest of anti-dam activists on the ground of Maoist link.
3. ‘Dam’ a dreaded word for activists.
4. Political blame game.
5. Police justification for the arrest.
6. Experts fear that depriving people could create fertile ground for Maoist.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   Sentences “The police maintained that they were closely connected with the Reds in Orissa and that one of them had undergone arms training in a rebel camp there” and “The police claimed that Maoist elements have taken deep roots…” Further it said that “Though it is difficult to gauge the extent of the spread of the ultra-Left movement, experts fear that long deprivation of the people could create a fertile ground for Maoist inroads.” reflects the euphemistic expressions about the State. These sentences support the allegation of anti-dam activist links with Maoist.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Anti-dam activists’ link with Maoist and police justifying the arrest is explained clearly and in detail. The headline “Red ripples down the banks of the raging blue” is exaggerated in its expression about the Maoist link of anti-dam activists.
KMSS activists prevent unloading of dam machinery

Guwahati: The anti-mega dam movement rocked the state once again on Monday when Krishiak Mukti Sangram Samity (KMSS) members prevented unloading of turbine runners and other logistics for the Lower Subansiri Hydel Project from three barges at Taripal Ghat of Biswanath Chariali in Sonitpur district.

The vessels are in the state since August last year to unload the logistics for the project as the All Assam Students’ Union (Aasu) and KMSS have been constantly protesting against it. On August 21 last year, Aasu activists had blocked these three barges and two vessels at Terapur Ghat. Later, the barges were shifted to Pandu ghat in Guwahati for clearance.

All five cargo ships from Bangladesh were used by Assam-Bengal Courier India Limited for NHPC to bring almost 679 million tonnes of logistics for NHPC’s mega dam project at Lower Subansiri.

“We got the report of possible unloading of logistics on Sunday midnight. The NHPC had brought two powerful trucks to unload the barges at 2 p.m. But we succeeded to stop them as we are against construction of mega dams in the region. Our members are now chasing out trucks from the state,” said Kamal Medhi, spokesperson of KMSS. Members of the peasants’ body have forced out trucks from Biswanath Chariali and also lodged a FIR for violation of traffic laws.

In Guwahati, KMSS members blockaded the NHPC liaison office and demanded an immediate halt to the ongoing construction of the Lower Subansiri Hydel Project.

“We have stopped the barges earlier and we have already decided to stop all activities related to construction of mega dams here and we will continue it,” said KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi.

The Inland Waterways Authority of India (IWAI) helped guide this consignment through the Brahmaputra. The stretch of the Brahmaputra from Hooghly to Sadiya comes under Waterway No. 2.

1. **Experiential Elements:**

   a. **Words:**

      The words like prevent unloading, rocked the state once again, constant protesting, blocked, forced out truck, gheraoed, demanded immediate halt are used to describe KMSS and its action. These words present a negative attitude of KMSS towards the project.

   b. **Sentence:**

      The negative action of KMSS activists is shown in active sentences. For instance, the sentences “KMSS activists prevent unloading of dam machinery” and “Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) members prevented unloading of turbine runners and other logistics for the Lower Subansiri Hydel Project from the three barges at Taripal Ghat of Biswanath Chariali in Sonitpur district” details action of KMSS is expressed in active sentences.

      Looking into the coherence, KMSS’s constant protest against construction of Lower Subansiri project is the central theme of the story which is reflected in the sentence “The anti-mega dam movement rocked the state once again on Monday”. It focused on KMSS activists carrying out various activities in order to prevent unloading of dam materials. This topic and knowledge control the entire story. But it has expressed pathetic condition of the vessels carrying the turbines meant for the project because of the constant protest. This is reflected in the sentences “The vessels are in the state since August last year to unload the logistics for the project as the All Assam Students’ Union (AASU) and KMSS have been constantly protesting against it. On August 21 last year, AASU activists had blocked these three barges and two vessels at Tezpur Jahaj Ghat. Later, the barges were shifted to Pandu Ghat in Guwahati for clearance.”

   c. **Proposition Sequence:**

      1. KMSS movement rocks the state.
      2. Pathetic condition of the vessels carrying dam materials.
4. KMSS members forced out truck meant to unload dam machinery.
5. KMSS gheraoed the NHPC office in Guwahati.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   The action of the State authority is explained in the last part of the story. At the same time, action of the State authority is diverted to other things. This is evident from the sentences in the last paragraph of the story “The Inland Waterways Authority of India (IWAI) helped guide this consignment through the Brahmaputra. The stretch of the Brahmaputra from Hoogly to Sadiya comes under Waterway No.2.”

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Action of KMSS activists is clearly explained. But the description of the Inland Waterways Authority of India (IWAI), who helped the consignment through Brahmaputra, is explained in a camouflaged manner.
Govt harassing KMSS activists to transport Subansiri turbines

Guwahati: Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) on Tuesday alleged that the state government was harassing active members of the farmers' organization for the last few days to ferry turbines for the Subansiri hydropower project at Gerukamukh in Dhemaji district.

According to KMSS leaders, the district administration of Dhemaji has already arrested a local KMSS leader, Rudra Konwar, and sent him to jail on Monday in connection with an anti-mega dam protest near the deputy commissioner's office in March.

"The government is involved in a conspiracy to stop our anti-dam movement. Why did the government wait for 15 months to arrest the members of our organization in Dhemaji district on charges of public protest," asked Bhaben Handique, the organizing secretary of KMSS.

KMSS leaders in Dhemaji said the district administration has planned to pick up their active members among total 1,500 who raised anti-mega dam slogans in front of the deputy commissioner's office on March 30, 2010.

On charge of the public protest, one Pasanna Bora and Mahim Gohain were arrested. But KMSS chief Akhil Gogoi obtained an anticipatory bail from Guwahati high court. According to workers of the organization, 1,500 people were accused in connection with the protest where police fired tear-gas shells to control the mob.

However, Dhemaji Police waited for the last 15 months to file chargesheets and arrest the other protesters among the 1,500 accused whose names were not mentioned in the registered case filed by a district magistrate. After the recent arrest of Rudra Konwar, KMSS workers in Dhemaji alleged that law enforcers want to clear the routes to transport turbines to the Brahmaputra by arresting KMSS workers.

Protesting against the government's "conspiracy" against KMSS members, including Akhil Gogoi, more than 100 grassroots workers of the organization raised slogans at Biswanath Ghat in Sonitpur district on Tuesday, opposing construction of mega hydel projects.

In a statement issued on Tuesday, KMSS leaders said that they will try their best to stall transportation of the turbines to the hydel projects. "We are ready to give life. But we will not allow the turbines to reach the Subansiri project site," said Anil Boroo, assistant general secretary of KMSS.

On Tuesday, legal experts and civil rights activists in Dhemaji said the arrest of KMSS workers in the district has revealed the arbitrary nature of law-enforcing agencies. "Why the police waited for the last 15 months to file the chargesheet and arrest the 1,500 people who have been mentioned as agitators. The latest arrest of the KMSS worker in Dhemaji is an attempt to pressurize the protesters not to be involved in democratic movement against government's undemocratic works," said Lakhya Kumar Handique, a lawyer in Dhemaji district court.

Seeking justice, KMSS leader Bhafen Handique said they will soon file a writ petition in Guwahati high court against the case in which the administration accused 1,500 protesters in Dhemaji.

Text 4.18 Source: The Times of India, July 6, 2011
The Times of India, July 6, 2011

Headline: ‘Govt harassing KMSS activists to transport Subansiri turbines’

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      “Arrest, protesters, protest, jail, anti-mega dam slogans, stall transportation of turbines, mob and raised slogans” are the words used to describe about KMSS activists. Words like ‘harassing’ and ‘undemocratic’ are used against the State government.

   b. Sentence:
      The arrest of KMSS leaders by the district administration of Dhemaji is explained in positive, but the action of police is expressed in a passive sentence. This is evident by the sentence “1500 people were accused in connection with the protest where police fired tear-gas shells to control the mob” where the action of police is mitigated. Looking into the coherence of sentences, “the KMSS leaders were arrested on charge of public protest in front of deputy commissioner’s office where police need to fire tear-gas shells to control the mob at Dhemaji district” is the central idea and focus of the story. This topic and knowledge control the story even though the surface structure talks about govt harassing KMSS activists.

   c. Propositional Sequence:
      1. KMSS complains against the State government for harassing them.
      2. KMSS leaders arrested for anti-mega dam protest.
      3. KMSS alleges conspiracy behind the arrest.
      4. Police fired tear-gas to control a mob of 1500 people raising anti-mega dam slogan in front of the DC’s office.
      5. KMSS protests against the government’s conspiracy.
      6. KMSS dead against construction of Lower Subansiri hydroelectric project.
      7. Legal experts’ statement on the arrests.
      8. KMSS seeking justice in the case.
2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   The action of police is explained in euphemistically, which is evident in the sentence “the KMSS leaders were arrested on charge of public protest in front of deputy commissioner’s office where police needed to fire tear-gas shells to control the mob at Dhemaji district”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   The details of protests and arrest are explained throughout the story. For instance the sentence “According to KMSS leaders, the district administration of Dhemaji has already arrested a local KMSS leader; Rudra Konowar; and sent him to jail on Monday in connection with the anti-mega dam protest near the deputy commissioner’s office in March” shows the reason for the arrest. But the action of police is described in a less serious manner.
Lower Subansiri mega dam protest wave lashes Guwahati

Guwahati: Activists of the All Assam Students Union (Aasu), the All Mising Students Union (Amisu) and others rocked the city streets on Saturday with a satyagraha programme seeking a halt on mega dam construction in the lower Subansiri basin.

Some Aasu leaders maintained that they would stop the construction work at any cost. Around 5,000 protestors thronged the road before heading to the Kamrup Metro district deputy commissioner’s office to submit a memorandum to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and chief minister Tarun Gogoi.

“One after another the central government is looting the resources from the state. We are not going to sit idle and watch. Do not loose your heart and make your voice heard louder against the construction of mega dams,” said Aasu advisor Samujal Bhattacharyya while addressing the protestors.

“They do not have money to address our problems like flood, but they want to be the owner of our property. We cannot let it happen,” he said, adding that Aasu was not against development.

“We are not against development of the state. But, we do not want to destroy the future of the generations to come. Even after the report from experts of the Gauhati University and IIT Guwahati which suggested stopping of the project in the lower Subansiri basin, the government continued the work,” he said.

