

Resource conflict and induced displacement of Tribal communities in Kerala: State's Politics and Policy.

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Abstract

Though Kerala has been well acclaimed on its models and strategies of development, *Adivasis* and *Dalits* are being excluded from the developmental forefront since the State's inception. Over the decades the displacement has resulted in struggles among tribal people for resources of land and livelihood. Generally this phenomenon is absolute and common in North India, but it evoked a rethinking in Kerala, particularly on its 'unfulfilled land reforms'. This paper argues that the state's policy on land assignment to the tribes is not in par with the need of the settlers, but as in the form of an 'absolute stake -holder' to conserve the land and ecosystem. Here development by inclusion has been replaced by conservation by exclusion. But the government, on the contrary to the declared conservation principles has been engaged in the construction of Dams, promoting tourism and plantations. On the opposite side, tribal communities were alienated from their land on the basis of deterring land policies, which created tribal unrest. The continued threat of displacement, marginalisation and deprivation mobilised the people to campaign against the state's policy. It may be surmised that often the discontents on land and livelihood resources may pave way for an improper route to infiltrate Maoist ideological movement. This paper highlights the sustained threat of displacement of tribal communities in conservation by exclusion and the state instrumental fight against Maoist insurgency in Kerala.

Key words: Adivasis, Displacement, Conservation, Exclusion, Maoist, Kerala

Introduction

On 6th September 1949, when Gopinath Bardoloi the chairman of the subcommittee of Tribal affairs and the member of the Constituent Assembly, participated in the constitutional debate, even he had no interest to participate, and he summoned the attention of the Hon. President Dr.S.Rajendra Prasad stated that the tribes possess significant culture and civilisation and they were the original inhabitants of the land. Bardoloi again submitted his suggestion to develop these inhabitations of the entire India as Self –Governing units for their rapid and equal development(CAD1946). But unfortunately the densely populated areas having tribal hamlets were ruled directly under Governor General and after independence by the state. Ironically the tribal population became subservient to the rules and regulations prepared without addressing their state of affairs. Seventy two years since independence, it is being obviously clear to rethink the paradigmatic principles and practices of development and freedom altogether as it has failed to maintain the equilibrium of economic wellbeing and social inclusion of marginalised and most vulnerable grass –roots in the national scenario in general and Kerala in particular. In this juncture the United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous People(UNDRIP,2007) adopted in 2007 has a major significance which recognises among indigenous people's rights to self-determination, autonomy and their right against forcible displacement and relocation from their lands or territories without free ,prior and informed consent.

But in India alone, between 1951 and 1990 around 21.3 million persons were displaced by development projects. Among this number 8.54 million (40%) were tribal or indigenous people and only 2.12 million (24.8%) were resettled. (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Annual Report, 2002)

Discussing the recently published report on Tribal Health it has been estimated that about 55 per cent of the country's tribal population now resides outside their traditional habitats. The distress-driven migration of tribal population has been increasing. But in recent decades, the number of tribal farmers is coming down, and more are becoming agricultural labourers. In the past decade, 3.5 million tribals have quit farming and other related activities (MOH and Family Welfare 2018) Between 2001 and 2011 census reports, the number of tribal cultivators reduced by 10 per cent while number of agricultural labourers increased by 9 percent. There is a movement of tribal people from tribal to non-tribal areas, possibly in search of livelihood and educational opportunities. This indicates a declining return from direct farming or people simply don't have the resources to do farming. In the absence of no other alternative, they are joining the informal labour force. The report indicates "Displacement and enforced migration has also led to an increasing number of Scheduled Tribes working as contract labourers in the construction industry and as domestic workers in major cities. Currently, one of every two tribal households relies on manual labour for survival," (MOH 2018)

The life, livelihood measures and control over assets of the tribal community in the wake of displacement and relocation should be discussed meticulously as these components designed the ethnicity (unique culture and life) of the population. The transition from a welfare state to a Competitive state, it is the prime responsibility of the state to design the life of the weaker sections especially the *Adivasis*. Otherwise the 'backwardness' stipulated since the enactment of the constitution will be predominantly continuing even in the fabrication of the modern Indian society after prolonged colonisation of British. The land reform policy, educational reforms, gulf-migration and revenue from cash crops and plantations are the major pillars to uphold Kerala's Physical Quality of Life. On the contrary, the life of tribal population is not included in the widely acclaimed quality indices, at the same time their situation has not much difference from their north Indian counterparts.

