### **References**

## **References and Notes of Chapter I**

- 1 <a href="http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/">http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/</a> Last accessed on 14.07.2019
- 2 June, 2014. Report of the Expert Group to Review the Methodology for Measurement of Poverty. Government of India, Planning Commission. p.55 Retrieved from <a href="http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/genrep/pov\_rep0707.pdf">http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/genrep/pov\_rep0707.pdf</a>
  Last accessed on 14.07.2019
- 3 November 5, 2013. What Causes Hunger? World Food Programme <a href="https://www.wfp.org/stories/what-causes-hunger">https://www.wfp.org/stories/what-causes-hunger</a> Last accessed on 11.07.2019 4*Ibid*.

5Ibid.

- 6 Lance Brennan, 'Government Famine Relief in Bengal, 1943', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Aug., 1988), pp. 541-566
- 7 Grebmer, Von Kalus. et al. 2018 Global Hunger Index: Forced Migration and Hunger. (Dublin/Bonn: October 2018). p.13 Retrieved from <a href="https://www.globalhungerindex.org/download/all.html">https://www.globalhungerindex.org/download/all.html</a> Last accessed on 11.07.2019
- 8 November 5, 2013. *Opcit*.
- 9 2018.Global Report on Food Crises 2018. Food Security Information Network.

  pp.1,5 Retrieved from

  https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP0000069227/download/?\_ga=2.2651662

  80.697884879.1563046163-1999550707.1562826632Last accessed on 14.07.2019

  10 June 2006. Issue 2. Food Security. Policy Brief. Retrieved from

  http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/faoitaly/documents/pdf/pdf\_Food\_Securit

  y\_Cocept\_Note.pdfLast accessed on 12.07.2019

11*Ibid*.

12 1986. Poverty and Hunger Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries. The World Bank: Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

13 2008. Food Security Information for Action Practical Guides. EC - FAO Food

Security Programme Retrieved from

http://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e00.pdfLast accessed on 12.07.2019

14 Ehrenfeld, Sylvian. Goodman, Reba. (May 24, 2017). Hunger and Politics. Retrieved from <a href="https://ethicalfocus.org/hunger-and-politics/">https://ethicalfocus.org/hunger-and-politics/</a> Last accessed on 14.07.2019

15 Walton, John. Seddon, David. (1994). Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers. p. 24

16 Albala, Ken. (ed). (2015). *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Food Issues*, Thousand Oaks: Sage. p. 602

17 Thompson, E.P. (1993). *Customs in Commons: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*. New York: The New Press. p.189

18 Walt, Vivienne. (February 27, 2008). The World's Growing Food-price Crisis. *The Times*. Retrieved from

http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1717572,00.html Last accessed on 08.02.2018

19 Walthouse, Emily. (June 12, 2014). What is a Food Riot? Retrieved from <a href="https://borgenproject.org/food-riot/">https://borgenproject.org/food-riot/</a> last accessed on 17.08.2019

20 Schaeffer, Ute. (October 31, 2011). Hunger is a political problem. Retrieved from

https://www.dw.com/en/hunger-is-a-political-problem/a-15459224-0 Last accessed on 14.7.2019

- 21 Tilly, Charles, Tarrow, Sidney. (2015). *Contentious Politics* (Revised edition). New York: Oxford University Press. p.7
- 22 <a href="https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html">https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html</a>
  <a href="Last">Last</a>
  accessed on 14.07.2019
- 23 http://www.fao.org/right-to-food/en/ Last accessed on 13.07.2019
- 24 Mander, Harsh. (2012). Ash in the Belly: India's Unfinished Battle Against Hunger. Gurgaon: Penguin. p.113
- 25 Cited in Brennan, L (1984), "The development of the India Famine Codes: personalities, policies and politics", in Currey, Bruce; Hugo, Graeme (eds.), *Famine as a geographical phenomenon*, D. Reidel Publishing Company: Boston. pp. 91–110
- 26 Basu, Sibaji Pratim. Dasgupta, Geetisha. (2011). *Politics in Hunger Regime: Essays on the Right to Food in West Bengal*. London: Frontpage Publications. p.9

  27 United Nations. (1948). *Universal declaration of human rights*. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR\_Translations/eng.pdf">https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR\_Translations/eng.pdf</a>

  Last accessed on 10.05.2019
- 28 Rawls, John. (1999). *A Theory of Justice* (Revised edition). Belknap: Harvard University Press. p. 54
- 29 Ibid., p. 266
- 30 Balani, Sakshi. (December. 2013). Functioning of the Public Distribution System: An Analytical Report.

Retrieved from

https://www.prsindia.org/administrator/uploads/general/1388728622~~TPDS%20
Thematic%20Note.pdfLast accessed on 21.05.2019

- 31 Sen, Amartya. Dreze, Jean. (1999). *Hunger and Public Action*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 9
- 32 Sen, Amartya. (1984). *Resources, Values and Development*. London: Oxford, Basil Blackwell. P. 497
- 33 Sen & Dreze. Op. cit p.9
- 34 *Ibid.*, p.122
- 35 Sen, Amartya. (1981). Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation. London: Oxford University Press. p. 45
- 36 Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.p.162
- 37 Sen, Amartya. (2009). *The Idea of Justice*. Belknap Press: Harvard University Press. pp.47-8
- 38 Sen, Amartya. (1981). Opcit., p.1
- 39 Foucault, Michel. (1976) *The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1, London: Penguin. p. 140
- 40 Foucault, Michel. (2003) *Society Must Be Defended*. New York: Picador. pp. 239–64
- 41 Foucault, Michel. (1991) Discipline and Punish. New York: Vintage. P. 201
- 42 Vilcan, Tudor, Jan 12, 2015. Understanding Resilience through the Rudiments of Biopolitics. retrieved from <a href="https://www.e-ir.info/2015/01/12/understanding-resilience-through-the-rudiments-of-biopolitics/">https://www.e-ir.info/2015/01/12/understanding-resilience-through-the-rudiments-of-biopolitics/</a> Last accessed on 02.05.2019

- 43 Foucault, Michel. (1998). The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality.
- Vol.1. London: Penguin. p.141
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 139
- 45 Tripathy, Jotirmaya. Ibid.,
- 46 Grebmer, Von Kalus. et al. 2018. Opcit
- 47 Grebmer, Von Kalus. et al. 2017 Global Hunger Index: The inequalities of Hunger. (Washington, DC/ Dublin/Bonn: October 2017). p. 13 Retrieved from https://www.globalhungerindex.org/download/all.html Last accessed on 20.04.2019
- 48 Wiesmann, Dr. Dorris. et.al. "The Challenge of Hunger" Global Hunger Index: Facts, determinants, and trends. (Bonn: October 2006). P.12Retrieved from https://www.globalhungerindex.org/download/all.html Last accessed on 20.04.2019
- 49 Grebmer, 2018. *Opcit.*,

The

51

50 https://www.livemint.com/Politics/IEBWhfvkvPCaQW6xky5TjO/What-arethe-lessons-learnt-from-the-Right-to-Food-case.htmlLast accessed on 06.05.2019

is

retrieved

from

- petition http://www.righttofoodindia.org/case/petition.htmlLast accessed on 06.05.2019
- 52 Cited in Basu, DD. (2015). Introduction to Constitution of India (22nd ed.). India: Lexis Nexis. p.122
- 53 https://indiankanoon.org/doc/78536/Last accessed on 06.05.2019
- 54 All the reports were retrieved from <a href="http://www.sccommissioners.org">http://www.sccommissioners.org</a> Last accessed on 12.01.2017
- 55 Saxena, Dr. N.C. (2002). First Report of the Commissioner. p. 2