“We have several other options. The government can opt for micro dams for electricity instead of mega dams,” he added.

The students’ leader also slammed the role played by chief minister Tarun Gogoi. “The chief minister does not represent people of the state. He does not have the courage to speak out in New Delhi in front of the central ministry on behalf of the people here,” Bhattacharyya said.

Later, the students’ body handed over a memorandum to the Kamrup Metro deputy commissioner addressed to the Prime Minister and Assam chief minister.

Former MLA of Jonai of Lakhimpur district, Bhupen Pegu who also joined the satyagraha said the state was ashamed of the chief minister. “Shame on Tarun Gogoi. Chief ministers from other states would have reacted such proposals in favour of people and tried to stop such mega dams,” he said.
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words “protest wave lashes”, “rocked the city streets”, “stop the construction work at any cost” and “protestors” are used to describe about All Assam Students Union (ASSU) and All Mising Students’ Union (AMSU) and their action of protest.

   b. Sentences:
      Action of protest by ASSU and AMSU is expressed in active sentences. When we look into the coherence of the sentences, it appears that the story wants to tell the violent action of ASSU and AMSU whose protest wave hit the city though it mentioned the statement of ASSU advisor making allegation about the stand of State government on the project. The violent nature of ASSU and AMSU is clearly evident in the headline “Lower Subansiri mega dam protest wave lashes Guwahati” and also in the lead paragraph. The story reflects the so called negative action of ASSU and AMSU. In the last paragraph, it appears that there is a blame game between the Congress government and its opposition party over the project.

   c. Propositional sequence:
      1. ASSU and AMSU protest over Lower Subansiri mega dam hits Guwahati.
      2. Memorandum to Prime Minister and chief minister.
      3. ASSU advisor’s statement making allegation against the central government and the State government for not stopping the project.
      4. Political blame game between Congress and opposition parties.

2. Relational Elements:
   Euphemistic Expression:
   It appears that the central and State governments become the victims of the protest.
Dam ‘fear psychosis’ must be removed, says speaker

Guwahati: The speaker of the legislative assembly, Pranab Gogoi, while expressing his concern over the possible downstream impact of the Lower Subansiri hydroelectric power project, said the “fear psychosis” among the people regarding the dam needs to be removed. The dam is being built by NHPC on the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra at Gerukamukh in Arunachal Pradesh.

In context of a Zero Hour question from former chief minister and AGP leader Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, which was answered by the minister of water resources, Rajb Lochan Pegu, the speaker directed the minister to first remove people’s fear regarding the impact of the dam. “The dam is a matter of concern for all of us. The fear psychosis among the people needs to be removed first,” the speaker said.

Mahanta’s question centred on the impact of the Lower Subansiri project. The AGP leader said the disastrous impact of the dam is also being apprehended by the NHPC since the company has started distributing life-jackets and wireless sets among residents of the area. “The 116 metre-high dam is feared to have an impact on as many as 958 villages in the downstream areas,” Mahanta said.

In his reply, the water resources minister said, “The apprehension of the possible downstream impact of the Lower Subansiri dam was first raised by us (the Congress) in the house in the last assembly. Our stand has been that the dam should be built only after examining the downstream impact and then taking precautionary measures. The state government is preparing a detailed project report on building embankments on both sides of the Brahmaputra where the downstream impact is feared. This project is estimated to cost the government Rs 1100 cr.”

Pegu said the NHPC, which is building the 2,000 MW hydel power project, has also agreed to the government’s embankment plan.

Text 4.20 Source: The Times of India, July 14, 2011
1. **Experiential Elements:**

   a. **Word:**

   “Fear psychosis” and “people’s fear” are the words used for the people including dam activists. It appears that use of these words considers that anti-dam activists as having mental illness. The problem is not the dam but the people.

   b. **Sentence:**

   Dam fear psychosis and removing of this fear from the people are the central idea of the story. This has been expressed in both positive and active sentences. Coherence of sentences appears that the project has no problem but it is the people who have “fear psychosis”, a mental illness. This is reflected by the meaning of the sentences ‘the speaker of the legislative assembly, Pranab Gogoi, while expressing his concern over the possible downstream impact of the Lower Subansiri hydroelectric power project, said the “fear psychosis” among the people regarding the dam needs to be removed.” in the lead paragraph. It tries to tell that the project is safe because it is being built by NHPC, which is supported by the sentence “The dam is being built by NHPC.”

   Further looking into the coherence of the sentences of third and fourth paragraphs, it reflects the blame game between Congress and AGP and Congress giving a forceful reply. AGP said the dam will bring disastrous downstream impact and it was apprehended by NHPC. Congress replied that the apprehension of downstream impact was first raised by them. They also said that the mega dam is being built after examination of downstream impact and then taking precautionary measures.

   c. **Propositional Sequence:**

   1. Dam fear psychosis among the people.
   2. Speaker Pranad Gogoi directs the minister to remove dam fear from the people.
   3. AGP’s concern for the disastrous downstream impact.
4. Congress said that downstream impact study and precautionary measures are taken.
5. NHPC agreed for embankment plan.

2. Relational Elements:

   Euphemistic expression:

   The sentences “the speaker of the legislative assembly, Pranab Gogoi, while expressing his concern over the possible downstream impact of the Lower Subansiri hydroelectric power project, said the ‘fear psychosis’ among the people regarding the dam needs to be removed.” in the lead paragraph and “…after examining the downstream impact and then taking precautionary measures” reflects the euphemistic expression about the State government stance on the project. These sentences express the positive action taken by the State government in response to the allegation that has been made against them.
‘Lower Subansiri project to be commissioned by 2014’

Gawahati: In a clear move against anti-dam protests, state power minister Pradip Bordoloi on Thursday said the 3000-MW Subansiri Lower Hydroelectric project built by NHPC at Gerukamukh in Arunachal Pradesh will be commissioned by 2014.

Taking a tough stand against the protesters, who are obstructing transportation of turbines to the project site, the minister said, “The state government will facilitate transportation of these turbines.” The protesters recently forced the NHPC to take back the machinery which were being ferried on barges through the Brahmaputra.

There is widespread apprehension in the state that this hydel project would have a devastating impact in the downstream areas of the state. Bordoloi allayed these fears saying various precautionary measures will be in place before the project was commissioned. “There will be flood cushion as well regulated release of dam water. The government will not do anything which will hamper Assam or its people,” added the minister.

Bordoloi said, “At present, the state is facing a power deficit of 300 MW, which is likely to touch 1000 MW in another five years. Power from thermal sources is not adequate and we need to have hydro power.” He added that the government was taking the apprehensions raised by certain sections seriously. An inter-ministerial group, Central Water Commission and a Joint Steering Group are looking into various aspects of dams in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

Assam has demanded six per cent free power besides its quota of 25 per cent power generated by the project. The steering committee, which has experts drawn from various departments, is examining the issue of floods and bank erosion in case of Lower Subansiri. According to the minister, the panel will also look into sediment control. The committee has already convened two meetings.

Text 4.21 Source: The Times of India, July 22, 2011
1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words like anti-dam protest, protesters, obstructing transportation, take back the machinery - are used to describe anti-dam activists. These words reflect their antagonistic attitude towards the development project of the State. But by the use of the words “allayed these fears”, “precautionary measures”, “government was taking the apprehension” and “looking into various aspects of dams” shows that the State government is taking all the measures to offset dam impact concerns of its people.

   b. Sentence:
      Describing of anti-dam activists who are obstructing transportation of dam materials to the project site and State government taking precautionary measures against dam impact are in active sentences. The State government taking tough stand against the protesters after taking precautionary measures against dam downstream impact is the central theme of the story. The story has focused on State government taking various precautionary measures against widespread apprehension in the state about the devastating impact in the downstream areas before the project is commissioned. This is reflected by the sentences “Bordoloi allayed these fears saying various precautionary measures will be in place before the project was commissioned”, “An inter-ministerial group, Central Water Commission and a Joint Steering Group are looking into various aspects of dams in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.” And “The steering committee, which has experts drawn from various departments, is examining the issue of floods and bank erosion in the case of Lower Subansiri. According to the minister, the panel will also look into sediment control. The committee has already convened two meetings.”
c. Propositional Sequence:
1. Lower Subansiri project to be commissioned by 2014.
2. The State government’s tough stand against the protesters.
4. Expert committees to study various aspects of dam issues.

2. Rhetorical Elements:

Hyperbole:
The description of the State government taking various precautionary measures is clear. For instance, the sentences “An inter-ministerial group, Central Water Commission and a Joint Steering Group are looking into various aspects of dams in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh” and “The steering committee, which has experts drawn from various departments, is examining the issue of floods and bank erosion in the case of Lower Subansiri. According to the minister, the panel will also look into sediment control. The committee has already convened two meetings” explain very clearly the action of the State government.
Guwahati: The power corporation feels that the state has the option of increasing its share of power from the 300 MW Lower Subansiri hydroelectric project.

"At present, Assam’s share of free and allocated power from the Lower Subansiri project is about 200 MW. In fact, the state can get more power in future from the project. Negotiation between the Assam government and the Union power ministry is going on over increasing the quantum of power share for the state. We hope that it will yield some positive results," a senior NHPC official said here on Tuesday.

Of the total 300 MW of power, about 100 MW has so far been allocated for seven northeastern states. Arunachal Pradesh, where the project is being constructed, will get 12 per cent from the installed capacity. At present, Assam’s share is 1.25 per cent from 300 MW of paid power.

The Assam government has been seeking a hike in the quota of free power to six per cent. Recently, state power minister Pradip Bordoloi said Assam has been demanding an increase in the quantum of power share from the Lower Subansiri project.

With 50 per cent of the Lower Subansiri project, the biggest so far in southeast Asia, already completed, NHPC officials said the Assam government has pledged facilitating transport of turbines. The machines are currently stranded in Dhubri because of stiff opposition from anti-dam activists.

"Three turbines have already reached the construction site, but two others are still in Dhubri. The state government has assured us of facilitating safe transport of the two turbines. All the major challenges facing the project such as landslides have been taken care of. We hope to complete the project by 2014," the NHPC official said.

The Lower Subansiri project has been facing stiff opposition from anti-dam groups such as the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) on the ground that it might cause large-scale downstream impact in the form of floods and siltation. Assam is situated in the downstream area of the project.