Displacement and conservation

India bags the second position in tribal population content all over the world and it constitutes 8.6% of the total population. The 2011 census report records the overall tribal population in the state is 4,84,839. There are 36 tribal communities across Kerala and 'Paniya' tribes are the biggest tribes among them. The highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala is in Wayanad followed by Idukki.

The well acclaimed Kerala model development is an empty balloon as far as the total quality of life of the tribes is concerned. The Western Ghats Protection Committee had opined that "the indigenous people living in the forests of the Ghats have been deprived of their land and livelihood on various pretexts by the government and private entities and individuals leaving them destitute in their own land". Several Reasons are prevailed over to justify the above statement. At a glance of the deplorable condition of the displaced landless mass of nearly 1.5 million families which includes the

Adivasis, Dalits, fisher folks and other most backward sections, thrown in to the ghettos don't have a piece of land to bury their dead. Thus the land alienation and displacement of particularly tribals became a question of urgent remedy.

Displacement of the primitive tribal settlements of Kadar was so disappointing. Hundreds of Kadar families were displaced from the catchment of Parmbikkulam-Aliyar Hydroelectric project without their consent and compensation. Both governments of Kerala and Tamilnadu had failed to rehabilitate those displaced families. Many of them were settled in the banks of the downstream of Chalakkudy River without proper shelter. Kadar is one of the primitive communities among tribals, won't have interest to live in the fringes of the forest. They are the primitive hunter-gather tribe found in the Basin of Chalakkudy River. The British engaged the Kadars in the operation of tramway. At least 300 families were engaged in this operation. Five miles away from Parambikkulam, Kuriarkutty 250 families, Muthuvanchal 200 families, all these were displaced at the time of the agreement of Parmbikkulam-Aliyar Plan. More than 270 tribal families were evicted for lower Sholayar. The study of Jose Murickan highlights some of the displacement figures. The Idamalayar project displaced between 100 and 150 tribal families. Sixty seven percent of those displaced in the Pooyamkutty hydroelectric project were tribes. The Neriamangalam Hydrel project displaced 150 tribal families. The Periyar Tiger Reserve displaced fourteen tribal families. The rehabilitation package for these families was also denied because they had no documents for land in their possession. The Kadar tribes in the downstream of Chalakkudy River are being under threat of complete displacement for the proposed Athirappilly Hydro Electric Project. Peruvareppallam and Thoonakkadavu as well as the Peringalkuthu dam have contributed to this. The relocated tribals by themselves did not have proper shelter and land for cultivation and that was lead to serious impoverishment.

The conservation rules of Parambikulam Wildlife Sanctuary blocked the wide movements of the tribals to collect the minor forest produces (MFPs). The extensive commercialisation and commoditisation of forest by plantations those have been developed by tree felling of the natural forest have degraded the natural ecosystem and cultivation pattern of the tribals and that was ended up in abject poverty. It is strategic approach of the government to declare the neighbouring catchment areas are wild life sanctuaries for conservation. The declaration of wild life sanctuaries usually restricts the land holdings for cultivation, collection of MFPs, fishing and settling. The proposed hydroelectric and irrigation project, which will going to destroy the remaining forest and inhabitations and will displace the tribes and other communities directly depending on forests.

The issue

Extensive granite quarrying, monocropping, ecotourism, commercial forestry in the Western Ghats alienates tribal population from their land and tiny homesteads. On the opposite side governments declared the forest as national parks, virgin land and buffer zones, need to have protection and suddenly the life of forest dwellers become illegal as they did not have enough documents to prove their holdings and title deeds. So the land and life of tribe is in a paradoxical form of legal land and illegal people. This has been a common phenomenon in Kerala even after the enactment of Forest Right Act. Quite often tribes are displaced on account of lobbying of development practitioners and the inevitable necessity of conservation. Tribals have also been rendered homeless by national parks

and sanctuaries. The sociologist Walter Fernandez estimates that about 40 per cent of all those displaced by government projects are of tribal origin. Since adivasis constitute roughly 8 per cent of India's population, this means that a tribal is five times as likely as a non-tribal to be forced to sacrifice his home and hearth by the claims and demands of development and/or conservation (Guha 2010). The committees headed by Verrier Elwin, U B Debbar, and S D Sharma constituted by various governments observed that land alienation, restrictions on their use of forests resources and displacement for large projects are the major problematic situations that the tribal communities were facing throughout India. S D Sharma committee pointed out that "the tribal people are at a critical point in their history...". They were "losing command over resources at a very fast rate but are also facing social disorganisation which is unprecedented in their history"

