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Resisting Cultural Genocide

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Abstract

This paper examines tribal unrest in central India. The paper has a limitation as it depends on the studies of other tribal scholars to present the Adivasi predicament rather than on my own ethnographic study. The author pleads that Indian society ought to adopt radical ecological democracy that nurtures tribal values. Renunciation is the key. Greed is identified as the source of the problem of ecology, and adopting a simple life-style is the way to suppress greed. Living in harmony with the nature and keeping their needs to the minimum, the Adivasi communities proclaim the message that the earth resource should not be used indiscriminately to satisfy human avarice. They register a powerful protest against a wasteful lifestyle devoid of any sense of responsibility to the world of nature. Tribal resistance in central states of India is for radical ecological democracy which is an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

Keywords

Tribals, culture, cultural genocide, land alienation,

Dalit rage brought down the Gujarat model and exposed it for what it is - a sickening upper caste pro-corporate policy framework... Discontent is simmering in tribal villages... Sometimes it bursts out in sporadic protests...the power of their anger may not be visible as those of comparatively more organized communities of the oppressed. But don't be surprised if the next big upsurge comes from within Adivasi communities. The government is playing with fire. 1-Brinda Karat.

Introduction

This paper examines tribal unrest in central India. The paper has a limitation as it depends on the studies of other tribal scholars to present the Adivasi predicament rather than on my own ethnographic study. Like all authors, I write from a particular paradigm, from where it hurts tribal communities and their environment. Hence, my thinking is influenced by my culture and the society in which I live. I recognize my perspective's limitations and strengths, and, therefore, my reflection may get particularized by its context, but it is still valid.

We Indians are being repeatedly told by every politician in our country that we have to have more growth to reduce or remove poverty. The metaphor is that the cake must get bigger for people to have a bigger share, especially the poorest. However, the real beneficiaries do not seem to be the poorest but the rich. Recently, the Indian media had been full of analysis of the benefits of 25 years of economic liberalization. Sadly, tribals, Dalits and everincreasing number of the working poor were just footnotes in the entire discourse. It is not surprising that their reactions are also becoming visible. The present model of growth is driving not just our economic paradigm but also the paradigm of how society should be. It is generating non-sustainability, inequality and deep violence within society. Our amazing pluralism of cultures is being reduced to uniformity. The dominant culture seems to be fast swallowing up the little traditions. "Social Darwinism" seems to be sweeping across the country.

¹ Brinda Karat, "After Dalit Anger, This Could Be The Next Big Upsurge," (Aug 6, 2016), available from http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/after-dalit-anger-this-could-be-the-next-big-upsurge-1441049, accessed Aug 6, 2016.

My exploration begins by recognizing that there is a deep crisis of existence in the tribal belt in spite of empowerment policies of the government. Having considered anthropological, cultural, and existential consequences on the Adivasis affected by displacement, this paper underscores reasons for tribal resistance and illustrates radical ecological democracy as an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

Land Alienation and Displacement

According to tribal theologian John Mundu, the Adivasi reality has been a saga of land alienation, exploitation, displacement, and migration.² Although Adivasi land alienation began during the medieval period and intensified during the British regime, it has aggravated since the year of independence. Furthermore, with economic liberalization of 1990s, vast industrial estates and Special Economic Zones are rising up, and with them, land sharks who gobble up land.³ The British introduced Zamindari System to collect revenue worsening the oppression of the Adivasis. Consequently, a series of Adivasi uprisings took place in the region resulting in the enforcement of two legislations for checking the land alienation of the Adivasis: Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 and Santal Pargana Tenancy Act, 1949. These are protective laws. According to these laws, the Adivasi ancestral land cannot be sold or transferred to a non-Adivasi.

Similarly, certain articles of the Indian Constitution are exclusively devoted to the cause of the tribal people: Articles 244, 244A, 275(1), 342, 338(A) and 339. These provisions aim at ensuring social, economic and political equity to tribal people. The provision of the Fifth Schedule enshrined under Article 244 of the Indian Constitution, for example, protects the interest of the Adivasis with regard to land alienation. Under this article, the

² John Mundu, "Adivasi Reality: A Saga of Displacement and Migration," in *Enigma of Tribal Life and Culture*, ed. Vincent Aind (Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2009), 47-83.