Despite opposition, work on the project is on and over Rs 5000 crore has already been invested. The total project cost has been estimated at Rs 10,500 crore.

Allaying apprehension of any adverse downstream impact, the official said flood cushion measures would effectively take care of the problem. "During monsoon, we will lower the reservoir level to mitigate the impact of floods," the official said.

A steering committee comprising experts from the Central Water Commission, the Brahmaputra Board, IIT Roorkee, the state water resources department and NHPC has been entrusted with the task to carry out a study on the project’s downstream impact. The panel, constituted by NHPC following a request from the Assam government, will also suggest measures on mitigating downstream impact. NHPC officials said the committee has already covered 1,900 km to the confluence of the Subansiri and the Brahmaputra as part of its downstream impact study.
The Times of India, July 27, 2011
Headline: “NHPC hope pill for power-starved state”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words “hope pill, free power, has the option of increasing its share of power, all the major challenges … have been taken care, allaying apprehension, flood cushion measures, steering committee, constituted by NHPC” are used to delineate NHPC and the steps taken to counter dam anomalies. “Stiff opposition” and “protest” are the words used for KMSS.

   b. Sentence:
      The action of NHPC on the State government is positive as well as in active sentences. This is evident by the sentences “NHPC hope pile for power-starved state” and “The power corporation feels that the state has the option of increasing its share of power from the 2000 MW Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project” in the headline and lead paragraph.

      Looking into the coherence of sentences, the main focus of the story is “power”, i.e. electric power share for Assam. NHPC is reflected as hope medicine for power-starved Assam where it has a chance of getting free power share from 1.25 percent to 6 percent from the project. This means construction of this project is very important for Assam as well as for the northeast, where 1000 MW is allocated for northeast from its 2000 MW.

      After the discussion on power share the story has shifted its focus on stiff opposition by KMSS against transportation of turbines to the project site. To allay the opposition, it explained that NHPC has taken up all the challenges and measures related to this project. This is witnessed in the sentence “All the major challenges facing the project such as landslides have been taken care of”, “Allaying apprehension of any adverse downstream impact, the official said flood cushion measures would affectively take care of the problem” and “A steering committee … to carry out a study on the project’s downstream impact … constituted by NHPC”.

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The story reflects NHPC is the only hope for power-starved Assam, but KMSS is not allowing fulfilling this hope for the state by protesting against construction of Lower Subansiri project by NHPC.

c. **Proposition Sequence:**
1. NHPC says Assam to get more power share from Lower Subansiri project.
2. Assam to get power share from 1.25 percent to 6 percent from the project.
3. Assam government facilitation to transport turbines against stiff opposition from KMSS.
4. Major challenges of the project have been taken care of.
5. The project will help mitigate Assam flood problem.
6. A steering committee is constituted to study downstream impact.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**
   The story highlights the project related issues by these sentences “All the major challenges facing the project such as landslides have been taken care of”, “Allaying apprehension of any adverse downstream impact, the official said flood cushion measures would affectively take care of the problem” and “A steering committee … to carry out a study on the project’s downstream impact … constituted by NHPC”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**
   Positive action of NHPC towards the project is explained clearly and in detail throughout the story.
Guwahati: The NHPC officials have claimed that the Lower Sunbansiri hydro-electric dam has been designed to withstand any high seismic activity in the area at a time when concerns are being expressed by various organizations on the capacity of the structure to withstand earthquakes.

With the northeast being located in the seismically active zone V, concerns of a dam break has become a major issue with the anti-dam activists.

The 2,000-MW Lower Sunbansiri dam, so far the biggest hydro-project in the country, is located at Gerukamukh, which lies on the border area between Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. Senior NHPC officials on Friday said the 2,000 MW Lower Subansiri project has been designed after a detailed investigation and studies on tectonic features of the dam site.

Also, the project design has taken care of withstand impact of tremors similar to 1897 Shillong earthquake, which measured eight on the Richter Scale and 1950 Assam earthquake which measured 6.5 on Richter Scale.

“The study of site specific seismic design parameters for the project was carried out by the department of earthquake engineering (DEE) of IIT Roorkee, a premier institute with several years of expertise in the field of earthquake engineering,” a senior NHPC official explained.

Clarifying the issue of seismic vulnerability of Lower Subansiri project, NHPC officials said the dam design was based on DEE’s recommendation that suggested that the peak ground acceleration (PGA) value should be kept at 0.38g.

“The design parameter for Lower Subansiri was adopted only after DEE’s recommendation of PGA was approved by the National Committee on Seismic Design Parameters, statutory authority of the Centre,” the official said.

On the context of high-magnitude earthquakes experienced by the region in 1897 and 1950, NHPC officials said the epicenter of Shillong earthquake of 8 magnitude is located 370 km from the project site.

“According to the practice, earthquake beyond 300 km is not considered a danger. The Shillong earthquake is on a different tectonic set up in comparison to tectonic set up of the project site,” he said.

On the other hand, Assam earthquake’s epicenter is 240 km away from the project site and also lies on an entirely different tectonic set-up. Both Shillong and Assam earthquakes occurred in different seismic source zones, and is out of the seismic source zone of the project site,” the official added.

Asked about the possibility of impact due to high intensity earthquakes even if the tectonic set up was different from the project site, the NHPC said the design of the dam has been made in such a way that it can withstand all the impacts emanating from the high-intensity earthquakes.

Text 4.23 Source: The Times of India, August 6, 2011
Headline: “Lower Subansiri dam is safe from earthquakes: NHPC”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words “safe from earthquakes”, “designed to withstand”, “designed after
detail investigation” are used as words of assurance to describe the measures taken by
NHPC on the structure of the project and the words “biggest hydro-electric project” is
used to describe the importance of the project.

   b. Sentence:
      The steps taken by NHPC for dam safety from earthquake are expressed in
positive and active sentences. More information about the measures taken by NHPC
is added by the following sentences. The central theme of the story is “designed to
withstand from earthquakes”. It focuses mainly on the measures taken by NHPC for
dam safety. For instance, the sentence “the NHPC said the design of the dam has been
made in such a way that it can withstand all the impact emanating from the high-
intensity earthquakes” reflects the assurance given by NHPC on safety of dam from
earthquakes.

   c. Proposition Sequence:
      1. Lower Subansiri project designed to withstand effects in the
         seismically active zone v.
      2. Importance of the project.
      3. Designed to withstand shocks from quakes on 8.5 Richter Scale.
      4. The design carried out by IIT Roorkee.

2. Rhetorical Elements:
   Hyperbole:
      The story explained the positive action of NHPC clearly and in detail.
Akhil leads anti-dam siege of Tezpur

Over 20000 Activists Paralyze Town Seeking Immediate Halt To Transportation Of Turbines To Subansiri Dam Site

Tezpur: Over 20,000 Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) activists paralyzed this upper Assam town as it became the new venue of peasant leader Akhil Gogoi’s venue of mass protests against transportation of turbines for the Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project on Tuesday.

From Saturday to Sunday, Jogighopa in Borgaon district was the centre of KMSS’s anti-turbines transportation protest in which many of the Akhill’s supporters were injured during police baton charge.

Even blistering mid-day heat couldn’t hold back the large gathering of KMSS supporters, who crowed more than 2.5 km on foot shouting anti-dam, anti-Indian Bangla land swap agreement and implementation of Forest Rights Act slogans on Tuesday at Jeymati Pathar in Tezpur.

The rally was for submitting a memorandum to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and chief minister Tarun Gogoi through the Sonitpur deputy commissioner Tejman Chandra Sarma.

As Akhil, one of the core committee members of ‘Team Anna’, led the protest from Jeymati Pathar to deputy commissioner’s office, Tezpur residents gathered in large numbers on both sides of the roads, whispering about Akhil’s Anna way.’

In a most disciplined manner, the KMSS supporters sat on the road in from the deputy commissioner’s office, while Akhil mounted on the back of a truck to address the gathering. As the deputy commissioner came out of his office and stood in front of the protesters, Akhil said, “Respected deputy commissioner, we have come here with three demands. We have confidence in you and believe that you will do everything to meet the demands of these poor and exploited people of our state.”

The three demands were — not to allow transportation of turbines through Sonitpur district, inform Prime Minister and chief minister to scrapping the agreement on land swap with Bangladesh and implementation of Forest Rights Act within three months.

There was a large deployment of security forces, who rather in a relaxed way listened with rapt attention as Akhil spoke on these issues. Some security men even clandestinely shook hands with the KMSS general secretary.

“Our opposition to transportation of turbines is only because we do not want the Lower Subansiri project to be commissioned. These hydro-electric projects will kill our rivers that support the livelihood of so many people and in due course of time these dams will become water-bomb for people of Assam,” said Akhil, as the deputy commissioner stood in front of the sea of protestors.

“Both the Prime Minister and chief minister are interested to hand over our resources to the companies without ever considering granting people’s rights over these resources. The right to use the river has now been handed over to companies by allowing mega-dam construction in the northeast,” he added.

Amid slogans of “We will give our blood not our land” from the crowd, Akhil’s voice charged the atmosphere saying land-swap agreement between India and Bangladesh was against the Constitution and tantamount to compromising with sovereignty of the country. Akhil added that Singh and Gogoi had not discussed the land-swap deal with Bangladesh in the Parliament or in the assembly.

On the implementation of the Forest Rights Act in Sonitpur district, the KMSS has given the deputy commissioner an ultimatum of three months. “If we see that the Forest Rights Act is not implemented in Sonitpur within three months, we will hit back with a more vigorous movement,” Akhil said.

Tuesday’s protesters also comprised a large section of forest dwellers belonging to Bodo, Adivasis and other ethnic groups. The deputy commissioner said he had started the process of granting land rights under the Forest Rights Act in the district, but that had to be stopped because of a court order.

“I am eager to see that the forest dwellers are not deprived of their land rights. We had also started the process. Once the court matter is settled, we can move ahead with the process,” the deputy commissioner said.
The Times of India, September 14, 2011

Headline: “Akhil leads anti-dam siege of Tezpur”

1. **Experiential Elements:**
   
a. **Words:**
   
   “Siege, paralyzed, new venue, mass protest, protestors and shouting” are the words used to describe Akhil Gogoi and his supporters. Use of these words to describe Akhil Gogoi and his supporters reflects the violent nature about them. For instance, by the word “new venue”, it reflects that Akhil Gogoi is spreading the protest from one place to another.

b. **Sentence:**

   The action of Akhil Gogoi and his supporters is explained in active sentences. It is evident in the headline “Akhil leads anti-dam siege of Tezpur” and also in the lead paragraph. Simultaneously, this way of expression has occurred in many occasions in the story. Further looking into the sentences, intertextuality of the sentences reflects the strong agitation of Akhil Gogoi and his supporters against transportation of the turbines from Tezpur.

