

Principal's Welcome Address

On behalf of the Raja Peary Mohan College, Uttarpara and as the Chairman of the Seminar Organising Committee, I do hereby welcome the distinguished Speakers, Guests, Delegates and Students, who have come from different parts of the country, to grace the occasion of the Two Day UGC Sponsored National Seminar titled '**India: The Country and the State — In Historical Perspective**' organised by the Department of History, Political Science and Philosophy of Raja Peary Mohan College, in collaboration with Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies, Rabindra Bharati University. We are proud to have an eminent historian Prof. B. D. Chattopadhyay, former Professor of Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi among us. We are privileged that he has given us his valuable advices to organise this seminar. We are grateful to the University Grants Commission for sponsoring this seminar. I would also like to thank our Governing Body members, Chairman of the Uttarpara Kotrung Municipality Sri Pinaki Dhamali, our other sponsors, well-wishers and all those who have given their active support to organise this seminar. This seminar will add another feather to the rich historical legacy of the college on the eve of its 125th Year. You will be also pleased to know that all the papers presented here will be published in a book by a reputed publishing house very soon. Once again I welcome you all to our college and hope that you will have very exciting and enriching academic sessions for two days. Thanking you.

Dr. Milan Kumar Pal
Principal
Raja Peary Mohan College
Uttarpara

Date: 5th February 2010

Convener's Note

India, the land of ancient civilization, and the post colonial Indian state, which has completed sixty two years of Independence, now stands at crossroads. The forces of ethnic consciousness, communalism and provincialism together with the threat of terrorism are threatening the very existence of the state. Our objective for holding a seminar on '**India: The Country and the State — In Historical Perspective**' is, to discuss the constitutional structure of the Indian state and new moral contents in democracy, the convergence of State and society, challenges faced from liberalization and globalisation within the state, the latest trends towards centralization on the one hand and fragmentation of society and polity on the other, etc.,. In order to achieve this objective we intend to share, the experience of State formation in the Indian subcontinent before the advent of the British Raj; the vision of a united India present in the Indian mind in the first decade of the 20th century, till the advent of provincialism; the colonial experience; the aspiration of independent India and the extent of success achieved; discussion on the forces of 'challenge' and the 'responses' in the formation and development of the Indian state system. While discussing the development of the Indian state system, we shall delve in to the evolution of the various state systems in the ancient and medieval India, and their structural varieties. Along with the ideology behind the formation of the State systems, we shall try to throw light on the people's perception of the state and their expectations from the state. In this way we shall take into account our vision of the state, trace the divergence and convergence of the diverse political ideas and ideals. Within the purview of this study should come the interaction between the state and the people, through various social forces fostering political consciousness and political aspirations. We must remember there are constant expressions of different aspirations that are making it essential to redefine and reshape the original vision of an ideologically defined Indian Nation and Indian State. There are now movements for accommodation of Dalits aspirations and minority identities, movements for recognition of different cultural identities, judicial activism, the growth of civil societies, the question of good governance — all necessitating rethinking, redefining and new adjustments. Let us now begin our discussion on India — the country and the state in a historical perspective.

Dr. Kuntal Mukhopadhyay
Associate Professor in Political Science
Raja Peary Mohan College
Uttarpara

Date: 5th February 2010

From The Collaborating Partner
Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies
Rabindra Bharati University

The Department of History, Political Science and Philosophy of Raja Peary Mohan College Uttarpara, in collaboration with the 'Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies', Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata, are organizing this National Seminar on '**India: The Country and the State — In Historical Perspective**'. The passage of time has seen the Indian State to evolve through the different stages of growth. We shall expect many meaningful and interesting concepts to emerge from our discussions on the topic of this Seminar. On behalf of Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies, Rabindra Bharati University, I welcome you all and pray for a grand success of this Seminar.

Dr. Susnata Das
Director
Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies
Rabindra Bharati University
Kolkata

Date: 5th February 2010

UGC SPONSORED NATIONAL LEVEL SEMINAR
India: The Country and The State in Historical Perspective

Organised by the Department of

History, Political Science & Philosophy, Raja Peary Mohan College

In Collaboration with

Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies, Rabindra Bharati University

Programme Schedule

05th February, 2010 — First Day

9: 00 am – 10.00 am	REGISTRATION
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Venue: Auditorium, Raja Peary Mohan College, Uttarpara

10: 00 am – 10.45 am	INAUGURAL SESSION
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Introduction: Dr. Sanjukta Bhattacharyya, Joint Convener, Seminar Organising Committee.

Welcome Address: Dr. Milan Kumar Pal, Principal, Raja Peary Mohan College & Chairman, Seminar Organising Committee.

Felicitations:

- **Prof. B. D. Chattopadhyay**, Chief Advisor to the Seminar Organising Committee & Ex-Professor, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- **Dr. Amal Kanta Hati**, President of Governing Body, Raja Peary Mohan College & Chief Patron of the Seminar.
- **Sri Pinaki Dhamali**, Honorable Chairman, Uttarpara-Kotrung Municipality & Member, Governing Body, Raja Peary Mohan College.
- **Dr. Susnata Das**, Director, Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies, Rabindra Bharati University.
- **Dr. Milan Kr Pal**, Principal, Raja Peary Mohan College.