Looking in the history of various tribal rebellions in India, it has been observed that the main reasons were land alienation and absolute poverty. Since the colonial period the state has been witnessed several tribal discontents and unrests. Commercialisation of forest land which has been prevailed even after colonisation was one of the prominent catalytic forces to migrate settlers from the midland to the plantations of Tea and cardamom hills of Idukki and Wayanad. The British policies had taken away the right of livelihood of the forest dwellers by nationalising the forest land in the period of 1865-70. More than 140 rebellions were conducted against the British rule. The British rule in India was engaged with extracting natural resources from the tribal areas and facilitated the entry of non-tribal moneylenders, traders and businessmen who in turn started exploiting the local people (Burman, 2013). An important observation is that in the post-independence, Indian legal framework for forest conservation typically carried forward the colonial legacy with little or scanty recognition of community rights. Post-colonial India has deprived the tribal communities from their forest rights mainly through three activities: bringing development projects to the tribal areas, categorizing forests under the rules for conservation and the third one is by providing license to private players to extract resources. The rights of the forest dwellers to hold the land and in terms of living freely in the forest and to collect forest produces have been scuttled substantially. The tribals have also been deprived of their forest rights due to the introduction of individual land tenureship. Since the homesteads that the tribals cultivated and lived for generations were not registered in their names individually, it allowed the non-tribal migrants from outside to take over their lands (Behra 2010)

The Hillmen act of 1964 was one of the favourable government measures to protect control over resources by tribals. But after declaring the act null and void by the High Court of Kerala, the legal right hold by the tribals on land and recourses was ended up. The highly acclaimed Forest Right Act 2006 is another important measure to safeguard eviction and resource alienation. While in principle the provisions included in the FRA look all-inclusive and give an impression of addressing the concerns of the tribals, little has been implemented on ground. After more than 10 years of the legislation of the Act, the tribals continue to live at the mercy of the state bureaucracy (Behra, 2010)

When the land reform policy of the state came in to force by 1970s, there was 7.25 lakh acres of surplus land. Tribal communities got very little or nothing in the land distribution. The successive governments put forwarded a lip sympathy to the issue and did not have a political desire to enhance land and livelihood of these highly vulnerable segments. "Between 1960-77, in Attappady,

in Palakkad district alone 10160.19 acres got alienated. Between 1977 and 1982, only 536 acres got alienated. But after 1982, 100 acres got alienated," Dr. Mathur said, quoting from the ITDP report (Mathur,2015).The study conducted by Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy of Cochin University of Science and Technology pointed to the grave implications of land alienation. The study focussed the seriousness of the situation because "land is the be all and end all" of tribal welfare (Cusat,2014). Landholding determines their access to livelihood, employment, and education and decides their standard of living. The rapid pace of land alienation shows them up as the most vulnerable of all social formations in the State, and displacement and loss of employment have ensured that tribes remained at the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder. (Cusat2014), the study also confirmed significant inter-community differences in the standard of living. In the standard of living index (SLI) category, The Kurumar community from Wayanad, for example, falls in the medium SLI category while the Kurumbar and Kattunaykars fall in the low SLI category. Majority of tribal population in waynad and Palakkad included in the critical mark of poverty

If the tribal communities will have land for proper inhabitation and cultivation, the quality of life of tribes would have been changed from the present ghettos constructed under the past one lakh housing schemes to a protected and privileged life and even homestead inhabitation. In Kerala out of nearly 4 Lakh tribal population, 90% are landless and are confined to *padis* or colonies (But government estimate is only 12, 666, life mission 2018).Thousands survive in *Juggies* and sides of the forest. The opposite side of the picture is that 58% of the revenue land in the state is under illegal occupancy by plantations and tourisms. The Rajamanikyam committee report related to the enquiry of illegal land occupancy of corporates tabled on the Kerala State Legislative Assembly has not been considered yet. Marginalized and oppressed by social and economic factors, the tribal communities have never been the real beneficiaries of the government schemes implemented to reduce landlessness among them. Instead, they have been deprived of their customary rights over their natural resources and traditional knowledge systems. In reality the government policies to enrich the life of tribals are more or less a peripheral treatment