   Looking into the coherence of the sentences, sentences explaining actions of Akhil Gogoi and his supporter provide supporting information to the acts in the following sentences, which is called functional coherence. The focus of the story is Akhil Gogoi and his actions. It is evident in the headline “Akhil leads anti-dam siege of Tezpur”. It appears that the story tries to show Akhil Gogoi spreading the protest everywhere by affecting normal activities of people, which is evident by the sentence “Over 20,000 Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) activists paralyzed this upper Assam town as it became the new venue of peasant leader Akhil Gogoi’s venue of mass protest against transportation of turbines for the Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project on Tuesday” in the lead paragraph. But the action of police force is expressed in a less serious way. It can be witnessed by the sentence “From Saturday to Sunday, Jogighopa in Bongaigaon district was the centre of KMSS anti-turbines transportation protest in which many of the Akhil’s supporters were injured during police baton charge.” The deputy commissioner of Tezpur is reported as the one who
acknowledged and responded to KMSS. This is evident by the sentence “As the deputy commissioner came out of his office and stood in front of the protestors”.

c. **Propositional Sequence:**

The propositions expressed sequentially in the story are:

1. KMSS activists led by Akhil Gogoi paralyzed Tezpur.
2. Jogighopa, an old centre of KMSS agitation.
3. Strong agitation against anti-dam, anti-Indo-Bangla land swap agreement and implementation of forest right act are mentioned.
4. Akhil as a member of Team Anna.
5. Rally to submit memorandum to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, chief minister Tarun Gogoi.
6. Akhil’s address to Tezpur deputy commissioner.
7. Security forces relax with Akhil Gogoi.
8. Statement of Akhil Gogoi
9. Acknowledging statement of deputy commissioner to Akhil and his team.

2. **Relational Elements:**

**Euphemistic Expression:**

There is a euphemistic expression on state police forces. The sentences “the Akhil’s supporters were injured during police baton charge” and “There was a large deployment of security forces, who rather in a relaxed way listened with rapt attention as Akhil spoke on these issues. Some security men even clandestinely shook hands with the KMSS general secretary” appears to express the action of police forces in a less serious way that is friendly with agitators.

3. **Rhetorical Modality:**

**Hyperbole:**

Action of Akhil Gogoi and his supporters was explained clearly
Farmers’ body plans non-cooperation movement to stop dam construction

Text 4.25 Source: The Times of India, September 18, 2011
The Times of India, September 18, 2011

Headline: “Farmers’ body plans non-cooperation movement to stop dam construction”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
   “Non-cooperation movement, new strategy, anti-dam movement, to stop dam construction, civil disobedience, and blockade” are the words used for KMSS.

   b. Sentence:
   Action of KMSS is expressed in active sentences. For instance, a sentence in the headline “Farmers’ body plans non-cooperation movement to stop dam construction” describes the action of KMSS in active sentence. Looking into the coherence of sentences, the central theme of the story is “The Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) and its plan for non-cooperation movement”. The first sentence of the lead paragraph reflects the cause of the new strategy of movement. This is evident by the sentence “With the state resolute on facilitating construction of 2000 MW Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project at Gerukamukh on Assam –Arunachal Pradesh border,” But to a large extent, succeeding sentences provide additional information to the earlier sentences about the topic throughout the story.

   In the sentence “Akhil added that the KMSS activists have already launched blockade movement on construction materials for the project at several districts on northern bank of Brahmaputra from Saturday despite crackdown by police on the movement”, the action of police is expressed in a passive manner.

   c. Propositional Sequence:
   1. KMSS announces new strategy of anti-dam movement.
   2. KMSS general secretary addresses press conference.
   3. KMSS to persuade workers and employees of the project for non-cooperation movement.
   4. KMSS launches blockade at several districts.
   5. Anti-dam movement carried out in a scattered way.
2. **Relational Elements:**
   **Euphemistic Expression:**
   In the sentence “Akhil added that the KMSS activists have already launched blockade of movement on construction materials for the project at several districts on northern bank of Brahmaputra from Saturday despite crackdown by police on the movement”, the action of police is subdued by expressing it in a passive manner.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**
   **Hyperbole:**
   The story is clear about the KMSS’s plan of non-cooperation movement to stop construction of Lower Subansiri project.

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Text 4.26 Source: The Times of India, October 11, 2011
1. **Experiential Elements:**

   a. **Words:**

   “Dares govt, fight, will continue, firebrand RTI activist and accused the Congress government” are the words used for Akhil Gogoi. These shows the negative attitude and violent nature of Akhil Gogoi. For instance, the word “firebrand RTI activist”, reflects Akhil Gogoi as a person who is always encouraging other people to take strong political action and often causing trouble to the government.

   b. **Sentence:**

   The story tells that Akhil Gogoi is challenging the government to prove the Maoist link to his organization and accusing the government of hatching a conspiracy to derail the popular movement. Sentences expressing about Akhil Gogoi are active where Akhil Gogoi is the subject or doer of the action.

   Looking into the coherence of sentences, the story give focuses on Akhil Gogoi and Maoist link. The story talks about Akhil Gogoi defending himself against the allegation of Maoist link with KMSS made by the Congress government of Assam. This is evident by the sentence “the anti-dam crusader dared the government to prove charge on the alleged Maoist link with KMSS”. Further it also talks about the violent nature of Akhil Gogoi and KMSS. This is clear by the use of words “fight”, “firebrand RTI activist” in the lead paragraph. Interestingly, the story remains silent in the case of government.

   c. **Propositional Sequence:**

   1. Akhil Gogoi accuses government of hatching a conspiracy.
   2. Akhil Gogoi dares government to prove Maoist link.
   3. KMSS is seriously against construction of mega dams.
2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   The story remains silent about the government as to the accusation made by Akhil Gogoi, but shown as a victim. This is reflected by the sentence “Akhil Gogoi accused the Congress government of hatching a conspiracy to derail the popular movement.”

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   The story exaggerates the nature of Akhil Gogoi. This is evident by the words “fight” and “firebrand RTI activist” in the lead paragraph.
Group of ministers to hold talks with anti-dam protesters

Guwahati: Even as anti-dam protesters in the state continue to hold ground against construction of the 1,200 MW Lower Saitanini hydel project in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra in neighbouring Arunachal Pradesh, the state government formed a group of ministers (GoM) to deal with all aspects of the project, including fears of impact of the dam in the downstream areas.

Power minister Pradyut Bordoloi said here, “The group of ministers is ready to talk with the protesters but we expect a conducive atmosphere for discussions.”

The GoM, headed by Bordoloi, includes forest minister Rockybul Hussain, irrigation minister Ardhendu Dey, education minister Himanta Biswa Sarma and minister of state for water resources Rajib Lochan Pego.

The state government has already made its stand clear — construction work will not be affected under any circumstances. The GoM will only try to diffuse the situation by discussing the issue with the protesters and find a sustainable solution.

This GoM will study the project from all angles like possible impact on forest and environment, irrigation and water resources apart from how much power the state would get. The project is being implemented by the National Hydro Power Corporation (NHPC).

The protesters, who recently laid siege on a truck carrying equipment for the project at Lakhipur, are apprehensive of devastating downstream impact of the dam and are demanding the construction of the project be stopped till it is cleared by experts.

Activists of the All Assam Students Union, who are spearheading the protest along with the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), on Wednesday staged a protest against the project in North Lakhipur.

The KMSS and other organizations have also set a deadline of December 16 for the NHPC to send back the equipment it had brought up to North Lakhipur. The organizations have threatened they would start a blockade if the NHPC fails to accept their demand.

The KMSS has appealed to the people to block the passage of any construction material of the NHPC to the dam site from Friday.

Bordoloi had earlier said 4% of the project has been completed and Rs 15,000 cr has already been pumped in.
Headline: “Group of ministers to hold talks with anti-dam protesters”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
   “Continue to hold ground, protesters, siege, threatened, blockade and block” are the words used to describe the action of KMSS and AASU. It explains the negative attitude of anti-dam activists towards the development project. But many constructive vocabularies like, ‘to hold talks, to deal with all aspects, ready to talk with protesters, will the study the project from all angles’, are used. This shows that the State government is acknowledging to the cause of the protest and inviting anti-dam activists to hold talks and find out a solution to the problem.

   b. Sentence:
   There is a sentence, “construction work will not be stopped under any circumstances” in the fourth paragraph. Looking into its intertextuality, this sentence reflects that State government will not stop construction of Lower Subansiri project but solution to all the problems will be brought through discussion. The action of State government is expressed in active sentences.

Looking into the coherence of sentences, it is clearly mentioned that the state government takes concerns and apprehensions as to the impact of the dam in the downstream regions and also the benefit to the State from the project. This is explained in the sentences “Even as anti-dam protesters in the state continue to hold ground against construction of the 2000MW Lower Subansiri hydel project in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra in the neighbouring Arunachal Pradesh, the state government formed a group of ministers (GoM) to deal with all aspects of the project, including fears of impact of the dam in the downstream areas” and “This GoM will study the project from all angles like possible impact on forest and environment, irrigation and water resources apart from how much power the state would get.” “State government is soft to the hard opposition by forming GoM for discussion with anti-dam activists” is the central idea of the story. This topic and knowledge control the story. The story also reflects the stiff opposition of KMSS and AASU against the project.
c. **Propositional Sequence:**

1. Formation of Group of Ministers (GoM) to hold talk in the midst of high anti-dam protests.
2. Invitation for talk in a conducive atmosphere.
3. GoM is headed by power minister Pradyut Bordoloi.
4. State government’s stand for construction to continue.
5. GoM to study the project from all angles.
6. Activists demand stoppage construction till experts’ clearance.

2. **Rhetorical Elements:**

**Hyperbole:**

The initiative taken by the state government in forming GoM in the midst of stiff opposition from anti-dam activists is explained. It has also explained that the GoM will study the project from all angles.
Stir against Lower Subansiri intensifies

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Guwahati: Protesters opposing the construction of the 2000 MW Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project blocked the roads around Ranganadi bridge in Lakhimpur for the second consecutive day on Saturday. The protesters did not allow any transportation of construction material to the project site.

The Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), Assam Jatiyatadidi Yuva Chatra Parishad, Tekam Misning Porin Kebang, All Assam Tai Ahom Students Association and All Assam Minority Students Union launched the indefinite protest against the hydro-electric project on Friday.

The protesters shouted slogans like ‘Ei Sangram Cholise, Cholibo’ (this revolution has started and will go on) as they squatted on the Ranganadi bridge. “We are opposing the project as we have already been suffering due to the existing 405 MW Ranganadi project,” said a protester.

However, public transport vehicles and movement of essential commodities were not affected by the blockade.

“We will not allow any construction material for the construction of the Lower Subansiri project to reach its destination. This is a people’s movement and the Assam government must pay heed to the sentiments of people who are against the project,” KMSS president, Raju Bora said.

Bora said they are continuing the protest in a democratic manner and that no violence was allowed.

However, security deployment in the protest area was beefed up to pre-empt any escalation of violence.

KMSS assistant general secretary, Bedanta Laskar said, “We will give our blood, but not allow movement of construction materials. The movement against Lower Subansiri project has reached a decisive phase. Either the government has to take the construction material over our bodies or stop construction of the project.”

Tents were set up in the area so protesters could rest for sometime or spend the night. A temporary kitchen also came up to serve food and water to protesters as more people joined the protest.

The ongoing protest is the continuation of demonstration launched from November 30, which led to stopping of movement of trucks carrying equipments for the project in Lakhimpur on December 1.

Text 4.28 Source: The Times of India, December 18, 2011
The Times of India, December 18, 2011
Headline: “Stir against Lower Subansiri intensifies”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words - stir, intensifies, protesters, opposing, blocked, indefinite protest, are used to describe the action of anti-dam activists. Use of these words reflects the violent nature of anti-dam activists.

   b. Sentence:
      The negative sentence “The protesters did not allow any transportation of construction material to the project site” explains that anti-dam activists block roads from transporting construction materials and their negative attitude towards the project. Action of anti-dam activists is expressed in active sentences throughout the story. For instance, the sentence of lead paragraph “Protesters opposing the construction of the 2000MW Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project blocked the roads around Ranganadi Bridge in Lakhimpur for the second consecutive day on Saturday” shows anti-dam activists as doers of the action of blocking roads.

      Looking into the coherence of sentences, it appears that the story tries to tell that anti-dam activists are intensifying its action of indefinite agitation against transportation of dam materials.

   c. Propositional Sequence:
      1. Protesters block roads around Ranganadi Bridge in Lakhimpur.
      2. Five organizations launch indefinite protest against the Lower Subansiri project.
      3. Protesters shouting slogan saying the revolution has started and will continue.
      4. Public transport is not affected by the blockade.
      5. KMSS president urges Assam government to pay attention to the sentiments of its people.
      6. KMSS is dead against the project.
      7. Preparation for continuing the agitation.
2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   The sentence “However, public transport vehicles and movement of essential commodities were not affected by the blockade” reflects the subdued impact of the action of anti-dam activists towards public life.

3. **Rhetorical elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Intensification of the agitation is clearly explained. Apart from expressing about the agitation, the story exaggerates the action of anti-dam activists by describing the preparation for the agitation. This is evident by the sentence “Tents were set up in the area so protesters could rest for sometime or spend the night. A temporary kitchen also came up to serve food and water to protesters as more people joined the protest.”
Akhil asks assembly to take decision on dam issue

Guwahati: Ahead of the winter session of the Assam legislative assembly starting Monday, Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) general secretary Akhil Gogoi on Sunday appealed to the members of the assembly to take a decision to halt the construction work of the 2000 MW Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project.

Talking to TOI, the KMSS leader vowed to continue the blockade of the road over the Ranganadi bridge in Lakhimpur district. The blockade entered its third day on Sunday.

“The NHPC had to stop the construction work of the Lower Subansiri dam today because our protesters have blocked the movement of trucks carrying construction materials for the project. This movement by the KMSS and other organizations has been successful in creating an impact on the project. The people of the state have been opposing the project and are still against it because it is not going to do them any good,” Akhil said.

Urging the state government to listen to the voice of the people, the KMSS leader added, “The government has not come forward to discuss the issue with the protesters, which is unfortunate.”

He threatened that the blockade would go on indefinitely unless the government comes forward for talks with the protesters. “The blockade of trucks carrying construction material to the dam site will continue for an indefinite period,” said Akhil.

Thousands of protesters continued with their stir over the Ranganadi bridge for the third consecutive day.
1. **Experiential Elements:**
   a. **Words:**
      Looking into the use of words, the story consists of two types of expression about the KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi. On the one hand, it makes a formal expression which is evident by the words “Akhil asks assembly” and “Akhil Gogoi … appealed”. But on the other hand, it used the words “to continue the blockade”, “protesters”, “opposing” and “threaten” to describe KMSS and its leader Akhil Gogoi.

   b. **Sentences:**
      Action of Akhil Gogoi is expressed in negative but active sentences. This is evident from the sentences “the KMSS leader vowed to continue the blockade of the road over the Ranganadi bridge in Lakhimpur district” and “He threatened that the blockade would be go on indefinitely unless the government comes forward for talks with the protesters.” The blockade of road by KMSS in protest against construction of Lower Subansiri project is the central theme of the story. This topic and knowledge controlled the entire story till the end. Looking into the coherence of sentences, the story begins with Akhil Gogoi appealing to the assembly to take a decision to halt the project. But the story shifted its focus on the blockade of road by Akhil Gogoi and KMSS to protest against construction of Lower Subansiri project. It also focuses on Akhil Gogoi threatening the government that blockade will continue if the government does not listen to them.

   c. **Proposition Sequence:**
      1. Akhil Gogoi appeals to assembly to halt the project.
      2. Blockade of road by KMSS.
      3. Blockade to continue.
      4. Akhil Gogoi threatening the government.
2. **Relational Elements:**
   
   **Euphemistic Expression:**
   
   Looking into the euphemistic expression, the story expressed Akhil Goigoi making allegation against the State government for not coming forward for a dialogue, but it is silent on any response to the allegation from the State government.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**
   
   The action of KMSS blocking the road and the bridge and also the consequence of the blockade are described clearly.
Maoists trying to influence anti-dam protests: Assam guy

Guwahati: After chief minister Tarun Gogoi and police expressed concern over growing Maoist activity in the state, governor Janaki Ballav Patnaik on Tuesday went a step further and said they are trying to add fuel to into anti-dam movement in the state.

He added that Maoists have been functioning in the state under various overt organizations of students and tea labourers.

Addressing the delegates of the 21st DGP-IGP meet at Raj bhawan during a valedictory function, the governor asked the security heads of the northeastern states to thwart Maoists before they spread tentacles across the region.

"Maoists have silently intruded into the state. They are mostly active in Dhemaji and Tinsukia districts bordering Lower Dibang valley and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Maoists are functioning under various organizations among students, youths, tea labourers and even mega-dam resistance forums," said Patnaik.

Saying that the Maoists have established links with Manipur-based ultras and formed regional committees in parts of upper, middle and lower Assam, the governor said The Reds have targeted unemployed youths from underdeveloped areas.

"Maoists won’t take much time to spread their tentacles to the rest of the region. They are recruiting unemployed youths from areas which have been neglected by the administration and remained undeveloped. Necessary steps should also be taken to develop these areas to stop influx of youths to rebels groups," the governor added.

Besides, the governor also emphasized the need to immediately rehabilitate surrendered cadres. “Steps should be taken for their proper rehabilitation either in government jobs or in self-employment schemes. Surrendered youths should be recruited in the police department,” he added.

Meanwhile, the two-day DGP-IGP convention ended on Tuesday and decided to send the set of new resolutions to the Prime Minister for further actions.

Official sources said that the resolution mentioned strict monitoring of activities of various small groups of the region to avert any kind of Maoist movement here. TNN
Headline: “Maoists trying to influence anti-dam protests: Assam guv”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      The words - influence, add fuel, under various overt organizations, established links and spread tentacles - are used to describe the alleged link between Maoist and anti-dam activists. But formality is maintained while describing the State government. This is reflected in the use of words, “valedictory function and thwart”.

   b. Sentence:
      Sentences describing the linkage of Maoist with anti-dam activists are positive and active. For instance, the sentence “Maoists have been functioning in the State under various overt organizations of students and tea labourers” is expressed in active sentences. Looking into the coherence of sentences, linkage of Maoists and anti-dam activists is the central theme of the story. This topic and knowledge control the story. Maoists and anti-dam activists are the focus of the story. It categorically tries to represent anti-dam activists being in control of Maoists. This is evident by the sentences “He added that Maoists have been functioning in the state under various overt organizations of students and tea labourers” and “Saying that the Maoists have established links with Manipur-based ultras and formed regional committees in parts of upper, middle and lower Assam, the governor said the Reds have targeted unemployed youths and from underdeveloped areas”.

   c. Propositional Sequence:
      1. Maoists add fuel to anti-dam movement in the state.
      2. Maoists functioning under various organizations.
      3. Assam governor asks the security heads of northeastern region to prevent Maoists activities.
      4. Maoists have established links by targeting unemployed youths from underdeveloped areas.
      5. Rehabilitation for surrendered cadres.
      6. New resolutions for further actions.
2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   Since the story reflects Maoists establishing their linkage with the northeastern ultras targeting unemployed youths from underdeveloped areas, there is a euphemistic expression urging the State government to take necessary steps to develop these areas. This is evident by the sentence of governor statement “Necessary steps should also be taken to develop these areas to stop influx of youths to rebels groups”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Maoists functioning under various organizations and recruiting youths are explained here.
Police arrest anti-dam protesters in Lakhimpur

Guwahati: In a pre-dawn crackdown, police arrested several anti-dam protesters on Monday and cleared the Ranganadi bridge in Lakhimpur district which was blocked by them since December 16.

The moves comes a day after KMSS general secretary Akhil Gogoi threatened to begin an economic blockade against Arunachal Pradesh if no steps were taken by the state government to stop construction of the Lower Subansiri hydro-electric project, which, the anti-dam activists claimed, would cause large-scale damage in downstream Assam.

The agitators, comprising activists of Krishak Muktि Sangram Samiti, Assam Jatiya Parishad, Akil Manuming Po-in Kebang and many other organizations, were on an indefinite strike against the 5000-MW dam since December 16. They had been also preventing trucks carrying construction materials from reaching the project site at Gerukamukh along the Assam-Arunachal border.