Inauguration: Lighting of the Lamp

Brief Speeches:

- **On the Objectives of the Seminar:** Dr. Kuntal Mukhopadhyay, Convener, Seminar Organising Committee.
- **On the Theme of the Seminar:** Dr. Susnata Das Director, Vidyasagar Centre for Indological Studies, Rabindra Bharati University.

Release of the "A BOOK OF ABSTRACTS" by:

- Prof. B. D. Chattopadhyay, Chief Advisor of the Seminar
- Dr Amal Kanta Hati, Chief Patron of the Seminar
- Dr Milan Kr Pal, Principal, Raja Peary Mohan College

Vote of Thanks: Dr. Bitanbindu Bandopadhyay, Teacher's Council Secretary, Raja Peary Mohan College.

Tea Break: 10.45 am – 11.00 am

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

11: 00 am – 01.30 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – I
TYPE	PANEL DISCUSSION & PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	Early, Medieval and Modern India in Historical Perspective

Key Note Address by *Professor Braja Dulal Chattopadhyay*

“Retrieving the Medieval State in South Indian History” by *Dr. R. Mahalakshmi*

“The Concrete Community and the Production of Knowledge — Country, State and the state of Knowledge in post Independent India” by *Dr. Rakesh Batabyal*

“Mapping the State and Pattern of Distribution of Authorities in Early Medieval Deccan: A Case Study of the Râstrakûtas” by *Dr. Shyam Narayan Lal*

Discussions and Interactions

Lunch Break: 01.30 pm – 02.00 pm

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

02: 00 pm – 04.00 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – II
TYPE	PANEL DISCUSSION & PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	Alternative Models of States and Role of State in Some Vital Aspects of Life

“India’s Democracy: Towards a Contested Understanding?” by *Prof. Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta*

“*Graftscape*: Discourses in Political Economy of Graft and Greed in Post-Colonial India” by *Professor Prasanta Ray*

“Transitions of the Indian State and the Issue of Restorative Justice” by *Professor Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury*

Discussions and Interactions

Tea Break: 04.00 pm – 04.15 pm

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

04.15 pm – 05.00 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – III
TYPE	ACADEMIC PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	Seminar Theme

“From Country to the City: The Changing Dynamics of Migration in Contemporary India” by *Resmi P. Bhaskaran*

“State and Criminalisation of Violence against Women: A Qualitative Analysis of Women’s Perception of Unwanted Sexual Harm” by *Dr. Piyali Sur*

“Indian Perspective on Latin America: Independence to Globalisation” by *P.Ravindra nathan*

Discussions and Interactions

END OF DAY ONE OF THE SEMINAR

Programme Schedule

06th February, 2010 — Second Day

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

10: 30 am – 12.30 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – IV
TYPE	PANEL DISCUSSION & PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	India in the Phase of Liberalisation and Globalisation

“Governing the Economy of India” by *Professor Ratan Khasnabis*

“Towards Another Freedom: A Failed Experiment in Newly Independent India” by *Professor Anuradha Roy*

“Situating India Today: At the Interface of the National, International and the Transnational” by *Professor Sudeshna Banerjee*

Discussions and Interactions

Tea Break: 12.30 pm – 12.45 pm

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

12.45 pm – 01.30 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – V
TYPE	ACADEMIC PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	Seminar Theme

“The Issue of Governance in Rural India: Rethinking Women’s Participation” by *Smita Agarwal*

“Impact of Liberalisation on the Global Financial System” by *Anupam Mitra*

“Evolving Morality of India Through the Ages” by *Dr. Kalyani Sarkar*

Discussions and Interactions

Lunch Break: 01.30 pm – 02.00 pm

Venue: Conference Room, 1st Floor, Room No. 106

02: 00 pm – 03.45 pm	TECHNICAL SESSION – VI
TYPE	ACADEMIC PAPER PRESENTATIONS
THEME	Seminar Theme

“Kosambi’s Concept of India – A Different Paradigm of Understanding” by *Dr. Sanjukta Bhattacharyya & Debasis Chattoraj*

“From Medieval to Early Modern State: The Transition in Eighteenth Century Bihar (1765-80)” by *Santosh Kumar Malua*

“Discourse on the Formation of a Righteous Government, Ideas on Rural Reconstruction in Bengali Mind (1858 -1950)” by *Dr. Sarmistha Nath*

“The Mirror Reflection of Sambalpur State through the Courtly Chronicle called *Kosalananda Kavyam*” by *Brundabana Mishra*

“Role of A Globalised State in Human Development” by *Mala Bhattacharjee*

“Vision of India in the 21st Century: A Review from the Perspective of Inclusive Growth” by *Rajrupa Mitra*

“The State, Society, Market: The Indian Experience in a Liberalising Landscape” by *Sanchita Chakraborty*

Discussions and Interactions

Tea Break: 03.45 pm – 04.00 pm

Venue: Auditorium, Raja Peary Mohan College, Uttarpara

04.00 pm – 05.00 pm	VALEDICTORY SESSION
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Valedictory Address: *Professor Bhaskar Chakraborty*