- 56 Visaria, Leela, Visaria, Parveen. (1983). Chapter V: Population (1757-1947). In Kumar, Dharma. Desai, Meghnad (Ed.). *The Cambridge Economic History of India Volume 2: c 1757-c. 1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 477
- 57 Sen, Amartya. (1983). Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 39
- 58 Cited in Ibid. p. 52
- 59 *Ibid*.
- 60 Sen, Amartya. (1981). Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation. London: Oxford University Press
- 61 Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press
- 62 Drèze, Jean. Sen, Amartya. (1989). *Hunger and Public Action*. Clarendon Press: Oxford
- 63 Sen, Amartya. (1984). Resources, Values and Development. London: Oxford, Basil Blackwell, p. 497
- 64 Chatterjee, Partha. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. Permanent Black: New Delhi. p.34
- 65 Foucault. Michel. (2009). Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78. Palgrave Macmillan: New York. p.109
- 66 Foucault, Michel. (2019). *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*. Penguin: UK
- 67 Tilly, Charles. Tarrow, Sidney. (2015). *Contentious Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press
- 68 Tilly, Charles. (2004). Social Movements, 1768-2004. London: Boulder

- 69 Drèze, Jean. (2017). Sense and Solidarity: Jholawala Economics for Everyone.
- New Delhi: Permanent Black
- 70 Mander, Harsh. (2012). Ash in the Belly: India's Unfinished Battle Against Hunger. Gurgaon: Penguin
- 71 Chakrabarty, K. Prafullakumar. (1990). *The Marginal Man: The Refugees and the Left Political Syndrome in West Bengal*. Kalyani: Lumiere books
- 72 Franda, Marcus. (1971). *Radical Politics in West Bengal*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. United States of America.
- 73 Samaddar, Ranabir. (ed.). 2018. From Popular Movements to Rebellion: The Naxalite decade. New Delhi: Social Science Press
- 74 Chatterjee, Partha. (1997). *The Present History of West Bengal: Essays in Political Criticism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- 75 Gupta, Monobina. (2010). Left Politics in Bengal: Time Travels among Bhadralok Marxists. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan
- 76 Samaddar, Ranabir. (2013). *Passive Revolution in West Bengal 1977-2011*. New Delhi: Sage Publications
- 77 Bhattacharya, Dwaipayan. (2016). *Government as Practice: Democratic Left in a Transforming India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- 78 Basu, Sibaji Pratim. Dasgupta, Geetisha. (2011). *Politics in Hunger Regime:*Essays on the Right to Food in West Bengal. London: Frontpage Publications

  79 Sinha, Chandan. (2013). *Kindling of an Insurrection: Notes from Junglemahas*.

  New Delhi: Routledge
- 80 Nag, Soumen.(2011). *Anahare Mrittyu: Amlasol theke Kathalguri* [Deaths owing to Starvation: From Amlasol to Kathalguri] . Natun Path Prakhashani: Kolkata

81 Nag, Soumen. (2016). *Dooars er Cha Abolutir Pothe?* [Is the tea of Dooars going to be obliterated?]. Jalpaiguri: Ekhon Dooars

## **Notes and References for Chapter II**

1 Grada, O Cormac. (1986). Fertility Trends, excess mortality and the Great Irish

Famine, *Demography*. Vol 23. No.4. November, 541-62

DOI Number: doi:10.2307/2061350

2 <a href="https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Famine-Irish-history">https://www.britannica.com/event/Great-Famine-Irish-history</a> Last accessed on 06.05.2019

3 Irish-Catholic Immigration to America. (n.d.). from Library of Congress retrieved from

https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/irish2.htmlLast accessed on 06.05.2019

4 Sen, Amartya. (1981). Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation. London: Oxford University Press. p. 161

5 Millar, James R. (2004). Encyclopaedia of Russian History Volume 2: A-D.

New York, USA: Macmillan Reference. p.270

6 Volakava, Elena. May 2, 2012. The Kazakh Famine of 1930-1933 and the

Politics of History in Post-Soviet Space retrieved from

https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-kazakh-famine-1930-33-and-the-politics-history-the-post-soviet-space Last accessed on 09.05.2019

7 Cited in, Snyder, Timothy. (2010). *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books. p. 22

8 Zisels, Joseph. Kharaz, Halyna. (n.d.). Will Holodomor receive the same status as the Holocaust?

Retrieved from

https://web.archive.org/web/20071201175645/http://eng.maidanua.org/node/792

Last accessed on 09.05.2019

9 Davies, R.W. WheatCroft, Stephen.G. (2010). The Years of Hunger: Soviet

Agriculture, 1931-1933. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 470-76

10 Snyder, Timothy. Opcit. p.25

11 *Ibid*., p.411

12 Golubev, Genady; Nikolai Dronin (February 2004). "Geography of Droughts

and Food Problems in Russia (1900–2000), Report No. A 0401". Center for

Environmental Systems Research, University of Kassel. p.23 Retrieved from

https://www2.cesr.de/component/easyfolderlistingpro/?view=download&format=r

aw&data=eNpFT20OwiAMvUsv4KbJ1HoYgqPbMIwSytwS492FfcRf0Nf3VY11

jR\_BBqFjZyjCQ\_CGYHj2jrUpY2bAJBQ3gqwQQnWs-

okk\_cVXBKVWbLcqUq9HKmOFUJ5mQ222t1htokgu6DSU9R3hFFwiv6hNspt0

 $\underline{1tFhcs5sE3nqhyRKe6M6ZqOsV3ESsbpQLgi0pP0XTLcXoyXYSHKk1rmOTkm}$ 

3w0g-s58rmtNDpLeleTsol-2Ze5ezvz-OIGHM Last accessed on 07.05.2019

13 Holmes, Leslie. (2009). Communism: A Very Short Introduction. New York:

Oxford University Press. p.32

14 https://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/the-female-food-riots-of-the-

american-revolution/ Last accessed on 12.01.2121

15 *Ibid*,

16 *Ibid*,

See also, Lanser, Susan S. (2003). "Eating Cake: The (Ab)uses of Marie-

Antoinette". In Goodman, Dena; Kaiser, Thomas E. (eds.). *Marie Antoinette*:

Writings on the Body of a Queen. Routledge. pp. 273–90

17 https://www.history.com/news/bread-french-revolution-marie-antoinette last

accessed on 02.02.2021

18 *Ibid*,

19 https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1822676.pdf

20 Bagal, Jogesh Chandra. ed. (1426). Bankim Rachanabali: Vol.1. Sahitya

Samsad: Kolkata. p.654

21 De, Bikramjit. (2006). Imperial Governance and the Challenges of War:

Management of Food Supplies in Bengal, 1943-1944. Studies in History. Volume

22. Issue 1.p. 1-41 DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177%2F025764300502200101">https://doi.org/10.1177%2F025764300502200101</a>

22 Bhattacharya, Sukanta. (2014). Sukanta: Sera Kabita. National Book Agency:

Kolkata.p.92

23 Basu, Sibaji Pratim. (December, 2016). The Defining Moments of Left Popular

Politics in West Bengal. *Policies and Practices 81*. Kolkata: Mahanirban Calcutta

Research Group. p.1

24Cited in *Ibid*. p.3

25*Ibid*. p.3

26 *Ibid.* p.3

27 *Ibid*. p.7

28*Ibid*.

29*Ibid*.

30 *Ibid.* p.8

31As cited in *Ibid*. p.9

32 *Ibid.* p.10

33 As cited in *Ibid*. p.11

34 Das, Prabir Kumar. (2015-2016). Evolution of Public Distribution System in India. *Vidyasagar University Journal of History*. Vol-IV, 2015-2016. pp. 117-130 retrieved from

http://inet.vidyasagar.ac.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/1858/1/9%20Evolution%20of%20Public%20Distribution%20System.pdf Last accessed on 15.07.2020 35 *Ibid.*,

36 *Ibid.*,

37*Ibid.*,

38 <a href="https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/agriculture/fifth-five-year-plans-1974-79-for-rural-development/44508">https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/agriculture/fifth-five-year-plans-1974-79-for-rural-development/44508</a> Last accessed on 22.07.2020

39 Swaminathan, Madhura. (2000). Weakening Welfare: The Public Distribution of Food in India. New Delhi: Left Word Books.

40Das, Prabir Kumar. Op. Cit

41 <a href="https://dfpd.gov.in/pds-rpds.htm">https://dfpd.gov.in/pds-rpds.htm</a> Last accessed on 22.07.2020

42*Ibid* 

43A Union Territory is a type of administrative division in the Union of India.