Police swooped down on the demonstration site around 2 am and arrested the protesters from the spot. Though they showed some resistance initially, they relented later.

KMSS president Raju Bora and other leaders of the organizations were also picked up by police. Akhil, however, escaped the crackdown as he was not present at the spot.

The protesters alleged that police used batons against them. “They (police) beat our people and dragged elderly men and women to buses when our people were sleeping. Police also damaged our food and makeshift camps. We condemn the police brutality,” said KMSS general secretary Akhil Gogoi.

But Lakhimpur SP David Nei told TOI that police did not use batons against the agitators. “About 200 people were arrested to clear the Ranganadi bridge,” he said. Soon after the police action, anti-dam protests were reported from nearby Chawdihowa. Trucks carrying materials for the project were also attacked by the protesters.

About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air. But that did not deter the protesters. They have blocked various parts of NH 62 at Chawdihowa by putting uprooted trees.

Many public and private vehicles could not move towards Arunachal Pradesh because of the road blockade.

“So far, the situation is under control. We have deployed sufficient security forces to avoid any untoward incident,” said Nei. KMSS said it would not give up its stir against large dams despite the crackdown. The organization has called a 48-hour bandh in Lakhimpur and adjoining Dhemaji district.

“We may be evicted from Ranganadi bridge but our protest is unfolding in other parts of Lakhimpur, including Chawdihowa. We are resolute to oppose big dams even at the cost of our lives,” said KMSS assistant general secretary Bendaria Laskar. He threatened that if Assam and Arunachal Pradesh governments did not respond to their calls within 48 hours they would call an indefinite bandh. Completion of the Lower Subansiri project, dubbed the biggest hydro-power project in the country, has been delayed because of unrelenting anti-dam protests.

Frequent protests are affecting our work. Time is running out and the project cost is escalating. There is also possibility of power tariff going up because of the delay,” said an NHPC official.

The Lakhimpur district administration has clamped Section 144 under CrPC, which prohibits assembly of five or more persons in public places following outbreak of protest after police crackdown on anti-dam activists at Ranganadi.

The administration has also declared gathering of people near Ranganadi bridge as unlawful.

Text 4.31 Source: The Times of India, December 27, 2011
The Times of India, December 27, 2011

Headline: “Police arrest anti-dam protesters in Lakhimpur”

1. Experiential Elements:
   a. Words:
      “Arrest, protesters, blocked, threatened, economic blockade, stop construction, preventing trucks, indefinite strike, attacked, stone pelting and unrelenting” are the words used to describe the anti-dam activists, especially KMSS. Using of these words shows anti-dam activists as law breakers of the land. But the use of the word “Police swooped down” to the police action reflects as active in carrying out their duties promptly.

   b. Sentences:
      There are negative sentences describing the action of KMSS. This is evident by the sentences “About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air. But that did not deter the protesters.” and “Many public and private vehicles could not move towards Arunachal Pradesh because of the road blockade.” Intertextually, these sentences reflect the negative action of KMSS. The action of police arresting anti-dam protesters, not the anti-dam activists, is expressed in active sentence which is evident in the headline too “Police arrest anti-dam protesters in Lakhimpur”. Action of agitation by KMSS is also expressed in active sentences.

      As regards the coherence of sentences, the central theme of the story is “unrelenting protest by anti-dam protesters”. This topic and knowledge control the entire story. It reflects that police are force to act on anti-dam activists because of their unlawful action. This is supported by the sentence “About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air”.

      The story doesn’t want to apprehend about the downstream impact but regarded the project as very important for the country. This idea is shown in the sentences “which, the anti-dam activists claimed, would cause large-scale damage in downstream Assam” and “dubbed as the biggest hydro-power project in the country”.
c. **Propositional Sequence:**

1. Police arrest anti-dam protesters.
3. Several organizations are united against the project.
4. Pre-dawn crackdown by the police.
5. KMSS claims that police used batons.
6. Police claim that baton was not used.
7. Blockade at different parts of NH-52.
8. Police claim that the situation is under control.
9. KMSS is unrelenting in its protest.
10. Section 144 under CrPc clamped.

2. **Relational Elements:**

   **Euphemistic Expression:**

   There is a euphemistic expression on police action which is evident by the sentences “But Lakhimpur SP David Neitam told TOI that police did not use batons against the agitators” and “About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air”.

3. **Rhetorical Elements:**

   **Hyperbole:**

   Anti-dam activists are displayed as protesters and their acts of agitation are explained clearly and in detail. But the action of police is explained in a subtle manner, saying that the police are forced to act according to the situation. This is evident by the sentence “About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air.”
Analysis II
Finding and Discussion

As structuralists like Louis Althusser (1984)\textsuperscript{1} and Stuart Hall (1982)\textsuperscript{2} have asserted that individuals are constructed as bearers of position, the analysis has found that both the newspapers in the coverage of anti-dam movement has constructed and projected anti-dam activists, for instance members of Krishak Mukhti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) and All Assam Students Union (AASU), as protesters who are violent, anti-development, anti-government. For instance, by the words ‘protesters’ and ‘block on NH37’, reported on July 9, 2011 by The Telegraph, All Assam Students’ Union (ASSU), All Mising Students’ Union and Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) are projected as anti-government and anti-development, who are violent in nature even though there is no sign of demonstration and violent nature in the representation of the story. KMSS leader Akhil Gogoi is portrayed as a law breaker which is evident by the words ‘judicial custody’ in the sentence ‘after his release from judicial custody last evening’.

To some extent the affected indigenous people are afraid of raising their voices against the projects for being labeled them as Maoists. The meaning of the words “Red ripples” and “raging blue” in the headline “Red ripples down the bank of the raging blue” of The Times of India that appeared on March 12, 2011 is that the wave of Maoist activities is moving slowly to the areas where anti-dam movement is strong. Phrases like ‘closely connected with the Reds’, ‘undergone training’, ‘evidence of Maoist involvement and confessional statements of Maoist link’ explicitly shows anti-dam activists link with Maoist. Maoists are assumed as anti-state, who are violent in nature, law breakers, against the state development policies and bring destruction to the society. So the police have an obligation to act on them in order to eliminate them and their activities from the society. In this story, a social space has created where anti-dam activists, particularly Takam Mishing Porin Kebang (TMPK) a student body of Mishing tribe, are projected as Maoists and claimed that there is an evidence of their connection. The police are projected as performing their duty in order to prevent violent and anti-state activities in the society. Police arresting culprits who perform anti-state activities is the type of discourse adopted by the story.
The story supports and provides more importance to the police who are one of the controlling mechanisms of the state. This is evident by the language on the situation “The police maintained that they (anti-dam activists) were closely connected with the Reds in Orissa and that one of them had undergone arms training in a rebel camp there”. Further, the statement of police also supported this, which said, “There are evidences of Maoist involvement in these constituencies. We arrested them only after verifying all evidence. There are confessional statements from the arrested that they had Maoist links and arms training”. The story is presented in the institutional setting of police arresting culprits. The ideology and meaning behind this context is that the story want to divert the dam issues by branding anti-dam activists as Maoists and making people to pay attention to this topic.

Of the 31 articles analyzed, 25 articles structured anti-dam activists as preventing movement of turbines to the project site, threatening the State government to continue their agitation, blocking National Highways, creating problems to the State administration because of their agitation and gheraoing the office of National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) in Guwahati. This is evidence by the sentences “About 10 vehicles were also damaged in stone pelting, forcing police to fire in the air. But that did not deter the protesters” and “Many public and private vehicles could not move towards Arunachal Pradesh because of the road blockade”, reported by The Times of India of December 27, 2011. The central theme of the story is “unrelenting protest by anti-dam protesters”. It reflects that police are force to act on anti-dam activists because of their unlawful action. Thus, both the newspapers have given more emphasis to the events of action, i.e. the agitation, rather than speaking for the people and providing alternative information favouring the affected indigenous people. For instance, in one of the headlines of The Times of India which appeared on December 27, 2011 said: “Police arrest anti-dam protesters in Lakhimpur”? Here the anti-dam agitators are structured as protesters. They are arrested not as anti-dam activists but as professional protesters who shift their agitation from one place to another. In almost all the cases, both the newspapers have expressed the action of protest by ASSU and AMSU in active sentences. Looking into the coherence of the sentences of the stories reported by both the newspapers, it appears that the all stories want to tell the violent action of ASSU and AMSU. The story reported by The Times of India on July 10, 2011, reflects that the protest wave
of ASSU and AMSU hit the city though it mentioned the statement of ASSU advisor making allegation about the stand of State government on the project. The violent nature of ASSU and AMSU is clearly evident in the headline “Lower Subansiri mega dam protest wave lashes Guwahati” and also in the lead paragraph. The story reflects the so called negative action of ASSU and AMSU.

Ideology functions effectively as commonsense in this process of positioning the anti-dam activists as protesters (Althusser, 1984). Here ideology is seen as the power to signify events in a particular way (Hall, 1982). The events of anti-dam activists agitation are signified in such a way that there agitation has created problem to the general public by blocking National Highways and obstructing the State administration. The story reported by The Times of India on July 10, 2011 reflects that the social condition is that city streets remain normal without protests. People are able to move freely and do their work. But the protest brings chaos, harassments and disturbances to the people. Here the story tries to create the situation that the normal city streets of Guwahati are being hit by the wave of protest. It also created a social order where 5000 members of AASU and AMSU have thronged the road and then headed to the office of Kamrup Metro district deputy commissioner’s office to submit a memorandum. The present discourses and texts belong to the series of Guwahati city streets facing consequence of dam protest by All Assam Students Union (AASU) and All Mising Students Union (AMSU). The story provides importance to the effect of the protest. It is framed in such a way that 5000 activists from AASU and AMSU thronged the road of Guwahati city. AASU advisor Samujjal Bhattacharyya addressed the activists motivating them to raise their voices louder and slamming the chief minister Tarun Gogoi for his weakness towards the project and then headed to the deputy commissioner’s office of Kamrup Metro district to submit their memorandum. It is written in the protest script. Further it shows that they are not cooperating with the State government in bringing solution to the issues related to dams and does not provide conducive atmosphere to the invitation of the State government for talk. Rather they are adamant to continue their agitation. As a result police are forced to lathi charge and blank fire to disperse the mob and maintain law and order in the region. Action of the State and police are legitimized and naturalized in the events.
This discourse of agitation is portrayed as violence and it is consistently reported. At the same time, the discourse about the State is portrayed as having concern for its people in general. In order to naturalize, win credibility and produce consent (Hall, 1982), on the one hand, the statements made by anti-dam activists like KMSS general secretary Akhil Gogoi and AASU adviser Samujjal Bhattcharjee are reported in the discourse. The contents of their statements are about accusing the State and against the construction of dams in the region. Thus the subject is ideologically interpellated (Althusser, 1984) through the discourse in order to sustain power relations of the State. As Herbert Marcuse said this lead the society to one dimensional thought about the anti-dam activists. On the other hand, sources from the government and National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) officials are taken as reliable sources. All of their articulations are about their positive action showing deep concerns for the people in general. General public has taken this source as true. Public in general have trust on the State that it will bring welfare to the common man. This limited alternative source creates limited alternative experiences on the event and thus according to Bourdieu this is called distortion of communication (Crossley, 2004).