³ Vandana Shiva, *Making Peace with the Earth* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 30-82.

Governor is empowered to repeal any Act either enforced by the Parliament or the Legislative Assemblies, merely through the public notification if the Law is not suitable for the Scheduled Area to have retrospective effect. There are one hundred and twelve blocks of Jharkhand in 14 districts identified as Scheduled Areas.⁴ These have been the original home of the Adivasis down the centuries.

More recently, two more legislations have been promulgated to protect the interests of the tribal people: the Panchayat Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act 1996 and Forest Right Act 2006. As a piece of legislation, PESA makes the community-the collective-a legal entity and it confers on tribal societies who live in Scheduled Areas the right to self-governance. The Forest Right Act 2006 seeks to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded. It is clear that the prime objectives of these legislations are protection of Adivasi land, traditional self-governance and culture.

However, since the year of independence, the government adopted the Western model of industrialization and the pace of displacement escalated in central India. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act was amended in 1947 for urbanization, industrialization and development projects. The first Prime Minister of the country, Jawaharlal Nehru's policy of setting up of mega projects relating to industry, dams etc., as the temples of modern India have left tens of thousands of Adivasis displaced. Human right activist Gladson Dungdung opines that Nehru is not only the architect of modern India but also of the Adivasi misery. The Adivasi land alienation and displacement are spoken of as "sacrifice" for "national interest"

⁴ Mundu, "Adivasi Reality," 54.

⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru, *Modern Temples of India: Selected Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru at Irrigation and Power Projects*, ed. C.V.J. Sharma (Delhi: Central Board of Irrigation and Power, 1989), 40-49.

⁶ Gladson Dungdung, Whose Country Is It Anyway? Untold Stories of the Indigenous Peoples of India (Kolkata: Adivaani, 2013), 111-114

and "The Greater Common Good." Several Government owned projects like Damodar Valley Corporation, Bokaro Steel (1950), Heavy Engineering Corporation, Uranium Corporation of India Ltd. Mines, KoelKaro Project (1955), Patratu Thermal Plant (1960) and several coal mining projects began in Chotanagpur. All these projects were launched with the proclaimed aim of proper rehabilitation and compensation, but the actual performance story is quite different. According to a research, the total land acquired in the name of development project between 1951-1995 is 6,258.895 sq. km. of land out of total area of Jharkhand 79,714,000 sq. km. 8Although an official database for persons displaced or affected by projects is not available, social scientist Alex Ekka gives the figure of the displaced during this period as many as of 15,03,017, of which 41% belong to the Adivasi community. Only a third of the displaced persons of planned development have been resettled. Entire Adivasi population is under mortal threat today on account of evident land alienation and consequent displacement.

Within a decade of its creation in year 2000, Jharkhand government signed 104 Memoranda of Understandings (MoUs) with the corporate houses. Similarly, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and West Bengal signed a long series of MoUs with corporate houses. In order for the MoUs to translate into real money, tribal people needed to be moved. But, to compulsorily acquire tribal land and turn it over to private mining corporations is illegal and unconstitutional under the PESA. Hence, when the State failed to hand overpromised lands to the corporate houses, the issue of Maoism came to surface.

⁷ Arundhati Roy, *The Algebra of Infinite Justice* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002), 43-141.

⁸ Alex Ekka and Muhammed Asif, Development-Induced-Displacement and Rehabilitation in Jharkhand, 1951 to 1995: A Database on its Extent and Nature, A Research Project Supported by OXFAM India Trust (New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2000), 67; as quoted by Mundu, "Adivasi Reality," 63-65.

⁹ Dungdung, Whose Country Is It Anyway, 107.