The union territories are federal territories and unlike states that have their own government, the union territories are governed by the central government.

 $44\ Dr\`{e}ze, Jean.\ (2017).\ Sense\ and\ Solidarity:\ Jholawala\ Economics\ for\ Everyone.$ 

Delhi: Permanent Black. p.24

45*Ibid.*, p.25

46 Article 32(1) concerned with the rights enshrined in part III of the constitution, known as "fundamental rights". Article 21 appears in part III of the constitution whereas Articles of 39(a) and 47 falls under the "Directive Principles of State Policy".

- 47<u>http://www.righttofoodcampaign.in/legal-action/-right-to-food-case</u> Last accessed on 06.05.2019
- 48 Pucl Vs. Uoi and Ors Initial Petition- Retrieved from

49 Drèze, Jean. Jaishankar, Yamini. (2005). Supreme Court Orders on Right to Food: A Tool for Action. New Delhi: Human Rights Law Network. p. 4

51 *Ibid.*, p.5

50 *Ibid*.

52 Cited in *Ibid.*, p.7

53 http://www.fao.org/3/y7352e/y7352e03.htm Last Accessed on 14.02.2021

# **References and Notes of Chapter III**

- 1 Nietzche, Friedrich. (2001). *The Gay Science: With a Prelude in German Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p. xv
- 2 Pratichi Research Team. (2005). Cooked Mid-day Meal Programme in West Bengal—A Study in Birbhum District. New Delhi
- retrieved from <a href="http://pratichi.org/sites/default/files/MDM\_Birbhum.pdf">http://pratichi.org/sites/default/files/MDM\_Birbhum.pdf</a> last accessed on 20.3.2020
- 3 Ministry of Statistic and Programme Implementation. (2007). *Perceived Adequacy of Food Consumption in Indian Households 2004-2005: NSSO 61st Round July 2004- June 2005.* Author: New Delhi p. i

retrieved from <a href="http://www.icssrdataservice.in/datarepository/index.php/catalog/3">http://www.icssrdataservice.in/datarepository/index.php/catalog/3</a> last accessed on 19.02.2019

4 Ibid., p.19

5 *Ibid.*, pp.21, 26

6 https://www.rediff.com/news/1999/oct/16dilip.htm Last accessed on 20.02.2019

7 Ghatak, Proggya. (2013). Stigmatized identity and social exclusion: A case study on Lodhas of West Bengal, *Social Action*. Vol.63. April-June, 145-154

- 8 Cited in Panda, Santanu & Guha, Abhijit. (2014). Lodhas of West Bengal: A Case Study. *The tribal tribune*.
- 9 Ghatak, Proggya. (2008). Problems of Tribal Identity: A Case Study of Savara and Lodhas of West Bengal. *The Fourth World*. No.28, (October-08),119-134 10 *Ibid*..
- 11 District Census Handbook Paschim Medinipur: Village and Town Wise Primary Census Abstract (PCA), *Census of India 2011*. p.119
- District Census Handbook Paschim Medinipur: Village and Town Wise Primary Census Abstract (PCA), *Census of India 2011*, retrieved from <a href="http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1918\_PART\_B\_DCHB\_PASCHIM%2">http://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/1918\_PART\_B\_DCHB\_PASCHIM%2</a> OMEDINIPUR.pdf

Last accessed on 20.02.2019

- 13 In India Panchayati Raj system refers to local self-government for the villages in contrast with the urban and suburban municipalities. It operates at three level; panchayat at village level, panchayat samity at block level (comprises of villages), Zila Parishad at the district level (comprises of blocks). Each level has their elected representatives. The state of West Bengal is one of the forerunners of installing a three tier Panchayati raj system for the villages. On the basis of Panchayat Act 1973, the present generation of panchayat in West Bengal incepted in 1978. However, it was formalised all over India in 1992 after 73rd constitutional amendment.
- 14 <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Hunger-pangs-gnaw-at-starved-Amlashole/articleshow/17344459.cms</u> Last accessed on 23.02.2019
- 15 West Bengal Human Development Report 2004. pp.185,216 retrieved from <a href="http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/india\_west\_bengal\_2004\_en.pdf">http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/india\_west\_bengal\_2004\_en.pdf</a> Last accessed on 20.02.2019
- 16 A kind of land deed issued by the government to an organisation or individual. This term is used in India and many other parts of South Asia for a small piece of land grated by the government with an exemption of land revenue to an approved cultivator.
- 17 The Report on Starvation deaths at Amlashole observed:
- "The Midnapore Lodha Sabar Samity's survey shows that there are 10,377 families of Lodhas in Midnapore, their total population being 46669. Of these families, 8082 are still landless. Many of the landless families do not have even homestead land. The other 2295 families have 559.54 acres in all or only 0.24 acres per family. In

the entire community, there are only 16 graduates and only 705 persons (1.5%) who have studied up to Class VIII. There are many Amlasholes inhabited by the Lodhas all over Midnapore where many families are hungry, with no ration cards, without drinking water and without medical help and schooling".

- 18 Report on the Assessment of the Impact of Developmental Programmes on the Socioeconomic Condition of the Lodha/Sabar Community of Binpur II and Nayagram Blocks of Paschim Medinipur (2005-2006). Survey sponsored by Mr. D. Nariala (IAS) District Magistrate of Paschim Mednipur, Report prepared by Abhijit Guha, Reader, Department of Anthropology, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore. See also, Panda, Santanu & Guha, Abhijit. (2014). Lodhas of West Bengal: A Case Study. The Tribal Tribune.
- 19 West Bengal Human Development Report 2004. pp.196-97 retrieved from <a href="http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/india\_west\_bengal\_2004\_en.pdf">http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/india\_west\_bengal\_2004\_en.pdf</a> Last accessed on 20.02.2019
- 20 A kind of thin or mini-cigarette stuffed with tobacco flakes and wrapped in kendu leaves. The leaf tide with adhesive or string at one end.
- 21 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 17.03.2017 22 *Ibid*.
- 23 All the orders are available at <a href="http://www.righttofoodindia.org/orders/interimorders.html#box14">http://www.righttofoodindia.org/orders/interimorders.html#box14</a> Last accessed on 28.02.2019
- 24 The income of the family is very low compared to Nadu Mura because she has no male members in her family that is why no one to cut wood.
- 25http://nregapaschimmedinipur.com/documents/Enquiry%20of%20pending%20 enquiry\_Memo%20378%20dt%2001.06.11.pdf Last accessed on 28.02.2019 26 Letter retrieved from

http://nregapaschimmedinipur.com/documents/Enquiry%20of%20pending%20en quiry\_Memo%20378%20dt%2001.06.11.pdf Last accessed on 28.02.2019

- 27 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 17.03.2017
- 28 (October 2005). Supreme Court Orders on the Right to Food: A Tool for Action. p.12
- 29 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017

30 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (2004, June 11). Anahare Mrittyute Buddher Todontadesh: Dayitto Peyeo Khoj Nenni Montri. Amlasole 30 Daktar Niye Totporota (Buddha's order to probe into the Starvation Death: Minister indifferent about the situation despite of being responsible. Prompt initiatives at Amlasole with 30 Doctors). *Anandabazar Patrika*, p.1.

- 31 *Ibid*.
- 32 *Ibid*.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34*Ibid*.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid*.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 The document was shown by Bedni Sabbar.
- 39 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017
- 40 In one of the chapters of his book the erstwhile district magistrate Mr. Chandan Sinha claimed that before the death Nathu Sabar was in intoxication his dead body was found on a nearby hill.