It is in this light that it is quite interesting to assess the role of both the newspapers in creating commonsense. In the coverage of anti-dam movement different ideologies have emerged among pressure groups, indigenous affected people, activists, and government and private companies over the construction of this dam. The government goes with its decision of constructing the dam claiming that it is a nation development project and will also bring solution to the problem of electric scarcity in the States of Assam and Manipur as well as for the nation. As Althusser (1971) had asserted media as ideological state apparatus, both the newspapers have carried the ideology of the State by giving more emphasis on development and benefit from the project by diverting the issues to safety of dams as claimed by the State. This is evidence under the headline “Dam fear psychosis must be removed, says speaker” of The Times of India which appeared on July 14, 2011. The story reflects the Lower Subansiri dam is not the problem, but the problem is with the people. People possess mental illness of ‘fear psychosis’ on the possible effect of the project. The sentence “while expressing his concern over the possible downstream impact of the Lower Subansiri hydroelectric power project” means the legislative assembly
speaker Pranab Gogoi has a deep concern for the people living in the downstream areas. By the word ‘possible’ in the above sentence, the adverse impact of the project has been mitigated. It further states that there is nothing to fear for as the dam is being built by National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC). This is reflected in the sentence “The dam is being built by NHPC” which means the work of NHPC never fails and can be trusted. The story gives more emphasis on the initiative taken by the state, providing important to them, in order to remove the fear psychosis from their mind. It tries to impose the pro-people ideology of the government on the society by stating that the state has understood the downstream impact and the project is implemented after examining its impact, after taking precautionary measures. The story has been framed in such a way that the dam is safe, built by NHPC, examined downstream impact and precautionary measures are taken. It is also scripted to assure that the government is taking initiatives to remove the fear psychosis from the minds of the people. But many studies have revealed that both the projects upon completion will have tremendous social and ecological impact in its upstream as well as downstream regions. In the upstream region, it will submerge several thousand of households and will deprive their livelihood and community as well as in the downstream region too.

Referring to Habermas’(1991)\textsuperscript{9} public sphere, media is regarded as a perfect platform of public sphere where consensus is produced through rational debate and it has two most important functional privileges: firstly, it fosters a critical rationality and secondly, it is relatively powerful by creating pressure and force for social change (Robert & Crossley, 2004).\textsuperscript{10} Looking media in this light, both the newspapers being a platform of public sphere did not provide a space for public rational debate. It provides attention to limited voices only, for instance Akhil Gogoi and ministers of the State. The focus of the coverage was not on the issues related to the impact of the projects rather on the ministers at the same time the violent action of the activists. There was no room for voice of indigenous affected people and their problems were marginalized. The phenomenologist approach also suggests that subjective experience and consciousness about an object can be obtained by positioning the subject within the periphery of the object, at the same time outside the periphery of the object. There is great possibility of bias when the subject is confined within the periphery of the object. But true consciousness is found only by bracketing subject from the object and
seeing things from the vantage point. In order to inform and educate the society while reflecting the meaning of certain incident, there should be no manipulation, distortion, construction of meaning, bias rather reflecting meaning as a mirror with free, independent, authority, rationality, impartiality, truth and consensus. Subjective interference has been shown in the coverage. The implicit meaning of proposition sequences constructed in the coverage reveals that the reasons behind the movement by Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) and All Assam Students Union (AASU) along with other NGOs are being acknowledged and responded by the state and all necessary measures are being taken as per experts’ advice. The ideological commonsense the story trying to give is that the dam is ‘safe’.

The analysis has further found that it seems difficult to separate the entity of media from politics and economy. Their dialectics reveal that they are interdependent to one another with the objective of maximizing profit by controlling according to their business values and norms. Opinion leaders, who are also called spin doctors, are the primary definers whom media turns as a reliable source of information. In the coverage, both the newspapers have given more important to the information provided by minister of power of the State and spokesperson of NHPC about allaying dam fears. These spin doctors (Street, 2001), for instance Assam power minister Prodyut Bordoloi and NHPC spokesperson, control the media products by manipulation and distortion of information and creating meaning of events. Many experts have expressed about the danger and threat the project will bring to the people but it is under-reported in the coverage. According to a technical expert committee of the Planning Commission which was set up in January 2011, the project is not scientifically and technologically viable and calls for a major overhaul in the design. There is also geological concern as the dam rest on a weak sediment foundation. But still this spin doctors asserted that the project will bring no harm to the people where as the downstream riparian people are facing the consequence already. Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) argued that the world is made to pass through the filters of media that anyone could not escape from it. Thus paying attention to spin doctors, media persuades its audience making them believe the information provided to them.

The meaning of the events is constructed by the effect of power. The power involved here is an ideological power (or symbolic power), i.e. the privilege to access
and the power to signify events in a particular way by counting them as reliable sources. The story reported by The Times of India on September 14, 2011 is represented in the state institutional domain where state ideological mechanisms like the security forces and deputy commissioner occupy more power, thus representing the dominant ideology. The deputy commissioner of Tezpur is displayed as responding to the demands of the KMSS activists. He came out of his office and addressed the crowd. Police are also shown as acting softly on KMSS activists during the agitation in front of the deputy commissioner’s office of Tezpur. This is evident by the sentences “As the deputy commissioner came out of his office and stood in front of the protestors” and “There was a large deployment of security forces, who rather in a relaxed way listened with rapt attention as Akhil spoke on these issues. Some security men even clandestinely shook hands with the KMSS general secretary”. Only the voice of Akhil Gogoi is represented in the story. The ideology behind these texts is that it makes the public feel that their town has been seized by KMSS activists.

The anti-dam movement has a series of history, but in the present case both the newspapers have selected the agitation as part of the intertextual context of anti-dam movement and produced as a whole with the help of ideological power, as if it were a comprehensive and adequate (holistic and in totality) meaning of an event which is presented in favour of dominant ideology and interest and thus sustaining power relations. Partial explanation gives the meaning of an event partially and in the intention of the producer and interpreter. Here both the newspapers did not give attention to the indigenous affected people, who are in threat of losing their social, cultural and community life.

All the articles are flooded with the myth of development. Marxists suggest that most of the time this myth is an ‘ideological truth’ of dominant groups that emerge from the materialistic ideology which can also be called ‘false truth’. The impact on downstream people as well as saving nature is de-emphasized by both the newspapers. Of the 31 articles analyzed, only 6 articles mentioned about the downstream impact on both the people and nature in general. Only one article described in detail the impact on ecology and aquatic life but de-emphasized impact.
on people. It is evident in the article: “AASU warns Dispur over Subansiri impact”, of The Telegraph which appeared on August 31, 2011. In almost all the cases more emphasis is given on development. This is what Marx and Engels (Pines, 1993) claimed ideology as ‘false consciousness.” They said that what people imagine being the case is not really the case but false or illusory belief. As such, every action is based upon thought and Marx argued that thought of the human agents are deceived by this illusory belief which brings inverted consciousness of the world (Larrain, 1994). This illusory belief has concealed the real image and this concealment serves as a veil between the subject and the object so that the subject is not able to penetrate through the veil in order to transcend and reach the object (Hall, 1982). Here the myth of development has concealed the impact on downstream people. Supporting the argument of Marx, Althusser says that ideology is a system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or social group with the dominant or ruling ideology: it is a representation of the imaginary world of the individual in relationship to the real conditions of existence (Althusser, 1984). But the truth is that the real point of the imaginary world is never reached (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). It is said that ruling ideas become ruling ideology. It doesn’t happen naturally but mediated between groups or individuals. Here the ideology of the ruling class is development and thus ideology of development has become the ruling ideology.

Further, Marx asserted that any social formation without an ideology survives hardly a year. What is the meaning of surviving here? It is growing and reproduced. Life without growth is dead. So, ideology is an essential element for institutions to survive and sustain their power relations in order to produce and reproduce more illusions. In the process of sustaining its power relations, with the function of ideology, the State government produces and reproduces such a condition suggesting that both the projects will benefit the nation.

Ideological commonsense works as a commonsense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power by producing one dimensional thought leading the world into one dimensional man (Marcus, 1964). Individuals lose their individuality and accept what is offered to them as if it is of their own desire and interest without any alternative thoughts to resist it. The individual is not conscious about his unconsciousness towards the offered things because ideological
commonsense functions as an anesthetic injected into his thought that brings unconscious of the pain he bears. This world is entirely built upon assumption and expectation. People live on imagination which leads the text producers to textualize the world in a particular way and at the same time expect the interpreter to interpret the text in a particular way (Fairclough, 2001). Seeing discourse as part of processes of social struggle ideologically within a matrix of relations of power, the present analysis is further investigated at three levels of social organization: the situational level, the institutional levels and the societal level, by looking same features of discourse at these three different perspectives (Fairclough, 2001). The role of ideology looking from the neo-Marxist perspectives in the process of producing commonsense and hegemony is explained separately at the end.