Consequently, in 2009, the government of India announced what it called Operation Green Hunt deploying two lakh paramilitary troops across central Indian states--homeland to millions of India's tribal people and dreamland to the corporate world--against the poorest, hungriest, and most malnourished people in the world. It was called "creating a good investment climate." The government argued that development activities cannot take place in Naxal infested areas without cleansing the Maoists. The Maoists (most of them tribals) were considered to be "India's gravest internal security threat." Slain Maoists were displayed like hunters' trophies, with their wrists and ankles lashed to bamboo poles. It was declared as "war against terrorism," the CPI-Maoists.

However, in his work *Mission Saranda*, Gladson Dungdung has argued that the war is not against terrorism. It is the war against the Adivasis. He writes:

[T]his is not a war against terrorism, the so-called Naxalite insurgency by the CPI-Maoists but a war against the Adivasis. The hidden goal is to snatch their resources i.e. their lands, their forests, their water and hills... the war is actually, fundamentally, a war for control over mineral resource and that it threatens the security of all the common people in the Red Corridor and is wrecking their peaceful existence, their good governance, development and prosperity. 11

In the process, Dungdung concludes, innocent Adivasis are killed, women are sexually exploited, villagers are tortured, youth forced to migrate from their villages, children denied their right to education, development activities are blocked and the entire region

¹⁰ Arundhati Roy, "Walking with the Comrades," *Outlook*, March 29, 2010, available at http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?264738-1, accessed Oct 15, 2016; see also Shiva, *Making Peace with the Earth*, 75-82.

Gladson Dungdung, Mission Saranda: A War for Natural Resources in India (Ranchi: DeshajPrkashan, 2015),xiii; see also Centre for Science and Environment, Rich Lands, Poor People: Is 'Sustainable' Mining Possible? (Delhi: CSE, 2008).

is terrorized by both State and non-State actors. ¹²Dissent voices are curbed by both groups. Labelling all democratic movements as Naxal movement, the State suppresses them. Consequently, the Adivasis are continuing to lose their land, territory, lives, and livelihood. The Adivasis' recent history is characterized as an *Unbroken History of the Broken Promises*. ¹³It seems palpable that the sooner the weak and primitive societies are wiped aside the better for the growth.

The Expert Committee report of 2008, commissioned by the Planning Commission, concluded that development paradigm in the region has benefitted the dominant sections at the expense of the poor, causing displacement and reducing them to sub-human existence. The report also affirmed that this model of development destroyed tribal social organization, cultural identity, and resource base and generated multiple conflicts, undermining their communal solidarity, which cumulatively makes them increasingly vulnerable to exploitation. 14The Report had also talked of "increased corrupt practices of a rent seeking bureaucracy and rapacious exploitation by the contractors, middlemen, traders and the greedy sections of the larger society intent on grabbing their resources and violating their dignity."15Amartya Sen opines that this paradigm of development contradicts the idea of "development as freedom." ¹⁶Sen writes that economic "unfreedom," in the form of extreme poverty, can make a person helpless prey in the violation of other kinds of freedom.

¹² Dungdung, Mission Saranda, 110.

¹³ B.D. Sharma, *Unbroken History of Broken Promises* (Delhi: Freedom Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Government of India, "Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas," (Report of an Expert Group to the Planning Commission, 2008), 28; available from http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf, accessed Nov 1, 2016.

¹⁵ Government of India, "Development Challenges in Extremist Areas," 28.

¹⁶ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 2010), 3.

Economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom.¹⁷

It is obvious that Indian State has been promoting crony capitalism in tribal areas rather than enforcing their rights and entitlements. Scholars have, therefore, argued that Jharkhand state was created on the basis of political bargains struck between India's political elites, on the basis of opportunism and expediency, rather than long history of struggles from within the state. ¹⁸The Jharkhand government of the day is trying to amend the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act and the Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act to facilitate acquisition of agricultural lands for non-agricultural purposes like building roads and setting up power projects. ¹⁹Hence, Jharkhand tribals are fighting against these amendments for their survival.