Sinha, Chandan. (2013). *Kindling of an Insurrection: Notes from Jungle Mahals.*New Delhi: Routledge. Chapter 4

- 41 The document is shown by Sanatan Sabbar
- 42 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017
- 43 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (2004, June 11). Anahare Mrittyute Buddher Todontadesh: Dayitto Peyeo Khoj Nenni Montri. Amlasole 30 Daktar Niye Totporota (Buddha's order to probe into the Starvation Death: Minister indifferent about the situation despite of being responsible. Prompt initiatives at Amlasole with
- 30 Doctors). Anandabazar Patrika, p.6.
- 44 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017
- 45 The documents are shown by Radhu Sabbar.
- 46 The present scholar is indebted to Ms. Anuradha Talwar for providing the report.
- 47 Right to Food and Work West Bengal Network. (2004). *Reports on starvation deaths at Amlasol*. Author: Kolkata
- 48 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017
- 49 *Ibid*.
- 50 *Ibid*.

- 51 Interview conducted by the present scholar on 13.05.2017
- 52 Rubin, Olivier. Op. Cit
- 53 *Ibid*.
- 54 *Ibid*.
- 55 Rubin, Olivier. (2011). The Politics of Starvation Deaths in West Bengal: Evidence from the Village of Amlashol. *Journal of South Asian Development*, 6(1), 43-65. https://doi.org/10.1177/097317411100600103
- 56 Kumar, Girish. (2006). *Local Democracy in India: Interpreting Decentralization*. London: Sage Publications. p.66
- 57 Mukherjee, Sanjeeb. (2007). The Use and Abuse of Democracy in West Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(44), 101-108. Retrieved August 4, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/40276752
- 58 Rubin, Olivier. Op.cit.
- 59 Samaddar, Ranabir. (2016). *Neo-Liberal Strategies of Governing India*: New York. Routledge
- 60 Bhattacharyya, Dwaipayan. 2006. 'Writers' Building and the Reality of Decentralized Rural Power', in Jayal, Niraja Gopal. Prakash, Amit and Sharma, Pradeep. (eds), *Local Governance in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 97–125.
- 61 Rubin, Olivier. Op.cit.
- 62 Rubin, Olivier. Op.cit.
- 63 Bhattacharyya, Dwaipayan. Op.cit.
- 64 Devereux. Stephen. (ed). (2007). *The New famines: Why Famines Persist in an Era of Globalization*. Abingdon Oxon. Routledge. p.7
- 65 Khera, Reetika. (2008). Starvation Deaths and 'Primitive Tribal Groups'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(52), 11-14. Retrieved August 8, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/40278326
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Rawls, John. (1999). *A Theory of Justice* (Revised edition). Belknap: Harvard University Press. p. 266
- 68 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (June 13, 2004). 'Tumi ki grame aso j chibo':
- Montri Maheswar k Amlasol janalo, khabar nei, khabar dao. *Anandabazar Patrika*. p.1
- 69 June 13, 2004. Montrike ghire dhore bikkhov dekhalen Amlasoler basindara (The Villagers of Amlasol gather around the Minister to agitate). *Bartaman*. p.3 70 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (June 13, 2004). *Op.cit*.

- 71 *Ibid*.
- 72 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (June 13, 2004). Op.cit.
- 73 June 12, 2004. Amlasole anaharer poristhiti manlen Buddha (Buddhadeb admits Amlasole Hunger Mess). *Anandabazar Patrika*. p.1
- 74 Gupta, Kingshuk. Ghosh, Sunanda. (June 11, 2004). Anahare Mrittyute Buddher Todontadesh: Dayitto Peyeo Khoj Nenni Montri. Amlasole 30 Daktar Niye Totporota (Buddha's order to probe into the Starvation Death: Minister indifferent about the situation despite of being responsible. Prompt initiatives at Amlasole with 30 Doctors). *Anandabazar Patrika*, p.1
- 75 Sen, Alok. et al. (June 12, 2004). Montri bollen, Belpaharite mrittyu anahare noy: Dristi akorshoner jonnoi bolechilam! Kailash Mura. (No one died due to starvation in Belpahari said minister: My comment was only to draw attention! Kailash Mura). *Ajkal*
- 76 Banerjee, Nirmalya. (Jul 8, 2004). Five starvation deaths in Bengal town. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Five-starvation-deaths-in-Bengal-town/articleshow/771249.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Five-starvation-deaths-in-Bengal-town/articleshow/771249.cms</a>
- 77 June 11, 2004. CM admits Midnapore hunger mess. *The Times of India*. p.4 78 *Ibid*.
- 79 Mander, Harsh. (2012). *Ash in the Belly: India's Unfinished Battle with Hunger*. India: Penguin. p.167
- 80 (June 17,2004). Opp rushes relief to Starving Amlasol. *The Times of India*. P.6 81 Banerjee, Nirmalya. (June 17, 2004). Trinamul to help improve Amlasole situation. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Trinamul-to-help-improve-Amlasole-situation/articleshow/744023.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Trinamul-to-help-improve-Amlasole-situation/articleshow/744023.cms</a> Last accessed on 22.03.2019
- 82 http://www.wbprd.nic.in/HtmlPage/bpl.aspx Last accessed on 22.03.2019
- 83 (June 14, 2004). Amlasole anahar niye andolone Mamata (Mamata to launch movement against starvation at Amlasol). *Anandabazar Patrika*. P.6 84 *Ibid*.
- 85 *Ibid*.

86 (June 17, 2004). BDO ke na peye Jharkhandi der bikkhov amlasole: Trinamooler tran (In the absence of the BDO, the Jharkhandis agitate in Amlasol: Trinamool's relief work). *Ajkal*. p.3

87 House Furore on Amlashol. (June 30th, 2004). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/house-furore-on-amlashol/cid/735919">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/house-furore-on-amlashol/cid/735919</a> Last accessed on 22.03.2019

88 Banerjee, Nirmalya. (July 6, 2004). One-fourth of people in WB don't have enough food to eat. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/One-fourth-of-people-in-WB-dont-have-enough-to-eat/articleshow/767512.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/One-fourth-of-people-in-WB-dont-have-enough-to-eat/articleshow/767512.cms</a>? Last accessed on 22.03.2019 89 *Ibid*.

90 Ibid.

91 Dutta, Koushik. June 23, 2004. Belpaharir jongol elaka dirghodin dhore bonchito, tobe ekhoni kichu somossa metate totpor proshason (Belpahari forest area deprived for long, but now the administration is busy to show their promptness in solving the problems). *Bartaman.* p.3

92 June 17, 2004. BDO ke na peye Jharkhandi der bikkhov amlasole: Trinamooler tran (In the absence of the BDO, the Jharkhandis agitate in Amlasol: Trinamool's relief work). *Ajkal*. p.3

93 (June 17,2004). The Times of India. Op.cit.

94 Sen, Alok. et al. (June 12, 2004). Op.cit.

95 June 16, 2004. E rajjye CPI (M) er sontras khotiye dekhte todonto dol pathacche BJP (BJP is sending investigation team to investigate the terror unleashed by CPM). *Ajkal.* p.7

96 Gupta, Kingshuk. (June 26, 2004). Amlasole traner alo, Adure Avaber Andhokar. (Relief works illuminate Amlasole, Pitch Darkness in the Adjacent Areas). *Anandabazar Patrika*. p.1

97 *Ibid*.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 A katha is a unit of area mostly used for land measure in Eastern part of India, Nepal, and Bangladesh. In West Bengal 1 katha is equal to 720 ft<sup>2</sup>.