The most significant question is that the impact of resettlement on the living standards and livelihoods of the community. There has been a significant decline in the livelihood security because the forest dwellers alienated from their resource –rich forest to a location of several socio-cultural and livelihood incompatibilities.so in short run the displacement has a negative impact on the livelihood. So rehabilitation of the indigenous people need sustained investment to a long run for rejuvenating the livelihood measures of the displaced. But unfortunately the implementing agencies are not able to perform seriously on those grounds.

Resource conflict and struggles

What should be the design of the life of tribes in the modern society? This question can be discussed within the frame of their spontaneous dependency on land and resources for livelihood, indigenous uniqueness, invasion of settlers and their demands. In addition to these factors, the choice of investment in forest to satisfy the needs of the urban dwellers, the finance capital expenditure for the development of tribes (return free investment), the market value of the land on the basis of investment can also be discussed. An indigenous ecosystem can be viewed as a platform for modern finance capital and the vulnerable inhabitants can be treated as un productive. This phenomenon is

invisible but its outputs and outcomes are visible. This is a new dimension of the theory of Gentrification coined by the British social scientist Ruth Glass on the thesis of urbanisation. The social concept of Gentrification stipulates the idea of social, economic and spatial restructuring of a city to satisfy the need of the urban elites or middle class. The practice of Gentrification usually focuses globally on urban premises while in Kerala it has an appreciable difference as it spreads across the highlands, forests, valleys, midlands, wetlands and coastal belt. Gentrification does not include the comprehensiveness of development; it is not inclusive but propounds segregation. The concept of gentrification is a newly debatable jargon in the Kerala Model Development.

Obviously the resettlement and rehabilitation policy of tribes by various governments is based on the market value of their land and livelihood. One of the good examples to justify the above statement in tribal land distribution was happened at the time Smt. Indira Gandhi government. Dhebar committee recommended restoring the entire alienated tribal land to the original owners but the state and central governments ignored that recommendation. After that Kerala government filed an affidavit to the High court of Kerala that the restoration is not possible because there would have been a rebellion between the tribes and settlers if the state would try to restore the land.

Kerala government enacted the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act (KST Act, 1975). The Act was included in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution to ensure that the Act should not be challenged in any court of law. As per the Act, all tribal lands taken by non-tribes through sale or lease or mortgage or by force after 1960 became illegal and invalid. Transfer of tribal land to non-tribes became punishable offence. However, the state government ignored the Act, and the rules for implementing the Act were formulated only after one decade in 1986 with retrospective effect from January 1982.

Under the legislation, all transactions of tribal lands from 1960 to 1982 became invalid and such lands were to be restored to the original owners. It was mandatory for tribals to give back the amount that might have been spent by occupiers for the improvement of lands or for buying land. For this, the government was supposed to give loans to tribals which they were to repay within 20 years. Though a majority of tribals did not have title deeds, the Act was applicable to only those who had land records.

Kerala government ignored the act to implement. On the basis of the PIL, the Kerala High Court in October 1993 ordered the government to implement the Act in six months. As many as 8,553 applications involving a total area of 11,000 ha were filed at state-level for restoration. The revenue divisional officers rejected about half of the applications for want of land documents to prove ownership. Only 496 were decided upon and the decision was implemented only in 100 cases. The Palakkad district authorities received 2,523 applications from Attappady. Out of these these, 2,422 were accepted. But land was restored only in 13 cases. The government stopped restoration saying that there would be conflict and violence between settlers and tribals. The court extended the last date for carrying out its order for two-and-a-half years, ending on in April 1996. The government failed to carry out the orders of the court. In August 1996, the principal secretary for development of SCs/STs filed an affidavit that there was difficulty in implementing the Act in view of the organised resistance to it from the settlers. On August 14, 1996, the court ordered that within six weeks ending

September 30 the authorities should restore the alienated land and give them to the original owners.