Distribution of Certificates

END OF SECOND AND FINAL DAY OF THE SEMINAR

KEY NOTE ADDRESS

Professor Brajadulal Chattopadhyay

Today, the postcolonial Indian State is passing through a crisis. This crisis is manifested in various spheres. Ethnic and communal forces are tearing the social fabric. National unity is threatened by the forces of separatism constantly. Last but not the least terrorism is also threatening the security of the common citizen of our country. The constitutional structure of the state, carried out from the colonial period, has now a new moral content in the form of democracy. To work properly what is needed is a convergence between state and society, which according to a number of scholarly studies, has not been attended in India leading to a crisis in the system. Particularly from 1960's it has lead to more and more centralization in the one hand and fragmentation of society and polity on the other. Here, the state is an imposition on society. According to others multiplying demands of the society have led to a crisis in government. Probing the relationship between state and society in postcolonial times is an urgent present day need. The scope of the seminar includes broadly: a) experiences of state formation in the Indian subcontinent before the establishment of British paramouncy; b) perception of a vision of a united India which gripped the Indian mind till the advent of provincialism in the first decade of the 20th century; c) the colonial experience; d) aspirations of independent India and examination of extent of success in this regard; e) discussion on the forces of 'challenge' and 'response' in the formation and development of Indian state systems.

Retrieving the Medieval State in South Indian History

Dr. R. Mahalakshmi

Michel Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* argues: "I shall accept the groupings that history suggests only to subject them at once to interrogation; to break them up and then to see whether they can be legitimately reformed; or whether other groupings should be made; to replace them in a more general space which, while dissipating their apparent familiarity, makes it possible to construct a theory of them." The dismantling of the unities of history or rather the construction of "discursive events" that would question the premises of structural unity in historical contexts has become the order of the day in Indian history, particularly in the context of medieval south India. In this paper, I seek to examine the historiographical turns that have led to the denunciation of the study of political economy, and the emphasis on reflexivity, particularly epistemic reflexivity in the sense that Pierre Bourdieu has defined it. This has been accomplished by shifting the gaze away from apparatuses of state to 'symbols of substance'. I will be focusing on the writings of Noboru Karashima on the one hand, and that of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman on the other, to examine the ways in which questions related to state, community and ideology can be meaningfully raised in medieval south India.

The Concrete Community and the Production of Knowledge — Country, State and the state of Knowledge in Post Independent India

Dr. Rakesh Batabyal

Institutions are the spaces that provide us points of entry to discussions on the issues of state, country and individual. The present paper seeks to explore the way the ideas were contested and produced in the post Independent India. The paper seeks to locate the discussion into an

Indian University, which has created deliberative spaces to produce knowledge. University here can both act as a metaphor of the modern public spaces as also the domain where contending ideologies seeks to establish its (their) hegemony.

Mapping the State and Pattern of Distribution of Authorities in Early Medieval Deccan: A Case Study of the Râṣṭrakûṭas

Dr. Shyam Narayan Lal

The paper is an attempt to understand the nature of state during the period of the Imperial branch of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. The exercise begins with exploring the process of how it transformed itself from a local state to supra local one by the beginning of the second half of the 8th century. The exercise also involves delimiting the broader geographical contours of the state and tries to look into the nature of distribution of political authorities that existed within the broader territorial domain. The idea behind such an exercise was to see, firstly, how much valid it is to represent the boundaries of the state / empire / etc. on a single map with singular lines and, secondly, whether the territory, often designated as Empire / state / kingdom, represented a politically homogenized entity, as represented in conventional historiography, or it was a conglomeration of segments having differential political configurations, as has recently been pointed out and, finally, can we really differentiate, within the broader territorial domain of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, the areas of actual control from the areas where their authority was merely acknowledged or even the area of what is generally described as the area of 'ritual sovereignty'.

India's Democracy: Towards a Contested Understanding?

Professor Sobhanlal Datta Gupta

Democracy's original promises in the Nehruvian era were political stability and rational functionality of the political institutions. This was believed to be ensured by the Congress's system of political governance of one-party dominance model. In the Nehruvian period the project of nation-building was anchored in this understanding of Indian democracy. Accordingly, democracy in India eventually has come to be understood in terms of the following exclusivist options: (a) Democracy equivalent to unbridled privatisation in the name of economic reforms, resulting in its rejection by the majority of the people; (b) A compromise between privatisation and welfarism; (c) An alternative programme of development and participation, with focus on the marginalized sections of the masses as the emergent new subjects, articulating demands that confront both the previous options, thereby, posing a new question for Indian democracy: Can the existing framework of political institutions accommodate these demands? This changing face of India's democracy has brought into focus the following theoretical questions: (i) Whether the functionalist explanation of the working of India's democracy has lost its relevance; (ii) Whether the unilinear Marxist explanation of conflicts in Indian society and the political order with reference to the category of class is too simplistic; (iii) Whether under the impact of postmodernism / post colonialism the agenda of democracy is being defined afresh by recognition of new identities, dismissing the concept of a homogenous nation, questioning the claims of modernity and the problems arising out of celebration of identities; (iv) Whether the Gandhian notion of democracy through decentralization is being projected as an alternative; (v) Whether democracy is being increasingly associated with anti-statism, by the neo-liberals as well as by the radicals, calling for recognition of non-statist spaces like civil society, involvement of the NGOs, public-private partnership etc.; (vi) Whether the neo-