102 Ghosh, Suman. (June 28, 2004). Khabarer Khonje Aatmashi Ghor Chara. (Away from Home for Eight Months, in Search of Food). *Bartaman*. p.1

#### **References and Notes of Chapter IV**

1 Debnath, Sailen. (2010). *The Dooars in Historical Transition*. Guwahati: N.L Publishers. p.V

Retrieved from

http://14.139.206.50:8080/jspui/bitstream/1/885/1/THE%20DOOARS%20IN%20
HISTORICAL%20TRANSITION.pdf Last accessed on 27.05.2019

- 2 http://coochbehar.nic.in/htmfiles/dooars.html Last accessed on 27.05.2019
- 3 Gokhale, Nitin Anant. (1998). *The Hot Brew: The Assam Tea Industry's most turbulent decade*, 1987-1997. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p. 82-7
- 4 Ananthanarayanan, Sriram. (May 05, 2008). Long disenfranchised and struggling for ST status. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.indiatogether.org/assamadi-society">http://www.indiatogether.org/assamadi-society</a> Last accessed on 30.05.2018
- 5 Sarkar, Shyamal Chandra. (August 2013). The Condition of the Tea Garden Workers of Jalpaiguri District in Colonial India. *International Journal of Advance Research*. 1(2). pp. 14-25 retrieved from <a href="http://www.ijoar.org/journals/IJOARHS/papers/THE-CONDITION-OF-TEA-GARDEN-WORKERS-OF-JALPAIGURI-DISTRICT-IN-COLONIAL-">http://www.ijoar.org/journals/IJOARHS/papers/THE-CONDITION-OF-TEA-GARDEN-WORKERS-OF-JALPAIGURI-DISTRICT-IN-COLONIAL-</a>

INDIA.pdf Last accessed on 30.05.2019

6 Paul, Kartick Chandra. (August, 2018). Case Analysis II: Closed Tea Estates—A Case Study of the Dooars Region of West Bengal, India. *Vision: The Journal of Business Perspective*. 22(3) 337–338

Last

7 Roy, Nirmal Chandra, Biswas Debasish. (Jul 30, 2018). Closed Tea Estates: A Case Study of the Dooars Region of West Bengal, India. *Vision: The Journal of Business Perspective*.22(3) 329–334

8Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 *Ibid*.

11*Ibid*.

12 West Bengal Advisor to the Commissioner of the Supreme Court. (January, 2004). *Report on Hunger in Tea Plantations in North Bengal.* p.3

Retrieved from

 $\underline{https://www.epfindia.gov.in/site\_docs/PDFs/Downloads\_PDFs/EPFAct1952.pdf}$ 

Last accessed on 05.07.2019

14 Prasanneswari. (June, 1984). Industrial Relation in Tea Plantations: The Dooars Scene. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16-23

15 Talwar, Anuradha. Chakraborty, Debashish. Biswas, Sharmishtha. (September,2005). Study on Closed and Re-opened Tea Gardens in North Bengal.p.5

16 *Ibid*. p.5

17 *Ibid*.

18 Data retrieved from

http://www.teaboard.gov.in/pdf/Tea\_Statistics\_2003\_04\_pdf321.pdf

accessed on 04.07.2019

19 Bhowmik, Shairit. Tea Plantation Workers' Strike: Workers Lose Out on Wages. *Economic and Political Weekly*.2005, September 17.p.4103

20 Study on Closed and Re-opened Tea Gardens in North Bengal. September, 2005.p.4

- 21 It should be mentioned in this context that our archival and field study suggests that even before the closure of the gardens there was improper implementation of the PLA norms across the gardens. The workers' families used to live in unhealthy conditions with inadequate tube-wells in the labour lines. There were no occupational safety measures or proper medical facilities at the gardens even before their closure, besides, proper sanitation, latrines and urinals, creches were also not provided in the garden.
- 22 The big trees in the gardens act like a shed, protecting the tea bushes from direct heat/sunlight for the same is very harmful for tea cultivation.
- 23 September 2005. Anuradha Talwar, Debasish Chakraborty and Sarmishtha Biswas. *Study on Closed and Re-opened Tea Gardens in North Bengal.* p. 6 24 Dasgupta, Geetisha. 2009. p. 8

25 Ibid.

26 Sarkar, Debasis. (Feb 24, 2003). 80 deaths in a single tea estate. *The Times of India* 

retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/80-deaths-in-a-single-tea-estate/articleshow/38400988.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/80-deaths-in-a-single-tea-estate/articleshow/38400988.cms</a> Last accessed on 31.05.2019

27 Roy, Rajat. (Jan 20, 2013). Kathalguri Tea Estate Labours under a Marxian Delusion. *Business Standard* 

retrieved from <a href="https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/kathalguri-tea-estate-labours-under-a-marxian-delusion-">https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/kathalguri-tea-estate-labours-under-a-marxian-delusion-</a>

<u>109092400043\_1.html</u> Last accessed on 31.05.2019

28 June 13, 2004. Cup of misery. The Hindu.

Retrieved from

https://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/mag/2004/06/13/stories/2004061300170400.
htm Last accessed on 01.06.2019

29 Siha, Avijit. (March 26, 2004). Flesh for food in garden of poverty: Workers ban poll campaign in closed Kanthalguri. The Telegraph Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/flesh-for-food-in-garden-of-poverty-the-locked-gate-of-kanthalguri-tea-garden-picture-by-biplab-basak-workers-ban-poll-campaign-in-closed-kanthalguri/cid/767060">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/flesh-for-food-in-garden-of-poverty-the-locked-gate-of-kanthalguri-tea-garden-picture-by-biplab-basak-workers-ban-poll-campaign-in-closed-kanthalguri/cid/767060</a> Last accessed on 21.06.2019

30 Ibid.

31 Bera, Sayantan. (June 11, 2015). Crushed and torn. *Downtoearth*. retrieved from <a href="https://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/crushed-and-torn-43885">https://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/crushed-and-torn-43885</a>
Last accessed on 31.05.2019

32 (September 25, 2009). Bengal tea gardens: A sad tale of misery. *Rediff*.

Retrieved from <a href="http://business.rediff.com/report/2009/sep/25/bengals-tea-gardens-a-sad-tale-of-misery.htm">http://business.rediff.com/report/2009/sep/25/bengals-tea-gardens-a-sad-tale-of-misery.htm</a> Last accessed on 1.06.2019

- 33 The interview conducted by the present researcher on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2019 at Kathalguri labour line.
- 34 Quoted in the *Proceeding of Tripartite meeting on reopening of Kathalguri tea* garden held on 27/05/2010 at 4 PM in the conference hall of Jalpaiguri Collectorate Data provided by Mahesh Mohali
- 35 October 01, 2009. Chamurchi tea garden to reopen today. *The Telegraph*.

  Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/chamurchi-tea-garden-to-reopen-today/cid/589318">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/chamurchi-tea-garden-to-reopen-today/cid/589318</a> Last accessed on 07.06.2019

36 The name of the respondent is Gulzar. Interview conducted by the present researcher on April 1, 2019

37 *Ibid*.

38 October 01, 2009. Chamurchi tea garden to reopen today. *The Telegraph*.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/chamurchi-tea-garden-to-reopen-today/cid/589318">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/chamurchi-tea-garden-to-reopen-today/cid/589318</a> Last accessed on 07.06.2019

39 Field study, 2019

40 Morris, Chris. (October 2, 2007). India's malnourished tea workers. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/7022794.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/7022794.stm</a> Last accessed on 31.05.2019

41 Sengupta, Pallab. (February 25, 2007). Anahar, apustite chardine mrittyu tin joner (Three people died of starvation in four days). *Dainik Statesman*.p.1

42 *Ibid*.

43 *Ibid*.

44 *Ibid*.

45 *Ibid*.

46 *Ibid*.

47 Bhattacharya, Pinak Priya. Gazmer, Deep (Mar 1, 2007). Tea estate closure results in 100 deaths. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Tea-estate-closure-results-in-100-deaths/articleshow/1709530.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Tea-estate-closure-results-in-100-deaths/articleshow/1709530.cms</a> Last accessed on 01.06.2019

48 The Government of West Bengal initiated a scheme to provide financial assistance to the jobless workers. The eligibility criteria were that the factory should have been under closure/suspension of work/lock out for more than a one year.

Initially the scheme was started by giving rupees 500 to each worker. The amount enhanced to rupees 1500 at present (2019).

49 Senguta, Pallab. (March 2, 2007). Rajjopaler Soforer Dini Mrittyu Dujoner:

'Anahare Mrittyu Hoyni' (Two people have died on the day of Governor's visit:

'No one has died of starvation'). Dainik Statesman.p.1

50 *Ibid*.