1. Features of discourse at the situational level

Representation of anti-dam activists is confined to their action of agitation against construction of dams. Discourse of anti-dam movements against construction of Lower Subansiri dam and Tipaimukh dam have historical series. But the two papers have selected and focused mostly on the negative action of anti-dam activists and are event oriented. Analysis of this discourse has found that in almost all the cases the situations are contextualized in the following ways:

- Anti-dam activists prevent movement of turbines to the project site. The vessels carrying dam machineries have been stranded on the Brahmaputra River along with the Bangladeshi sailors, who are longing to go home, for many months. Pathetic condition of the vessels is given more importance than other issues.
- Anti-dam activists threatening the state government with continued agitation.
- Anti-dam activists blocking National Highways and as a result, the common people face the consequence of the blockade. Goods and private vehicles are blocked and some of the vehicles have been destroyed by them.
- Anti-dam activists have created problems to the State administration because of their agitation. They have gathered in front of the administration’s office and shouted slogans against the State government.
Anti-dam activists gheraoed the office of National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) in Guwahati demanding a halt to the construction work of Lower Subansiri project immediately.

- Anti-dam activists asked workers of the Lower Subansiri project to leave the project site or else face goons attack.
- Anti-dam activists do not create conducive atmosphere to the invitation of the state government for discussion on dam issues.
- Anti-dam activists are adamant in their decision and they are against the construction of the dams.

2. Features of discourse at the institutional level

In almost all the cases the State is represented as having solidarity with the people of the State in general. The analysis have found that both the newspapers represented that the State government has understood the adverse dam impact as raised by various organizations and considered all the measures to mitigate the impact. Representation of the State government by both the newspapers is explained thus:

- The State government has formed a group of ministers (GoM) to deal with the issues related to dams from all angles like impact on forest and environment, irrigation and water resources, negotiation of power share for the state and fears of impact of the dams in the downstream areas.
- The state government has constituted experts groups to look into the structural and seismological aspects of the project.
- Chief minister Tarun Gogoi invites anti-dam activists to have talks about dam issues in order to bring a solution and resolve the problems. But the anti-dam activists are not responding to the invitation rather adamant in their decision to continue agitation.
- The State government has taken decision not to harm and affect the sentiment of the people by the projects at any cost. People of the state are blamed for the fears they have. It said that since the project is safe, the problem is not the project but the people. They have ‘fear psychosis.’
- Police are forced to act on the anti-dam activists to maintain law and order in the region. The action of police is legitimized.
- The voice of the opposition party is regarded as less important and thus marginalized.
- Govt. officials are the main sources of the story.

Media, as one of the social institutions, generates the integration of economics with politics. With the intention of maximizing economic gain, their contents and the meanings carried by the messages are being determined by the economic base catering to the need of the advertisers. It gives heavy doses of sex and violence contents (Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott, 1982). Thus in the present case, both the papers gave more emphasis on the violent nature and event of anti-dam activists. No space has given to the welfare of the people who will have physical, social and psychological impact by the projects. They are marginalized by both the newspapers.

3. Features of discourse at the societal level

Anti-dam activists are projected as ‘protesters’. This constructed social identity of anti-dam activists is being justified by both the newspapers by focusing on their negative action, selected limited sources as reliable and consistency in reporting about their agitations. People who are fighting at the cost of their lives because of the projects are branded as Maoists. The meaning constructed by both the newspapers about the relationship between the State government and the anti-dam activists is that, in order to bring them into the main stream, the State government has invited them for a talk in the midst of their agitation. But they did not respond to the invitation rather threatened the State government and decided to continue agitation.

Social relationship of the state government with the people projected by both the papers is a long term power relation by producing condition for existence (Hall, 1982). The State of Assam is facing perennial flood problem and power crisis since many years. It said that both the projects will control the flood problem and both Assam and Manipur states will get more share of free electricity from the projects. The Lower Subansiri project is considered as important to the nation as it is one of the national development programmes.
The solidarity claimed by the State is a general phenomenon. It is a mass mediated solidarity which is called ‘synthetic personalization’ (Fairclough, 2001). It is a pretending solidarity through media. Media has played a great role in disseminating this generalized solidarity.

**Ideological practice in the contents of anti-dam story**

Ideology is all about social determination of signifying systems (meanings) in the interest of dominant bloc and presenting the constructed meanings as commonsense. It helps in misrecognizing the real and produces (false) consciousness as its product (Bennett, 1982). In the reporting of anti-dam movements; ideology plays a very important role in signifying systems thus:

1. **Production of meaning**

   To construct this rather than the real account requires the specific choice of certain means (selection) and their articulation together through the practice of meaning production (combination) (Hall, 1982). In the present case, anti-dam activists are constructed as protesters. In the process of portraying this constructed meaning as commonsense, anti-dam activists’ actions of agitation are selected and combined and thus producing the meaning about them as violent that came onto the streets and protest against the State government over construction of big dams in the region.

2. **The politics of signification**

   It is the power to signify events in a particular way (Hall, 1982). Here the events of anti-dam activists’ agitation are signified in such a way that their agitation has created problem to the general public by blocking National Highways and obstructing the State administration. They are not cooperating with the State government in the process of bringing solution to the issues related to dams and do not provide a conducive atmosphere to the invitation of the state government for talks. Rather they decided to continue their agitation. Police are forced to lathi charge and blank fire to disperse the mob and maintain law and order in the region. Action of the State and police are legitimized in the events.
3. **Historicizing the structure**

   It is the logic of arrangement from the historical perspective (Hall, 1982). In the present case, the stories are arranged from the historical perspectives of Assam having perennial flood problem and scarcity of electric power for many years. It is arranged in such a way that the project will bring solution to these problem which the State is suffering for many years.

4. **The reality effect**

   The way discourse is organized and on which the statement in fact depends (Hall, 1982). The discourse about the anti-dam activists is organized in the way to portray them as protesters. Their action of agitation is portrayed in the way of violence and it is consistently reported in the anti-dam movements discourse. In order to naturalize and win credibility, the statements made by anti-dam activists like Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) general secretary Akhil Gogoi and All Assam Students Union (AASU) adviser Samujjal Bhattacharjee are reported in the discourse. The contents of their statements are accusing the State government and against the construction of dams in the region.

5. **Hegemony and articulation**

   It is about depending on reliable sources in order to win credibility and create consent (Hall, 1982). It is similar to the reality effect but the focus is on limited alternative sources for alternative experience on the event. In the present case, sources from the government officials are taken as reliable sources. All of their articulations are about the positive action of the State government showing deep concerns for its people in general. General public has taken this source as true and thus created consent. Public in general have trust on the state that it will bring welfare to the common man. Thus limited alternative sources create limited alternative experiences of the event.

6. **From the reflection of consensus to the production of consent**

   It is about taking the part for the whole and its legitimacy depends on that part of the truth, which is mistakes for the whole (Hall, 1982). In the present case, the role of anti-dam activists, like KMSS and AASU, preventing movement of turbines to the project site is taken as a whole about them and thus they are projected as
protesters who are violent and aggressive in nature, anti-government, anti-development and having link with Maoists.

7. **Definition of situation**

   It is about how the situation is defined (Hall, 1982). In the present case, the definition of the situation of anti-dam movement is confined to the agitating action of anti-dam activists against construction of dams in the regions. Anti-dam movement has a series of history. Only the elements of agitating action are selected, combined and produced a meaning as protesters.

**Addressing research hypotheses and research questions**

As neo-Marxists have asserted that individuals are constructed as bearers of position, the study has found that both the newspapers, in their coverage of anti-dam movement, have constructed and projected anti-dam activists as protesters. Out of 31 articles, 25 are projected the nature of anti-dam activists as violent, anti-development and anti-government and also labeled them as Maoists link. Ideology functions effectively as commonsense in this process and the events of anti-dam activists’ agitation are signified as obstructing public lives and properties and the State administration without giving cooperation with the State government in order to bring a solution to the issues related to dams. But the action of the State and police are legitimized and naturalized in the events. In relation to RQ1, the study indicates that media constructs subject position of anti-dam activists as protesters and subjecting them ideologically as commonsense to this constructed subjective position. Thus, Research Hypothesis 1 is supported. In the process of portraying this constructed meaning as commonsense, actions of anti-dam activists agitation are selected and combined to produce a meaning about them as violent as they came onto the streets and protested against the State government over construction of big dams in the region.

With regard to RQ2, the results show that all the articles are flooded with the myth of development. More emphasis is given on development and safety. Sources from the government and National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) officials are taken as reliable. All their statements are about their positive action showing deep
concerns for the people in general. The impact on downstream people as well as saving nature is de-emphasized by both the newspapers. Of the 31 articles analyzed, only 6 articles mentioned about the downstream impact on both the people and nature in general. Only one article described in detail the impact on ecology and aquatic life but de-emphasized impact on human beings. Different ideologies emerged at different time points among pressure groups, indigenous affected people, and activists. Many studies have shown that both the projects will bring tremendous social and ecological impact, but both the newspapers have carried the ideology of the State by giving more emphasis on development and benefits from the project by diverting the issues to safety of dams as claimed by different social groups. Thus supporting Research Hypothesis 2 that predicted the contents of the news stories related to public issues have less public concern. The study has found that no space has been given to talk about the welfare of the people who will suffer from the physical, social and psychological impact by the projects

With regard to RQ3, about the controls of discourse by status and power holder, the study shows that it provides attention to limited voices only, for instance Akhil Gogoi and ministers of the State. Official from the government have more privilege to access and counted them as reliable sources. In most of the cases, the focus of the coverage was not on the issues related to the impact of the projects, but rather on the ministers and at the same times, the violent action of the activists. There was no room for the voice of affected indigenous people and their problems were marginalized. Assam power minister Prodyut Bordoloi and NHPC spokesperson control the media products by manipulation and distortion of information and creating meaning of events that suit their political agenda. In the process of sustaining its power relations, with the function of ideology, the State government produces and reproduces such a condition suggesting that both the projects will benefit the nation. Thus Research Hypothesis 3 is supported that predicted power relations among State, media and public determine the representation and coverage by the media.

In relation to RQ4 about the treatment given by both the newspapers to both the power holder and powerless, the study shows that that it seems difficult to separate the entity of media from politics and economy. Both the newspapers have given more importance to the information provided by minister of power of the State
and spokesperson of NHPC about allaying dam fears. Many experts have expressed about the danger and threat the project will bring to the people but they are under-reported. According to a technical expert the project is not scientifically and technologically viable and calls for a major overhaul in the design. There is also a geological concern as the dam rests on a weak sediment foundation. But, still both the newspapers have reported that the project will bring no harm to the people as claimed by these power holders.

References


5. Ibid.


20. Ibid.


27. Ibid. pp. 72-74.

28. Ibid. pp. 74-76.

29. Ibid. pp. 79-83.


31. Ibid. p. 63.