liberal agenda of reforms has lead to growing conflict between the marginalized and the agencies of development, with the state increasingly assuming a violent face, sparking off two reactions: one, from the extreme Left calling for counter violence against state violence and, two, the mainstream Left demanding democratisation of the state apparatus as well as total rejection of the agenda of economic reforms; (vii) Whether democracy is being redefined as a search for social justice, with focus on capacity building, social inclusion and negotiated pluralism. At the same time, however, the following issues have either remained uncontested or there is consensus on them. Firstly, that the people have come of age and there can be no compromise on the question of the basic values of democracy, as evident in the political maturity of the masses, the electoral verdicts being their best reflections; Secondly, as the social basis of democracy has expanded, it calls for deepening its quality i.e. the issue of transition from representative to participatory democracy, with focus on public reasoning, and; Thirdly, for any Government to stay in power, welfarism, in terms of both quantity and quality, is inescapable.

Graftscape: Discourses in Political Economy of Graft and Greed in Post-Colonial India

Professor Prasanta Ray

This paper looks at the post-colonial India in terms of a perversity: proneness to graft underscored by greed. In these times of financial globalisation and down turns, corporate greed has become a buzzword. The close relationship between powerful business families and firms with the state, conceptualised as crony capitalism, is considered by many as having been mediated through diverse forms of corruption. Greed is one important contemporary focus in exercises towards an understanding of a moral, or rather immoral, consequence of neo-liberal shift in economic policy in the times of globalisation of finance capitalism. The paper examines four elements of a discourse that bestows morality on graft and greed in India.

Transitions of the Indian State and the Issue of Restorative Justice

Professor Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury

The States in contemporary times transform either to take care of the interests of the rulers and / or to deal with the competing claims of the governed. States and societies across the world go through multiple, and sometimes overlapping, transitions in the context of the developments in global or national political economy and also in the context of changing socio-cultural milieu within and outside the country. The Indian State has been no exception in this regard. Post-Colonial India had to grapple, along with partition, a range of complex challenges, like the age-old caste-based exploitation, the riots involving different religious communities, and various ethnic conflicts. The question of justice, therefore, figured quite prominently during the transition from a colonial to a post-colonial State in India. As a consequence, the transfer of power was followed by the initiatives for framing of a new constitution for the newly de-colonised country. In general, all constitutions are framed during the time of transition and the Constitution of India was no exception. Framed at a time of painful transition, the Constitution of India, in a way, tried to deal with the question of justice immediately after de-colonisation and partition of the sub-continent. However, constitution may not be that magic formula as such, and recovery may not be that smooth and easy. Rather, experiences from different transitional societies indicate that, rule of law is not a settled procedure, and justice is not a trivial issue that can solely depend on the rule of law.

Without a credible machinery to enforce the law and resolve disputes, people very often resort to violence and illegal means. Herein is the importance of the Constitution. Of late, we have been witnessing another important transition of India from being a welfare state to a market-friendly state. During which the Indian State has been eager to convert a predominantly agrarian economy into an industrialised giant one. While it has been able to register a 7-8% annual growth rate in its economy, the ruling class aims to achieve even a higher envious economic growth rate of more than 10%, as it has been the case of People's Republic of China for few consecutive years in the recent times. In such a situation of large-scale transition, the question of justice has once again been put to test in the context of expanding and industrialising economy of India. When the indigenous people or those belonging to the so-called lower castes – mostly being the poorest of the poor in the country – are being especially subjected to bear the cost of transition. They are being uprooted from their habitat, thereby, disconnecting them from the forest resources and land on which they depend for their very existence. This growing alienation of the already marginalised groups of people from their traditional and customary entitlement of land and forest resources is bringing the question of justice back into the contemporary political discourse engulfing the country. In this scenario, this paper has two major objectives: first, we shall try to find out, in its transition from a welfare state to a market-friendly state how far India has been able to deal satisfactorily with the competing claims of different classes and groups that it governs; and second, we shall argue that, the absence of a discourse of restorative justice is likely to encourage the aggrieved and subjugated people to take the pathway of retributive justice.

From Country to the City: The Changing Dynamics of Migration in Contemporary India

Resmi P. Bhaskaran

The paper, tracing the origins of a group of migrants to their roots in the villages of Bihar, locates the rationale and the patterns of migration in contemporary India. Numerous studies on Indian village since 1950 have denoted the increasing association between villages and urban growth centres as being the major determinant in bringing transformation in the socio-economic, political and cultural profile of the villages. In other words, these studies also argued that structural transformation of the rural economy is primarily an indirect consequence of industrialisation and urbanisation. The constant movement or migration of the people from the rural to the urban areas facilitated this 'transformation bridge'. The present paper will try to see how the migrants, through their double location became part of a new information and knowledge world which made them aware of a new and a possible world of opportunities, welfare and entitlement. In the light of all these issues, the present paper tries to delve deeper into the meanings and forms associated with the movement of people from their rural hinterland to the life of the cities in contemporary India.