51 Bhattacharya, Pinak Priya. Gazmer, Deep (Mar 1, 2007). Tea estate closure results in 100 deaths. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Tea-estate-closure-results-in-100-deaths/articleshow/1709530.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Tea-estate-closure-results-in-100-deaths/articleshow/1709530.cms</a> Last accessed on 01.06.2019

52 Sengupta, Pallab. (March 6, 2007). Fer Anahare Mrittyu Holo Ramjhorar Shromiker: Report Tolob Commission er (Once again a labour of Ramjhora has died of starvation: The Commission has summoned a report). *Dainik Statesman*. p.1

53 Sengupta, Pallab. (February 23, 2007). Dalarer Hat Dhore Hariye Jacchen Mohilara (Women are missing by the pimps). *Dainik Statesman*.p.1

54*Ibid*.

55 *Ibid*.

56 Sengupta, Pallab. (February 22, 2007). *Dooars er Cha-bagane Fer Anahar:*Mrito 28 (The tea gardens of Dooars have faced starvation once again: 28 died).

Dainik Statesman

57 Ibid.

58 *Ibid*.

59 Sengupta, Pallab. (March 6, 2007). Fer Anahare Mrittyu Holo Ramjhorar Shromiker: Report Tolob Commission er (Once again a labour of Ramjhora has

died of starvation: The Commission has summoned a report). Dainik Statesman.

p.1

60 April 11, 2008. Bharnobari to reopen: Owners end lock-out. The Telegraph.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/bharnobari-to-">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/bharnobari-to-</a>

reopen-owners-end-lock-out/cid/600192 Last accessed on 17.06.2019

61 *Ibid*.

62 The has taken by the present researcher on April 1, 2019

63 Sengupta, Pallab. (February 26, 2007). Jongli alu, cha ful, kochu kheye kodin bachte pare manush? (how many days the man can survives by devouring wild potato, tea flower, yam?). *Dainik Statesman*. p.1

64 *Ibid*.

65 *Ibid*.

66 Ibid.

67 *Ibid*.

68 *Ibid.*, p.1

69 July 5, 2013. *The Gazette of India*. Ministry of Law and Justice: New Delhi. p.13

70 Patnaik, Utsa. (2004). The Republic of Hunger. Public Lecture on the occasion

of the 50th Birthday of Safdar Hashmi, organized by SAHMAT (Safdar Hashmi

Memorial Trust) on April 10, 2004, New Delhi. Retrieved from

https://www.networkideas.org/featart/apr2004/Republic\_Hunger.pdf Last accessed

on 11.05.2020

71 August 22, 2003. Unions cry for Buddha help. *The Telegraph* 

 $Retrieved \quad from \quad \underline{https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/unions-cry-}$ 

for-buddha-help/cid/808805 Last accessed on 23.06.19

72 August 22, 2003. Unions cry for Buddha help. The Telegraph

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/unions-cry-for-buddha-help/cid/808805">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/unions-cry-for-buddha-help/cid/808805</a> Last accessed on 23.06.19

73 *Ibid*.

74 *Ibid*.

75 *Ibid*.

76 January 17, 2004. Cha- bagane Bikkhov Dekhalei Kora Byabostha, Hunsiyari Buddher (Buddhadeb's warning: Strict action to deal with agitation in the tea gardens). *Anandabazar Patrika*. p.9

77 January 16, 2004. Tough talk to tea unions. *The Telegraph*.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/toughtalk-to-tea-unions/cid/779343Last accessed on 06.06.19">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/toughtalk-to-tea-unions/cid/779343Last accessed on 06.06.19</a>

78Ibid.

79 November 7, 2003. 19 hacked, burnt in tea garden clash. *The Tribune*.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.tribuneindia.com/2003/20031107/main1.htm">https://www.tribuneindia.com/2003/20031107/main1.htm</a> Last accessed on 06.06.2019

80 Founded in 1970 the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, CITU is a National level Trade Union in India politically affiliated to the Communist Party of India as its trade union wing and is a spearhead of the Indian Trade Union Movement.

81 The incident took place under the area of Falakata police station in Jalpaiguri district over the matter of recruitment of three 'outsiders' in the posts of clerk in the garden

82 January 16, 2004. Tough talk to tea unions. Op.cit

83 November 8, 2003. Forward Bloc criticises CPI(M) on condition of tea garden workers. *The Hindu* 

Retrieved from https://www.thehindu.com/2003/11/08/stories/2003110805291200.htm Last accessed on 06.06.19 84 November 23, 2003. Hunger death cloud on tea estates. *The Telegraph* Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/hunger-death-cloud-on-tea-">https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/hunger-death-cloud-on-tea-</a> estates/cid/965922 Last accessed on 06.06.19 85 *Ibid*. 86 *Ibid*. 87 *Ibid*. 88 January 22, 2004. Kamal Guha threatens to quit LF. The Times of India Retrieved from https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Kamal-Guhathreatens-to-quit-LF/articleshow/437874.cms Last accessed on 07.06.19 89April 09, 2004. Bagichay Soriki Hignsay Bibroto Front, Niropekkho Todonto Chay Congress Trinomool (The Front embarrassed due to internal feud, Congress-Trinamool wants neutral enquiry). Anandabazar Patrika. p.6 90 *Ibid*. 91 *Ibid*. 92 *Ibid*. 93 *Ibid*. 94 Ghosh, Bapi. (February 28, 2007). Anaharer Sujoge Barche Pachar Chokro (Traffic rackets are growing owing to starvation). Dainik Statesman. p.1 95*Ibid*. 96*Ibid*. 97 *Ibid*. 98 *Ibid*. 99 *Ibid*.

100 Cited in the Report on Hunger in Tea Plantations in North Bengal

101 November 29, 2003. The Telegraph,

102 Bhattacharya, Pinak Priya. (June 18, 2007). Mamata stands by the tea workers.

The Times of India.

Retrieved from https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Mamata-stands-

by-tea-workers/articleshow/2129849.cms? Last accessed on 5.08.2018

103 *Ibid*.

104 Sinha, Avijit. (June 11, 2007). Tea fire for Bengal- Jairam Ramesh sets date to

reopen three gardens in Dooars. The Telegraph Retrieved from

https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/tea-fire-for-bengal-jairam-

ramesh-sets-date-to-reopen-three-gardens-in-dooars/cid/706304 Last accessed on

21.06.2019

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid.

108 August 20, 2007. 24 closed tea estates to get new owners. Live Mint.

Retrieved from

https://www.livemint.com/Money/eWN8HUkNLS5362X6aa6JjK/24-closed-tea-

estates-to-get-new-owners.html Last accessed on 22.06.2019

109 https://indiankanoon.org/doc/1101242/ Last accessed on 22.06.2019

110 June 15, 2007. Govt to take over 3 sick tea gardens in West Bengal. The

**Economic Times** 

Retrieved from <a href="https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/markets/commodities/govt-">https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/markets/commodities/govt-</a>

to-take-over-3-sick-tea-gardens-in-west-

bengal/articleshow/2124499.cms?from=mdr Last accessed on 23.06.2019

111July 02, 2007. Centre to take Bengal's help in tea gardens' revival. *Rediff.com*Retrieved from <a href="https://www.rediff.com/money/2007/jul/20tea.htm">https://www.rediff.com/money/2007/jul/20tea.htm</a> Last accessed on 21.06.2019

112 September 08, 2007. Strom in a tea cup. *Hindustan Times*. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/storm-in-a-tea-cup/story-">https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/storm-in-a-tea-cup/story-</a>

Irr7q1FXwwEwTpZ6ti5yDJ.html Last accessed on 22.06.2019

113 *Ibid*.

114 Chadha, Kumkum. (September 04, 2007). Only suffering blooms in the tea gardens. *Hindustan Times*.

https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/only-suffering-blooms-in-tea-gardens/story-C2oewYrZWrgxqTxYm6NAdL.html Last accessed on 22.06.2019 115 *Ibid*.

116 July 02, 2007. Centre to take Bengal's help in tea gardens' revival. *Rediff.com*Retrieved from <a href="https://www.rediff.com/money/2007/jul/20tea.htm">https://www.rediff.com/money/2007/jul/20tea.htm</a> Last accessed on 21.06.2019

117 Sarkar, Debasis. (June 09, 2009). Reopening of N Bengal tea gardens hangs fire. *The Economic Times*.

Retrieved from <a href="https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/reopening-of-n-bengal-tea-gardens-hangs-">https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/reopening-of-n-bengal-tea-gardens-hangs-</a>

fire/articleshow/4637028.cmsLast accessed on 21.06.2019

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

121 *Ibid*.