Tribal Resistance for Survival

In their work, Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries, Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya claim that India has already been transformed "from a basket case into a powerful engine of growth." ²⁰ They are convinced that faster growth and freer markets remain the best remedy for poverty, inequality, pollution, and ill-health. For them, there is no other alternative. They challenge us endorsing the perilous illusions of competitive corporate nationalism.

¹⁷ Sen, Development as Freedom, 8.

¹⁸ Alpa Shah, In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 20.

¹⁹ UCAN News, (Sept 26, 2016), available from http://www.ucanindia.in/news/jharkhand-tribals-continue-fight-against-land-law-amendment/33035/daily, accessed Nov 4, 2016.

²⁰ JagdishBhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013), xviii.

Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze, on the other hand, present a contrasting view—that there is something defective in India's "path to development"—and a very different list of priorities in *An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions.* Acknowledging the importance of aggregate economic growth for generating public revenue, which can be used to reduce poverty, they focus on reducing inequality by redistribution and basic resource provision to create an environment for "inclusive growth." Hoping to present material for "informed and reasoned public engagement," Sen and Drèze carefully explain such issues as health care, education, corruption, growing inequality, and their suppression in India's elite-dominated public space.

Aligning himself to the flock of Bhagwati and Panagariya, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's "Gujarat development model" now threatens the whole country with greater ecological disaster and displacement. The Modi government operates shoving earplugs in its ears and, thus, refuses to hear the cry of the Adivasis. Since, the British Raj, government after government has been trying to decimate Adivasi culture, uproot it, and homogenize it into the "main stream."

Furthermore, Indian society, in general, is moving towards poverty amnesia. Firstly, with the onslaught of globalization, the tribals, Dalits and other working poor are being told that they are disposable, dispensable commodities. The slogan of Indira Gandhi "Garibi Hatao" (poverty abolition) is being changed into "Garib Hatao" (drive the poor off the land). The whole atmosphere seems to be charged with the spirit of eugenics and the philosophy of the survival of the fittest. Secondly, there seems to be a progressive eclipse of social consciousness and responsibility in the country. Our economic policies cater to the consumerist tastes and the profits and power of the privileged elite, who are also mostly policy makers. This anaesthetizing of social consciousness and

Jean Dreze& Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Dreze and Sen, An Uncertain Glory, 16.

responsibility strikes at the very root of our capacity to envision a different kind of society.

The Adivasis are, therefore, resisting cultural genocide which refers "to destruction of group identity and/or culture without killing people physically." Without their rivers, forests, and land, the Adivasi cultural practices, social systems and identity will be destroyed even if the people survive. Thus, Loha Nahi Anaj Chahiye (we want food grains not iron), Jal, Jungle aur Jamin Hamara Hai (land, forest and water belong to us), Jan Denge, Jamin Nahi Denge (we will surrender our lives but not our land) are some of the impassioned slogans raised in the area. ²⁴ In a 2009 documentary, Gaon Chhodab Nahi, directed by K.P. Sasi, a tribal song, composed by the tribal activist, Bhaghwan Maaji against bauxite mining in Kashipur in Odisha, is critical of modernist paradigms of development. The perceived enemy here is the ideology of modernity and development. ²⁵ The tribals view industrialization as a degrading force that pollutes rivers and kills fish and birds. Thus,

Felix Padel and Magdalena Krysinska-Kaluzna, "Cultural Genocide: An Appropriate Concept in Today's World?" in *The Tribal Tribune*, Vol. 4, issue 3 (April, 2012), available at http://www.etribaltribune.com/main.php?opt=article&artno=195, accessed June 12, 2016.

Dungdung, Whose Country Is It Anyway, 116.

^{25 2009} documentary, *Gaon Chhodab Nahi*, directed by K.P. Sasi: [we will not leave our village, we will not leave our forests, we will not leave our mother earth, we will not give up our fight. They built dams, drowned our villages and built factories. They cut down our forests, dug out mines, built sanctuaries. Without water, land and forest, where will we go? God of development, tell us, how do we save our lives? Dry is the Yamuna river, the Narmada river, and the Subarnarekha river. The Ganga river is a dirty drain and the Krishna river is but a black line. You may drink your Pepsi, Coco Cola and mineral water. How do we quench our thirst with such polluted waters? Were our ancestors fools that they conserved the forests, kept the land green, and made the rivers flow like honey? Your greed has charred the land and looted its greenery. The fish are dead, the birds have flown, who knows where].

they are fighting for their own survival as well as for the survival of their forests, rivers, and lands.