State and Criminalisation of Violence against Women: A Qualitative Analysis of Women's Perception of Unwanted Sexual Harm

Dr. Piyali Sur

This article focuses on the impact that state's definition of crime has on women's construction and perception of offence, crime and victimisation. Legal definitions are exclusionary and the extreme forms of sexual violence encountered by women are defined as crime. Legal discourse has power effects on women, as women accept the dominant definitions and are either unable to acknowledge or name their other experiences as crime.

Women accept a whole range of offensive behaviour to be 'normal' as they are not held to be criminal in nature by the state. Women treat incidents of street harassment as trivial as well as forced / coercive sex within marriage or in dating relationships are not defined by them as rape. Though the state has been receptive to women's movement but legislative changes have only been framed within gendered understandings of women's identities. State itself projects sexualised meanings on to the body of women. This article documents how law, police and mass media create certain stereotypes of Crime and Criminalisation that are accepted by women as their reality.

Indian Perspective on Latin America: Independence to Globalisation

P.Ravindranathan

The perception of one state about another and distant society is generally studied through the prism of national interest or through the paradigm of foreign relations. In this paper, I have tried to evolve a larger horizon to locate such perception, which went into understanding and locating Latin America into the imagination and frame of Indian intelligentsia. As per the scale of modern Indian diplomatic relations, Latin America lies in the lowest order in the priority list. But, political history of India and the Latin American region offers a lot in common to any person perusing studies about this region. India – Latin America relations, especially political relations started as a part of anti-imperialist struggle of India and that of the countries of South America. Interestingly, first meeting between the leaders of India and Latin America was in Brussels in 1927 at the International Congress Against Imperialism. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was attending the meeting, became aware of the common colonial experiences and the commonality of interests shared by India and Latin America. Newly Independent India did not have much to spend and opened its first Indian mission in Latin America in 1949 at Rio de Janeiro. In 1954, Vice President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan visited Latin America and in 1961 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mexico. Nehru's visit and his meeting with the Latin American leaders eventually paved the way for more useful exchange of visits from Latin America. In return India received Argentinean president Arturo Frondizi and Mexican President Lopez Mateos. In the background of growing cold war situation, these visits raised concerns about international peace, cooperation and initiated the cause of the Non-aligned Movement to the Latin American region. During the wave of authoritarian regimes of Latin America, who closely aligned with US, India was still supported for the cause of Non-alignment by the Latin American countries who had not fallen in the wave. The 1980s, especially the last quarter of the decade has shown more dynamism in the international political scenario. Elimination of one super power from the map has had its long impact. The world economy started changing in a different course and competition between two blocs had disappeared. Latin America started its re-democratisation process and experiencing globalisation. During the early 1990s, Indian perspective on economic development also changed and the country fell in the line for guided economic liberalisation. Both for India and Latin America, 1990's were the time for preparation for the next step of globalisation. Within this historical frame of development, this paper will examine the changing dynamics of the perceptions about Latin America with the changing politico-economic shape of the world around.

Governing the Economy of India

Professor Ratan Khasnabis

The orientation of the pre-liberalised Indian economy was distinctly different from what the present day economy of India is. The pre-liberalised Indian economy was a state directed mixed economy. It is well known that Indian Republic under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru adopted a policy in which the state was to play the pivotal role in the economy. The emphasis was on achievement of higher economic growth by accelerating public investment in the mixed economy framework. It became more pronounced following the adoption of the Nehru-Mahalanobis heavy industry oriented planning strategy. The 1954 Parliamentary commitment to a socialistic pattern of society followed by the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1956 largely shaped the course of development during the next three decades. As Mrs. Gandhi came to power, more radical steps including bank nationalization were undertaken. That the state was to maintain the leading role was further reinforced by adopting 'socialism' in the Directive Principles of State in the Constitution of the Republic. In India, right to private property was no longer considered as fundamental right. Distributive justice was also a much talked about subject in this era. Economic development was expected to cover the poor and the underprivileged that had already been endowed with the right to choose the government in a federal setting. However, economic exclusion and marginalisation still ruled the roosts. Poverty, particularly rural poverty, continued to have its sway. In the absence of land reforms, rural inequality in asset distribution could hardly be reduced. In urban India also, access to economic opportunities remained perversely distributed. No wonder that class conflict which often appeared in the form of caste and community based contradictions sharpened over time. Deprivation leading to regionalism emerged as an important political force to reckon with. Indian state which was basically the continuity of the British Indian state did perform well in managing this complex situation. Apparently, the political authority was successful in formulating such rules of governance that would adapt to the emerging needs of the society. This was quite a challenging task particularly in a society in which the contradiction between economic democracy based on exclusion and inequity (in its entitlements to market) and political democracy based on universal adult suffrage (i.e. no exclusion) sharpened over time. The state was supposed to play the role of a mitigator in these development related issues. At hindsight, it appears that Indian state performed remarkably well in meeting this challenge. How could it be achieved? This paper plans to address this question.