120 Banerjee, Supurna. (2017). Activism and Agency in India: Nurturing Resistance in the Tea Plantations. New York: Routledge. P. 49

122 <a href="http://bibliopreta.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Fraser-Redistribution-">http://bibliopreta.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Fraser-Redistribution-</a>

Recognition-Dilema-1.pdf Last accessed on 19.8.2020

123 Banerjee, Supurna. Op. cit. p.47

124 *Ibid.*, 47-8

125 Bhowmik, S.K. (2011). Wages and Ethnic Conflicts in Bengal Tea Industry.

Economic and Political Weekly. 46(52):26-29

126 Banerjee, Supurna. Op. cit. p. 48

127 Ibid.,

128 Carter, John. (1998). *Postmodernity and the Fragmentation of Welfare*. New York: Routledge.

129 For a detailed discussion, see, Samaddar, Ranabir. (2013). *Passive Revolution* in West Bengal: 1977-2011. New Delhi: Sage Publications

# References and Notes of Chapter V

1 <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/india-ranks-high-on-global-hunger-index-2020-even-with-enough-food-prduction/cid/1795369">https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/india-ranks-high-on-global-hunger-index-2020-even-with-enough-food-prduction/cid/1795369</a> last accessed on 20.02.2021

2 Bhattacharyya, Dwaipayan. Rana, Kumar. (February, 2008). The Politics of PDS Anger in West Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*. VOL 33, Issue no.05. pp.63-9

3 Narwal, Sujata. (2001). *Management of Public Distribution System*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications Private Limited. p.110

4 Cited in Bhattacharyya, Dwaipayan. (2016). *Government as Practice:*Democratic Left in a Transforming India. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press; p. 153

5 Transparency International India. (2005). *India Corruption Study*,2005. New

Delhi.pp.91-100. Retrieved from

https://transparencyindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/India-Corruption-Study-2005.pdf last accessed on 15.09.2020

6 Pillai. R. Rmabhadran. (June 1, 2013). Fair Shops in Bribery Chain. The Hindu.

Retrieved from https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Kochi/fair-price-shops-in-

<u>bribery-chain/article4769974.ece</u> last accessed on 15.09.2020

7 October 10, 2006. CPM Supports CM and Sen on Singur. The Telegraph.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/cpm-supports-">https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/cpm-supports-</a>

cm-and-sen-on-singur/cid/767769 Last accessed on 17.04.2020

8 PTI, (December 19, 2006). Mamta Decides to End Fast. Rediff. Com.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.rediff.com/news/2006/dec/29mamta.htm">https://www.rediff.com/news/2006/dec/29mamta.htm</a> Last accessed on 17.04.2020

9 PTI, (November 11, 2008). CPM men convicted in Tapasi Malik Murder Case. *India Today*.

retrieved from <a href="https://www.indiatoday.in/latest-headlines/story/cpm-men-convicted-in-tapasi-malik-murder-case-33259-2008-11-11">https://www.indiatoday.in/latest-headlines/story/cpm-men-convicted-in-tapasi-malik-murder-case-33259-2008-11-11</a> Last accessed on 17.04.2020

10 Siddiqui, Imran Ahmed. (March 19, 2007). Stockpile squad trail heads towards party - Phone records spill Nandigram secret. *The Telegraph*.

Retrieved from <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/stockpile-squad-trail-heads-towards-party-phone-records-spill-nandigram-secret/cid/972089">https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/stockpile-squad-trail-heads-towards-party-phone-records-spill-nandigram-secret/cid/972089</a> Last accessed on 16.04.2020

11 *Ibid*.

12 Chandravarkar, 'Plague Panic and Epidemic Politics in India', 251, as cited in Ghosh, Anjan. (2008). Role of Rumour in History, *History Compass*, 6/5. pp.1235-43

13 Guha, Ranajit. (1999). *Elementary Aspect of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press

14 Mitra, Shyamalendu. (July 18, 2007). Poche o Poka Dhore Nosto 850 Kotir Chal-Gom (Rice worth Rs 850 crores rotten and pest-stricken). *Anandabazar Patrika*. p.7

15 The respondents alleged during the interviews.

16 Sinha, Dipa et.al. (October, 2014). Popular actions, State reactions: The Moral and Political Economy of Food in India. Brighton/New Delhi: Institute of Development Studies. P.37 retrieved from <a href="https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/6433/Popular">https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/6433/Popular</a> %20Actions,%20State%20Reactions.pdf?sequence=1 Last accessed on 20.02.2021

17 Banerjee, Manisha. (2009). The PDS Agitation in West Bengal: Outrage Against the Hunger and Bureaucratic Feudalism. *Policies and Practices*.

Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group: Kolkata. p.31

18 <a href="http://sanhati.com/news/386/">http://sanhati.com/news/386/</a> Last accessed on 11.03.2018
19 <a href="http://sanhati.com/news/386/">Ibid</a>.

20 October 4,2007. Ration Riot Spreads: One Killed. *The Times of India*. retrieved from

https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Ration-riots-spread-one-killed/articleshow/2426984.cms?from=mdr Last accessed on 15.03.2018 21 *Ibid*.

22 Samaddar, Ranabir. (2013). Passive Revolution in West Bengal:1977-2011.

New Delhi: Sage. p.134

23 http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/pds-protests-in-west-bengal--6962 Last

Accessed on 11.03.2018

24 http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/pds-protests-in-west-bengal--6962 Last

Accessed on 11.03.2018

25 September 22, 2007. Reson Kando Niye Bankurar Dhanchei Bikkhov

Birbhume. (Protest regarding ration-issue in Birbhum in Bankura's pattern).

Anandabazar Patrika.p.13

26 *Ibid*.

27 Ibid.

28 *Ibid*.

29 *Ibid*.

30 *Ibid*.

31 September 26, 2007. Moncho Gore Dealerder Jorimana Aat Lokkhyo

(Platform for Penalising the Dealers). Anandabazar Patrika. p.8

32 *Ibid*.

33 September 23, 2007. Angry villagers gherao ration dealer's shop. *The* 

Statesman. p.4

34 *Ibid*.

35 October 2, 2007. Resone Durnitir Protibade Uttal Birbhum (Widespread

protest against unscrupulous rationing in Birbhum). Dainik Statesman. p.1

36 *Ibid*.

37 *Ibid*.

38 *Ibid.*, p.7

39 *Ibid*.

40 The Times of India, 4.10.2007, Ration riots spread, one killed,

https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Ration-riots-spread-one-

killed/articleshow/2426984.cms last accessed on 19.02.2018

- 41 October 3, 2007. PDS dealers' houses set ablaze. The Times of India.
- 42 October 24, 2007. Maoists snatch ration supplies. The Times of India

Retrieved from

https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/Maoists-snatch-ration-supplies/articleshow/2484674.cms? Last accessed on 19.02.2018

- 43 <a href="http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721">http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721</a> Last accessed on 19.02.2018
- 44 October 24, 2007. Op. cit.
- 45 October 2, 2007. Resone Durnitir Protibade Uttal Birbhum (Widespread protest against unscrupulous rationing in Birbhum). *Dainik Statesman*. p.7

47 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

48 *Ibid*.

49 Ibid.

50 October 31, 2007. Dubrajpure Golay Fas Diye Ration Dealer Atmoghati (Ration dealer commits suicide by hanging himself in Dubrajpur). *Bartaman*. p. 2 51 Roy, Biswasjit. (November 6, 2007). Vacuum between party & poor. *The Telegraph*.

Retrieved from

https://www.telegraphindia.com/1071106/asp/bengal/story\_8516687.asp Last accessed on 16.03.2018

```
52 Ibid.
```

53 *Ibid*.

54 http://www.indiatogether.org/wbpds-government last accessed on

18.09.2020

55 *Ibid*.