Similarly, the battle over the Niyamgiri mountain range in Orissa, from which the mining giant Vedanta wanted to extract bauxite, has finally been won by the Dongriya Kondh tribe, the original inheritors and stewards of the land. While the battle was still on, a member of the tribe said of their predicament:

We are used to the Indian government here. But the Vedanta government has come and devastated so many people. They won't let us live in peace. They want to take these rocks from the mountain. But if they take away these rocks, how will we survive? Because of these the rain comes. The winter comes, the wind blows, the mountain brings all the water. If they take away these rocks, we'll all die. We'll lose our soul. Niyamgiri is our soul.²⁶

This tribal cry of despair gives a glimpse of how sacred the place of nature is in tribal cosmology. It might seem awfully superstitious to the rational mind to think that rain comes from rocks. But with such a mental makeup, one can easily misread the metaphor and miss the deep causalities inscribed in this life-affirming cosmology.

To summarize, in central India, the Adivasis are resisting the total annihilation of their cultures. They are fighting against the homogenizing nature of technological culture—if we understand culture as consisting of a worldview, attitudes, values and way of life. It is a society that takes from the nature for need rather than greed.

Radical Ecological Democracy

The dominant economic development model is perilous. A business-as-usual approach resonates with the behavior of the proverbial fool, "cutting the very branch on which he sits." To me, Sri Lankan theologian Tissa Balasuriya sounds more prophetic: "If we promote the spread of deserts or the death of rivers, lakes, and

Sikaka Lodu, a member of the Dongriya Kondh tribe, says this in a 2008 film, *Mine*, on Niyamgiri, made by the Survival International.

seas we are committing suicide, or genocide, or both."²⁷We may recall the words of Rabindranath Tagore in his long-neglected essay written in 1922, "The Robbery of the Soil":

Most of us who try to deal with the problem of poverty think only of a more intensive effort of production. We forget that it brings about a greater exhaustion of material as well as of humanity. It gives to the few excessive opportunities for profit at the cost of the many. It is food which nourishes, not money; it is fullness of life which makes one happy, not fullness of purse. Multiplying material wealth alone intensifies the inequality between those who have and those who have not, and it inflicts so deep a wound on the social system that the whole body eventually bleeds to death.²⁸

Therefore, in their work, *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India*, Aseem Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari argue for a radical transformation in development policies, priorities and attitudes. They advocate practice of "radical ecological democracy" as a sustainable and equitable alternative.²⁹This framework arises from the numerous grassroots initiatives that have sprung up in India.³⁰This new paradigm affirms direct democracy, local and regional economies, cultural diversity, human well-being, and ecological resilience. Critiquing "the dominant values of competitiveness and aggression, greed and covetousness" which

²⁷ Tissa Balasuriya, *Planetary Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984), 153.

Rabindranath Tagore, *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore: A Miscellany*, ed. Sisir Kumar Das (New Delhi: SahityaAcademi, 1994), 872.

Aseem Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari, *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India* (Delhi: Penguin, 2012), 264-269.