The course of development that India has adopted since the introduction of the New Economic Policy, however, has been radically different from what had been during Nehru-Indira era. The state initiative has now been replaced with the initiative of the private capital and market with its twin feature of exclusion and inequality is now accepted as omnipotent in the economic life of the people. The rules of governance that the state used to follow, by carefully working out targeted policy measures so that the underprivileged could be included in the development process, are being undermined in the new dispensation. As the factory and labour laws are being revised in favour of the private capital and the protective measures for the small units and the unorganised workers are being withdrawn systematically. It appears that the notion of governance itself is changing under the new dispensation. What the state can do and cannot do are being renegotiated. Issues related to governance needs to be discussed in this general perspective. What were the rules of governance when India was following the state-centric development strategy? What was the role of the non-state or social institutions in the changing scenario where the state was assuming a bigger role and the expectation that the state can deliver was growing over time? How did the non-state

institutions adjust with this changing scenario? Admittedly, the role of the state in economic development are being re-negotiated in the post Nehru-Indira era. Market and not the state are being accepted as the pivot of the economic life of the citizens of India. What then is the possible fall out of this renegotiation on the state and non-state institutions of governance? The paper seeks to answer to these questions, as well. The focus of the present study is however on rural India. To be precise, our emphasis is on studying the process of evolution of the rules of governance with respect to rural India. This is so, because, even if the importance of agriculture in the GDP of the country is declining, more than seventy percent of Indians still earn their livelihood from rural informal sector activities.

Towards Another Freedom: A Failed Experiment in Newly Independent India

Professor Anuradha Roy

The Indian state that emerged in 1947 tried to combine the idea of modern statehood with nationalist fervour on the basis of a supposedly 'Nehruvian consensus'. But today we know that there was no such consensus across all sections of society at that time. People in general suffered from a sense of despair and despondency, thanks to the trauma of Partition and numerous other problems. In any case, nation making is a continuous process that goes on even after achieving independence from foreign rule. The nation is made in the everyday life of people through their constructive thoughts and activities. In this paper we will talk about a small group of people putting a high premium on construction about this time, but not along the line of 'modernist development' taken up by the state. They presented the idea of an alternative modernity and wanted to combine the idea of nation and the state by constructing a society oriented towards a different kind of freedom – not just freedom from foreign rule, but human liberation of a more profound character. They were Gandhian social workers. They were devoted not so much to the idea of *swadhinata* as to the ideal of *swaraj*, which was a commitment to every individual's worth, dignity and autonomy. Thus, India was to be an ethical community designed sharply in contrast to the modern Western nation-state. Gandhi wanted the Congress to disband itself and its workers to go to villages to achieve this. Like several times before, the Congress turned him down respectfully. The present paper which is mostly based on the journal *Sangathan* is an humble attempt to understand the nature of Gandhian social work in Bengal at that important juncture of history and also why its exponents could not carry on for long.

Situating India Today: At the Interface of the National, International and the Transnational

Professor Sudeshna Banerjee

The internal (read local) historical dynamics – with its interplay of the economic, social and political factors are very important in determining the state of the country and the working of the state in India today. But there is also an eminent sense in which global operators dialectically interpenetrate the local, in determining the condition of India today, particularly since 1991 when India started treading the path of neo-liberal 'reforms'. This paper seeks to tease out the nuances of this complex scenario. That involves the paper in understanding the way in which the present-day 'global' itself has come to be constituted. The paper thus engages with a theoretical understanding of the way in which the global reality is itself generated at the interface of the national, the international and the transnational. Jurgen Habermas has coined the expression 'post-national constellation' to describe the globalised

socio-political reality in the world today. But the post-national constellation does not really connote the disappearance of the national. Rather the national has got reconstituted under conditions of capitalist globalisation in a post-Washington-Consensus world. With the concept of the nation and the legitimacy of the nation-state thus getting reinvented, the role of international platforms has understandably remained still relevant. As the transnational in the form of transnational corporations, on the one hand, and transnational governance of the Bretton Woods institutions, on the other, has come to overwhelmingly determine the pulse of global capitalism. Also, at the local level, radical activism too are increasingly tending to seek for solidarity at transnational level and thus create a transnational space of its own. It is at this complex interface between the national, international and the transnational that the India of today needs to be historically mapped.

The Issue of Governance in Rural India: Rethinking Women's Participation

Smita Agarwal

The concept of governance encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of economic benefits as well as the nature of relationship between the ruler and the ruled. State has used governance and institutions as tools for the provisioning of basic services, management of natural resources and enhancing livelihoods. The nature of state and models of governance has undergone changes in the wake of globalisation. Larger integration of the world weakened the centralized state and made the state to rely on structures and other institutions to render services to ensure 'common good'. Theoretically, normative theories for local democracy had resided on the belief that the quality of political participation and therefore, public life itself, will be substantively transformed when people foregather to collectively debate and deliberate on issues of common concern. Feminists criticized the theories of governance and wanted to undo the asymmetrical power relations operating through patriarchy. The asymmetrical power relations having been further reinforced through various structures of the society that has hitherto hindered their participation. In India when the process of decentralisation was established through 73rd Amendment Act, it tried to redistribute power in favour of women through reservation of seats for them in the Panchayats. This step though ensured political space for them but it did not translate into 'substantive participation' for them. In the absence of economic power and social support their participation was not substantial. Trying to rectify the gaps I try to present an alternative model where women would be given voices along with space. The process of gender budgeting that has been started and allocates a sum for women development works. This sum can be passed on to the Panchayats and an implementing authority consisting of all women representatives can be made who would see that money is spent to create economic opportunities for them. In this model state has to play a major role where it sees that required structures are created for this kind of initiative. Already similar kind of model is being implemented in one district of Kerala.