56 *Ibid*.

57 September 22, 2007. Op. cit.

58 *Ibid*.

59 October 31, 2007. Op. cit.

Also see,

http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Repository/getFiles.asp?Style=OliveXLib:LowLev elEntityToPrint\_PASTISSUES2&Type=text/html&Locale=english-skin-custom&Path=CAP/2007/10/10&ID=Ar01500 Last accessed on 15.03.2018

Also see, <a href="https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/amp/fb-blames-cpim-for-ration-riots/510009">https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/amp/fb-blames-cpim-for-ration-riots/510009</a> Last accessed on 15.03.2018

60 Roy, Biswasjit. (November 6, 2007). Vacuum between party & poor. *The* 

Telegraph.

Retrieved from

https://www.telegraphindia.com/1071106/asp/bengal/story\_8516687.asp Last

accessed on 16.03.2018

61 Bhattacharya, Dwaipayan. Op. cit.

62 Samaddar, Ranabir. (2013). Op. cit. pp.93, 129

63 Banerjee, Manisha. (2009). Op. cit. p.37

64 *Ibid*.p.27

65 Bhattacharya, Dwaipayan. Op. cit. p. 137

- 66 October 18, 2007. Bankura-Kando Niye Report Chan Buddha, Jacchen
- Khaddyokortara (Buddha demands report on Bankura- incident, Food officers
- frequenting). Anandabazar Patrika. p. 6
- 67 *Ibid*.
- 68 September 22, 2007. Food for Thought in Bengal. The Statesman. p.1
- 69 September 23, 2007. Costly Packaging Eating into Subsidy: Paresh. *The Statesman*. p.1
- 70 Dasgupta, Sukharanjan. (October 5, 2007). Reson Niye Todonto Kendrer (The centre's investigation on ration). *Dainik Statesman*. p.1
- 71 <a href="http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721">http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721</a> Last accessed on 19.02.2018
- 72 Dasgupta, Sukharanjan. Op. cit.
- 73 Dasgupta, Sukharanjan. Op. cit.
- 74 Dasgupta, Sukharanjan. Op. cit.
- 75 Dasgupta, Sukharanjan. Op. cit.
- 76 <a href="http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721">http://www.thesundayindian.com/article\_print.php?article\_id=3721</a> Last accessed on 19.02.2018
- 77 http://sanhati.com/news/386/ Last accessed on 06.03.2018
- 78 http://www.hardnewsmedia.com/2007/11/1662 Last accessed on 12.03.2018
- 79 <a href="https://www.telegraphindia.com/1071106/asp/bengal/story\_8516687.asp">https://www.telegraphindia.com/1071106/asp/bengal/story\_8516687.asp</a> Last accessed on 16.03.2018
- 80 http://www.hardnewsmedia.com/2007/11/1662 Last accessed on 12.03.2018
- 81 October 03, 2007. Resoner Gom Niye Todonto Hocche: Mukkhyosochib (The investigation about wheat in ration going on: Chief Secretary). *Bartaman*. p.1 82 *Ibid*.

83 https://www.outlookindia.com/newswire/amp/fb-blames-cpim-for-ration-

riots/510009 Last accessed on 15.03.2018

84 http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/CPIM-no-food-riots-in-

West-Bengal/article14862245.ece Last accessed on 18.03.2018

85 *Ibid*.

86 Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, report 16 of 2006

(2000-01 to 2004-05), Department of Food and Public Distribution- Report

available at

http://www.cag.gov.in/sites/default/files/old\_reports/union/union\_performance/20

05\_2006/Civil\_%20Performance\_Audits/Report\_no\_16/highlights.pdf Last

accessed on 19.02.2018

For full report see, <a href="http://www.cag.gov.in/content/report-no-16-2006-perriod-">http://www.cag.gov.in/content/report-no-16-2006-perriod-</a>

ended-march-2005-performance-audit-management-foodgrains last accessed on

19.02.2018

87 Ibid. pp.15-6

88 *Ibid.* pp.24-5

89 *Ibid.* p.55

90 Ibid. pp.35-6

91 http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/pds-protests-in-west-bengal--6962 last

accessed on 20.02.2018

92 *Ibid*.

93 *Ibid*.

94 For more discussion on this see, Roy, Aruna. Drèze, Jean. Dey, Nikhil. (2011).

In Dobhal, Harsh. (ed). Writings on Human Rights, Law, and Society in India: A

Combat Law Anthology: Selections from Combat Law, (2002–2010). New Delhi: Human Rights Law Network. pp. 419–22.

95 Chatterji, Shoma. (October 25, 2007). Rioters Against Ration dealers. *India together*. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.indiatogether.org/wbpds-government">http://www.indiatogether.org/wbpds-government</a> Last accessed on 27.11.2019

96 Chaudhuri. Sumanta Ray. (October 8, 2007). West Bengal Rocked by Riots for Rations. *DNA*. Retrieved from

http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-west-bengal-rocked-by-riots-for-rations-1126166 Last accessed on 15.03.2018

97 October 5, 2007. Doshi Dealer o Tar Modotdatadder Komore Dori Bendhe Ghorano Hok Dabi Mamatar (The culpable dealers and their aids should be dragged by tying ropes around their waists, demands Mamata). *Bartaman*. p.1 98 *Ibid*.

99 Ibid.

100 October 6, 2007. Ke Jyoti Basu? Proshno Mamatar (Who is Jyoti Basu? Asks Mamata). *Dainik Statesman*. p.1

101 *Ibid*.

102 Tilly, Charles. (2008). Contentious Performances. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.5

103 Charlesworth, Andrew. (1994). 'The Spatial Diffusion of Riots: Popular Disturbances in England and Wales, 1750–1850'. *Rural History*. Vol 5(1), 1–22. 104 Thompson, E.P. (1971). The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century. *Past & Present*, (50), 76-136. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/650244 Last accessed on 15.09.2020

105 Deleuze, Gilles. Felix, Guattari. (1987). A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism

and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press.

106 Taylor, Lynne. (1996). Food Riots Revisited. Journal of Social History 30(2),

483-96.

107 Tilly, Charles. Tarrow, Sidney. (2015). Contentious Politics. New York.

Oxford University Press. p.110

108 Basu, Sibaji Pratim. (December, 2016). The Defining Moments of Left

Popular Politics in West Bengal. *Policies and Practices 81*. Kolkata: Mahanirban

Calcutta Research Group. p.4

109 *Ibid.*, p.7

110 *Ibid.*, p.8

111 *Ibid.*, pp.8-9

112 A group interview with the villagers conducted by the present researcher on

14.09.2017

113 *Ibid*.

114 *Ibid*,

115 The interview conducted by the present researcher on 14.09.2017

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid.

118 26th December, 2007. Anandabazar Patrika,

119 *Ibid*,

120 3rd January, 2008. Anandabazar Patrika,

121 *Ibid*.

122 *Ibid*.

123 September 22, 2007. Op. cit.

- 124 Interview conducted by the scholar on 16.09.2017
- 125 Interview conducted by the scholar on 18.09.2017 at her residence in Bolpur, Birbhum district.
- 126 Data provided by Sekh Bahadur
- 127 <a href="http://www.indiatogether.org/wbpds-government">http://www.indiatogether.org/wbpds-government</a> Last accessed on 12.03.2018

#### **References and Notes of Chapter VI**

- 1 Marshall, Thomas Humphrey. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- 2 Konar, Debashis. (May 13, 2020). Action Against Ration Dealers in Bengal, 13 arrested. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/action-against-ration-dealers-in-bengal-13-arrested/articleshow/75722984.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/action-against-ration-dealers-in-bengal-13-arrested/articleshow/75722984.cms</a> Last accessed on 02.11.2020
- 3 Majumdar, Asok. (2011). *The Tebhaga Movement: Politics of Peasant Protest in Bengal*. New Delhi: Aakar Books. p 13
- 4 Lenin, V.I. (MARCH 6-8, 1918). *Political Report of The Central Committee*.

  Retrieved from

https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/7thcong/01.htm 03.01.2021