In 2013, in Madhya Pradesh's Khandwa area, 51 people stayed immersed in water for the 14th day in what was being called a '*jalsatya-graha*' (Water Resistance). The protestors were demanding compensation and rehabilitation for villagers whose homes would be submerged under water after the state government's order of opening all the gates of the Omkareshwar dam in Madhya Pradesh.

are required by a successful industrial economy, this framework upholds values of "cooperation, compassion, integrity, simplicity, responsibility, equity and loyalty."³¹

Consumerism has struck deep into the heart of middle class India. Money is the new deity worshipped by the rich. The Indians, mostly the "convent educated" middle classes (the product of British Empire and Christian Mission) are floundering for new ideas about themselves, their freedom, and their destiny, when east and west are clashing at shopping malls. Good life is an important part of prosperity. Hence, advocacy of radical ecological democracy paradigm will face the enormous challenge of overcoming the resistance of entrenched institutions and mindsets. Acceptance of this paradigm entails the spread of the core values underlying the framework. They are basically tribal values. Adivasi society is based on collectivism, equality, autonomy, not profit ethos and indigenous democracy.³²Traditionally, they have been practicing radical ecological democracy. Their values thus stand in sharp contrast to the "pride" of the caste and "greed" of consumerism which largely determine the social oppression and economic exploitation that define the brutal reality of Indian society today. The cultivation of these values is essential if Indian society is to be renewed.

Values that are essential for our survival of life are those of caring and sharing, not domination and manipulation. The pattern of domination and exploitation can lead to the silencing of nature and to the ecological death of both the nature and humans. The new perspective affirms our inter-relatedness to one another and nature. The scale of values essential for sustaining the inter-relatedness and wholeness of creation differs from the dominant value system of modern society. These values are conservation, not consumerism; need, not greed; enabling power, not dominating power; integrity of creation, not exploitation of nature.

³¹ Shrivastava and Kothari, *Churning the Earth*, 29-30.

³² Dungdung, Whose Country Is It Anyway, 25

Through the centuries the Adivasis have developed such a traditional culture that has helped them view their life support system as a community resource inherited from their ancestors, to be judiciously used and preserved for posterity.³³ Their customary culture is community based. It has equity and conservation of the resource i.e. sustainable development and the use of the resource as its basic principles.

Conclusion

Seventy years of planned economy has not benefitted all the citizens of the country at the same level. Rather, it has elevated some to the peak of riches, and sunk others, namely, the Adivasis into the pool of poverty and misery. Industrialization is propagated as the only way to develop. The Indian State perceives development and military action as the solution to the violence. In truth, injustice, denial, dispossession, and displacement are the foundations of tribal unrest in central India.

Authentic development is about enhancing human freedoms and quality of life.³⁴ Indeed, important components of human freedom—and crucial aspects of our quality of life—are thoroughly dependent on the integrity of the environment, involving the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we consume, and the epidemiological surroundings in which we live. The capacity to live the kinds of lives we value—and have reason to value—depends, at the most primal level, on the nature and robustness of the environment. Hence, the Adivasis are battling every day to protect forests, mountains, rivers because they know that these natural resources on their turn protect the Adivasis. Maintaining rapid as well as environmentally sustainable growth remains an important and achievable goal for India. At the heart of this vision lies a profound reverence for the nature that sustains life and connects us all as living beings.

³³ Dungdung, Whose Country Is It Anyway, 25.

³⁴ Dreze and Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*, 43-44.

Now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the Indians are becoming conscious that human activity—whether economic, political or social—also has an ecological consequence. It is not just a matter of sharing the natural resources of Mother Earth; it is a matter of preserving the very environment which makes it possible for humankind to survive on this planet. If we continue to destroy the planet's atmosphere at the present rate, it will not be long before we destroy humankind itself. We are in the face of a national crisis. The solution lies not just in economic, political, or technological instruments, but, above all, in the moral and spiritual rejuvenation of the Indian society which should acknowledge its corporate responsibility for the state in which we find ourselves, and a resolution to pull back from the brink of disaster.

Indian society ought to adopt radical ecological democracy that nurtures tribal values. Renunciation is the key. Greed is identified as the source of the problem of ecology, and adopting a simple life-style is the way to suppress greed. Living in harmony with the nature and keeping their needs to the minimum, the Adivasi communities proclaim the message that the earth resource should not be used indiscriminately to satisfy human avarice. They register a powerful protest against a wasteful lifestyle devoid of any sense of responsibility to the world of nature. Tribal resistance in central states of India is for radical ecological democracy which is an alternative path to inclusive and sustainable development.

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