To meet the deadline, the government introduced a new Bill, the Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction of Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Amendment Bill, on September 23, 1996 despite widespread opposition from tribals and their supporters. The amended law legitimised all transactions of tribal lands between 1960 and 1986. This, in effect, was counter to the original intention of the restoration of alienated lands. "It's a historical injustice done to the adivasis in Kerala by the state," says P R G Mathur, former director of the Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The court viewed that the alienated wealth of the tribals were like stolen wealth. But agencies supposed to restore the wealth, calculated the market value of those resources in order to satisfy the elite settlers and land mafia. This output has led to the present unsettled land issues in Munnar, Aagaly, Nilambur and Wayanadu.

Government and private players identified infinite possibilities in ecotourism and farm tourism. It needs enormous amount of land requirements even tribal settlements and their cultivable land. This has been promoted within the vicinities of national parks and wild life sanctuaries supposed to conserve the delicate environment and wild life. Whenever they said conservation, it should need the exclusion of tribals, whenever they said development, it should not be inclusive. The Forest Development Corporations run by state governments are really investors making profit by promoting tourism, monocropping, plantations based on the slogan of conservation by exclusion. Here all employment opportunities are being occupied by local contractors.

Why do the government plan to erect waste management plant in forest? The pressure by the urban settlers to find a suitable place to manage the municipal solid waste became an unsettled problem to the governments. Definitely such proposed plant at Peringamala would alter the ecosystem and livelihood of the tribals. Waste management is gradually becoming an industry in the state and definitely it would contribute to the state's revenue. If the plant comes into a reality, it will definitely displace hundreds of tribal families.

Participatory Forest Management (PFM) and Joint Forest Management (JFM) have not been able to ensure participatory planning approach of tribal communities. The communities are being kept apart from the crucial platforms of micro level planning. On the opposite side, leading role was performed by the state forest department and NGOs.

Tribal life, its hardships and woes do not influence our day to day life. That means they are being alienated from the so called Kerala Model, which distributes the fruits of development within the four walls of the rural-urban prerogative developmental equations. Tribal land issues, alienation, displacement and rehabilitation of *adivasis* became a huddle to governments and it did not have a political or ideological disparity between the successive governments.

The tribal land struggle and insurgency

Alienation of land and displacement became an organic break of the life of tribes. Marginalized and oppressed by social and economic factors, the Adivasis have never been the real beneficiaries of the government schemes implemented to reduce landlessness among them. Instead, they have been deprived of their customary rights over their natural resources and traditional knowledge systems, leading to several struggles for land across a timeframe of several decades. Starvation death of 32 tribals in Muthanga in Waynad in 2001, Death of 14 adivasis in Aralam Farm due to basic inadequacies, malnutrition and death of 32 children reported at Attappadi, alarming rate of mothers mortality were the leading factors of the present struggles of tribes throughout Kerala. Obviously those struggles are based on the deprivation of essential land and resources to tribes. None of the major political elites came to the forefront to lead the struggles. Heros were spontaneously evolved from them and several agitations were held at the district headquarters and the state secretariat. Adivasi Gotra Maha Sabha (AGMS), the common platform was aroused as result of the continuous agitation. The *nilppusamaram* of tribal people performed in front of the state secretariat was a historical event and it gathered whole hearted support from all corners of the public and finally the Kerala State government constituted Tribal Rehabilitation and Development Mission (TRDM) under the chairman ship of the state's chief secretary. But reports have shown that this mission is also in red tape. The continuous protest and struggles of tribes put forwarded certain realities before the public domain.

The land alienation and eviction are of the consequence of encroachments, grabbing, notification for conservation, construction of Dams and the formation of private plantations. Alienation has drastically changed the organic relations of life of tribes particularly restriction on access to forest produce has increased the Adivasis' dependence on other sources of income, and has forced them to migrate to other places for work. The tribal hamlets are in the verge of continuous threat of displacement on behalf of the proposed dams and power stations. The loss of livelihood lead to malnutrition and starvation deaths.