Impact of Liberalisation on the Global Financial System

Anupam Mitra

In the present globalised financial market, the financial architecture is changing. Evolution of the monetary system and financial market has been astounding over the last few decades. Production system and global trading have assumed great dimensions and the financial

structure and transactions have also become equally international. In the process of transformation of interests of the dominant nations new trading and monetary formations have come up. While GATT has yielded place to WTO in trade, monetary unions have begun to emerge along side the weakening of the IMF. During the first wave of globalisation of a different form, free trade doctrine and key currency hypothesis led by Great Britain prevailed in international trade and finance. The second wave of globalisation was marked by neo protectionism, expansion of regional trade and increased financial integration. Finally, during the third wave of globalisation regional trading blocks created optimum currency areas, increased intra and inter blocks trade share, practice of common currency came into existence, and proceeded further through the stages of financial integration with a much greater intensity. The aim of this paper is to focus on the impact of liberalisation on the integration of international trade and finance during the entire period of globalisation.

Evolving Morality of India Through the Ages

Dr. Kalyani Sarkar

The world has changed considerably in its outward material aspects as well as in its intrinsic philosophical beliefs. It is man who shaped a state and it is a state that has become a kindred throb of the human heart. From the chants of the Vedic poets to the globalised era, man has evolved different philosophical tenets. I wish to maintain in my paper a chronology of development of state in the following aspect. The concept of morality has changed repeatedly in the course of history — through the Vedic, medieval, post colonial and to the modern times. Morality earlier in the Indian society came to be mostly characterized by religious identities. Polygamy, sati, child marriage, were considered as ways of life. Violation of casteism was thought to be thoroughly immoral. Later, with the arrival of the British with their enlightenment of western education, again brought about a sea change in the concept of morality. Overnight, philosophies preached by foreign pundits or scholars became social pillars and the earlier accepted standards of morality were denounced severely. These western moralities too were Indianised in the course of time. During the current times, globalisation, has swept in the winds of change. Man has now been forced to leave the secluded corners of their home and face global competition. He has been forced to rethink every accepted social norm and challenge the hitherto unchallenged ideals. As a result, the concepts of morality in society have become vibrantly dynamic, changing everyday. Blind faith has got no place in today's life. However, this has led man to question his innermost beliefs as well, leading to strong internal strife.

Kosambi's Concept of India – A Different Paradigm of Understanding

Dr. Sanjukta Bhattacharyya & Debasis Chattoraj

Kosambi's study of ancient India moved out of the confines of colonial and dynastic events and made visible new dimensions of the past. His understanding of India was concentrated on the crucial social, cultural and economic history of the country. Culture for him was not a separate entity, but an intrinsic part of making of a history of the country and the making of its historical context. His new dimension of understanding India gathered a new outlook in the post-independence era of 1950's and 1960's as the theoretical problems of social, economic and cultural change became the then concerns of Indians in the Post-Colonial Period. The objective of this paper is to present a critical assessment of D. D. Kosambi's concept of India as a different paradigm that widened and sharpened the intellectual

foundations of the discipline of history and enriched the understanding of Indian Nation in a different way.

From Medieval to Early Modern State: The Transition in Eighteenth Century Bihar (1765-80)

Santosh Kumar Malua

Since the very inception of Bihar, as one of the twelve *subas* under the Mughal Empire, the foundation of medieval state building had started in the region. Its strategic, political and economic position between Allahabad and Awadh in the north, and Bengal in the east proved its potential in the larger fabric of Mughal Empire. This had not only attracted the native rulers but also the European Companies to establish their foothold in the region in the eighteenth century. Following the decline of the Mughal Empire, the manifestation of colonialism in the region along with Bengal took place and thereby, early foundation of modern state was laid simultaneously. This paper is an attempt to unravel the broad historical development of eighteenth century Bihar in terms of its transition from medieval to early modern state on the firm basis of large range of records and reports of various committees of East India Company, such as Select Committee, Secret Committee, Comptrolling Council of Revenue, Provincial Council of Revenue, and Board of Revenue etc. It specifically investigates the political and economic development of the region under the East India Company in the post *Diwani* phase.