Besides all these the dismal picture of the life in tribal hamlets, the protest and struggle for survival, prolonged deprivation etc. have lead to the formation of small struggle groups and *adivasi* right movements. The recent police action against the extremist left wings at Attappady in Waynad district of Kerala has awakened the adivasi land issues, displacement and their deprivation. This part of the paper discusses about the infiltration of Maoist groups in Kerala's tribal land and the insurgency. The Apparently Many adivasis portrayed poverty as their identity. They were sympathetically attracted or consciently trapped by the extremist left wing political ideology as they are the immediate result making organ against their vulnerability. The apathy and indifference shown by the government toward the tribal land issues is the major factor for the infiltration of extremist Maoist groups among the tribal hamlets. Another crucial factor is the State's bureaucracy has neglect of adivasis in many respects, the officials especially in health, education, revenue are failed to discharge their responsibilities and the life become more and more hard, then the Maoists are prepared to walk miles to hold meeting in hamlets, and listen sympathetically to tribal grievances. In the absence of any government support and the apathetic attitude of the various departments towards the livelihood and land of forest-dependent communities, the Maoists have found fertile ground to proliferate (Guha, 2017)

The two major mouth pieces of adivasi land struggle are AGMS and Adivasi Dalit Action Council. Consequently, their demands match those which are being advocated by the Maoist groups. Thus, if

the Maoists manage to influence the leaders and activists of the above organisations, it may be a one-point victory for them to gain access to the huge population base of the already aroused tribals. The document reveals that the Maoists had begun systematically infiltrating the tri-junction of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala from May 2012 itself. The region of Maoist concentration in Kerala is inhabited by approximately fifty tribal settlements engaged in agriculture and herding. The lack of regular intervention of various departments in the tribal sector is the primary reason for infiltration of Maoists in tribal settlements, says Edakkal Mohanan, a tribal activist and a member of a district-level Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste monitoring committee. He said that, the issue in Kerala is not just of employment or mere infra structure development but involves the people's rights and entitlements that the state has not managed to protect. It is more due to lack of governance in issues like justice in cases of land alienation and survival. Both Maoist insurgency and police action indulged the life of tribes into more and more disappointments. In this wake the Waynadu district administration has proposed a bid to undertake tribal welfare programmes of Rs.21 crores in order to wean them away from the Maoist influence. In this context the government fastens the land distribution of 3,215 landless, homeless tribal families in Wayanadu. Kerala state government decided to provide maximum support to local government institutions and other community based organisations to carry over governance surveillance. They will discuss matters of essential needs to rejuvenate the living conditions of tribes and restore land to them. Preliminary ground level discussions were commenced. This immediate attention by the government on tribal issues is very hopeful to them to continue their organic relations to their home land and livelihood.

Conclusion

Alienation and displacement have been intertwined with the life of adivasi since the colonial and modern independent India. The structural frame of the life of the tribal citizen of the republic has not been designed yet. Indeed in the long run it would be possible. But since seventy two years of Independence the eviction of the forest dwellers has been continued sequentially. In the forest, premises and in front of the local village offices the struggles, campaigns and strife lie ahead. Those movements are age old to the eviction. Each moment of their struggle is for their survival. Once the state enacted laws and later it tries to overcome it. When will it happens to consider adivasis are the true partners of development, state may have to calculate and compare the value of forest ecosystem, life, resources, and homeland and livelihood measures for a sustained ecosystem. Why shouldn't the governments provide title deeds of the cultivable land of adivasis? Why shouldn't the state allow them to manage and conserve the forest land. Finally the poor tribes demands this competitive state to manner their rights. Recently they said, they are being illtreated both by the state and insurgents. In the historic transition we may have to recollect the thanks giving letter send by the chief of the Seattle of the Duwamish Tribe to Franklin Pierce, President of the United States in response to an offer to purchase the Duwamish lands in the North East of the US, currently Washington State. There he demanded the president to ensure the remaining forest land for the peaceful life of his scattered fellow men eventhough Washington did not seriously respect his demand. But US president had taken somewhat justice to them. The tribal chieftains of Attappady, Vaithiri, Vazhachal, Idamalakkudy etc. send letters and submission to their Big Cheftains at Thiruvanamthapuram and Newdelhi, like the chieftain of Seattle. But the justice is being delayed. It is indeed the state should respect the tribes as it fellow citizen and allow them to perform a decent life.

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