Discourse on the Formation of a Righteous Government, Ideas on Rural Reconstruction in Bengali Mind (1858 -1950)

Dr. Sarmistha Nath

Origins of Indian nationalism, growth of the nationalist movement and the consequent foundation of the Indian nation-state have provided themes of historical research for a considerable time. An integrally connected issue has been the idea of governance, without which the process of nation building cannot be a concrete and meaningful exercise. This paper attempts to trace the ideas of different groups of Bengali intellectuals about rules of governance as well as the role of state in some vital aspects of life between 1858 and 1950. Both these years are marked by formation and reformation of state. In 1858, the colonial state restructured the government obviously keeping in mind the popular pressure that they had experienced just one year before. In the latter case, it was a supposedly popular state that was expected to translate popular vision into state policies. My work will not analyse state policies, rather it will explore ideas that cropped up among different groups and individuals, who did not always have voice in policy making but had visions with some degree of originality. These visions also throw light on the relationship between the state and the society — whether they would act in exclusion of each other or be interactive and even overlapping in areas like education, health, municipal service, rural reconstruction, etc. The present work specifically focuses on ideas about revitalizing the village community and its economy. Thereby, the paper tries to bring out the ‘smaller traditions’ that were either subsumed by the ‘greater traditions’ or passed into oblivion.

The Mirror Reflection of Sambalpur State through the Courtly Chronicle called *Kosalananda Kavyam*

Brundabana Mishra

While tapping the history of Sambalpur State, this paper's author had consulted the only contemporary as well as authentic document of sixteenth century, "*Kosalananda Kavyam*", the equivalent of Kalhana's "*Rajtarangini*". To arrive at a definite historical conclusion how the state was formed and consolidated other sources like "*Jaya Chandrika*" written in *Lariya* by Prahallad Dubey, the court poet of *Sarangarh*, in the middle of the eighteen Century and other vernacular sources were used adequately. This paper attempts to look how the state of Sambalpur was formed by the Chauhan ruler of Patnagarh in the middle of sixteenth century in the western part of Orissa, on the basis of "*Kosalananda Kavyam*". At the same time it argues that "*Kosalananda Kavyam*" is a classified source to write the history of Western Orissa starting from the beginning of the 14th century to the end of the 17th century. Technically the paper has been divided into two parts. The first part deals about the "*Kosalananda Kavyam*" and addresses some of the basic questions such as; who has written the *Kavyam*, under what circumstances and what the *Kavyam* consists of. The second part deals about the state of Sambalpur and throws light on the subjects like; why the state of Sambalpur was formed, who formed it and under what circumstances it was formed.

Role of A Globalised State in Human Development

Mala Bhattacharjee

Globalisation is a term that has come into increasingly popular use both in the academic and in the public discourse. A generation ago, the idea was vividly introduced in Marshall McLuhan's term 'Global village'; connoting the shrinking of geographical distance and the effective disappearance of national borders. Today it has been brought about by the ubiquity of instantaneously transmitted words and images in the new technologies of the worldwide communication. More recently the term 'globalisation' has been used to characterize the rapidly developing interconnectedness and interdependence of national economies within the world economy. However, economic globalisation has increasingly been both the subject of critique and protest. Since, globalisation has been argued to increase income inequality in two ways — firstly, through changes in the composition of output, and secondly, through the growth of output. Accompanying these economic and technological aspects we have also an effect of globalisation in the cultural, primarily in the proliferation of western cultural modes. All the above effects of globalisation have resulted in significant and drastic changes in the human life as such, specifically in their dignities and identities. The paper brings forward human rights issues for the emancipation of human problems. The paper argues that solutions to the problems arising in different aspects of human life are possible. However, they are difficult to solve in a democratic state, where economic policies are not determined by the interactions of those who bear the brunt of the negative effect of globalisation but are essentially determined by the interactions of various pressure groups.

Vision of India in the 21st Century: A Review from the Perspective of Inclusive Growth

Rajrupa Mitra

In the 21st century the utopian vision of India is one that is free from poverty, illiteracy, social disparities and an overall healthy congenial and sustainable environment. The challenges, to be met by India, demand priority action for enhanced programme implementations for the 'inclusion' of the deprived and disadvantaged sections of the society in the developmental process. This is, precisely, the essence of 'Inclusive Growth'. The vital cause of concern is that the causes of poverty differ across regions and sometimes are the resultant of deeply engrained specific characteristics that are not quite amenable to swift changes. Hence, it is important to explore new vistas of growth so that India's potential rate of economic growth of around 8.5% per annum could be translated into reality. In this regard, the paper makes an attempt to evaluate the relevance of inclusive growth as far as curtailment of human deprivation is concerned.

The State, Society, Market: The Indian Experience in a Liberalising Landscape

Sanchita Chakraborty

In India, the economic reforms introduced in 1991 was based on the strategy of liberalisation, was influenced by the broader forces of globalisation and were aimed at macroeconomic stabilization with ensuing broader structural adjustment. The immediate balance of payments and fiscal crisis were the primary reasons determining the external pressures for greater economic liberalisation. The common meaning associated with economic liberalisation is a reduced role of the state for economic activities and unfettered operation of market forces in shaping economic processes. However, the working of a liberalised economy in a democratic set up has shown that entirely pruned state is not desirable but rather it requires a redefined role of the state sensitive to the needs of the society. This paper seeks to address the impact of liberalisation on diverse groups in the society that have either benefited or have been marginalized by the liberalisation process. It also attempts to analyse the role of a state-market interface to meet the shortcomings of the liberalisation process.

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THE END