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perception

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PERCEPTION

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FOREWORD

(Dr. Aditi Dey)

This issue of 'Perception' is very special not only for the Department, but also for the College. 'Perception' is the only departmental journal to have been assigned an ISSN (print). It gives me immense pleasure to inaugurate this seminal journey of our beloved journal. This ISSN is an acknowledgement of the academic standards that the output in previous volumes of 'Perception' has achieved. It is a source of tremendous encouragement for our students and faculty to continue to do the good work and publish them. This volume has, in addition to the usual articles, a report on the academic extension project undertaken by the students at Visva Bharati, Sriniketan in collaboration with the Department of Social Work. This exercise has indeed added a salient dimension to our curriculum.

I hope 'Perception' will continue to grow from strength to strength.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Aditi Dey', is written in a cursive style.

September, 2016



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Principal,
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Perception

It is important that the ISSN should be printed on every issue preferably at the right hand top corner of the cover page.

प्रकाशन की प्रत्येक प्रति के कवर पेज के दाहिने ओर के ऊपरी सिरे पर आई.एस.एस.एन. छपा होना आवश्यक है।

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भारतीय राष्ट्रीय फंड की निम्नोदारी होगी कि यह भारतीय पत्रिकाओं को आवंटित आई.एस.एस.एन की जांच करेगा एवं उद्यतन डाटा की जानकारी इंटरनेशनल सेंटर फॉर आई.एस.एस.एन पेरिस को भेजेगा। अतः आपसे अनुरोध है कि इस कार्य हेतु प्रकाशन की एक प्रति आई.एस.एस.एन. प्रिंट करके सम्प्रतया भेंट हमें भेजी।

We solicit your co-operation in this regard.
आपके सहयोग के लिए हम आभारी रहेंगे।

भवदीय

SVij

For (जी महेश)

हेड

नेशनल साइंस सक्सेरी एवं आई. एस. एस. एन.

EDITOR'S DESK

The seventh issue of *Perception* is a very special and prized one for the Department of Political Science not only because this is the first issue to be published with ISSN (print) but also ours is the first journal in the college to have got registered and assigned ISSN. We take pride in mentioning that this is another addition to the list of pioneering ventures in our college. However, it evokes a mixed feeling. While it gives us immense satisfaction and contentment, it also breeds anxiety and brings greater responsibility to maintain high academic standard and quality of our esteemed journal. We are making sincere effort in this direction.

Now it will be relatively easier to get articles from the aspiring writers, especially from the faculty and noted academicians. But our targeted writers are primarily the students of our department. Two trends are visible in recent times. First, there is an urge among younger students to contribute project-based reports instead of an article independently thought and developed. Secondly, the senior and former students are more inclined to write articles on contemporary politics based on facts. We design our departmental calendar in a manner that would help our students to work throughout the year to prepare write-up for our journal. All the important student activities find place in our journal like paper presentations and book reviews made in our Departmental Study Circle or during Active Learning Day, display of Weekly Newsletters, reports on Institutional Visits, Academic Extension Activities with other Institutions, summer projects and many more. It is an opportunity for the students to help them evolve as promising writer.

Each and every section of our journal including the photo gallery mirrors our team spirit and planning. It is also an ardent effort to get ourselves involved in a wider spectrum of the academic world. We have been inspired by esteemed journals like *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Frontline*, *Socialist Perspective* and *Seminar*.

The management of the college and especially our Principal, Dr. Aditi Dey, the most valued member of this department have been a continuous source of support. We are specifically indebted to the Research Cell of our college without whose insistent endeavour, to apply for ISSN would have been a remote dream. Mention should also be made of *Pratirup*, the printer who comes to our rescue from all types of unintentional errors and delay.

To us the seventh issue is the beginning of a new phase in the journey of *Perception*. We look forward to maintaining our continuous accountability to our readers.

Dr. Mandar Mukherjee
mmukherjee19@gmail.com

Besides, the students of I Year prepared weekly **Newsletter**, covering local, national and international news and all the three year participated in the departmental **Study Circle** on regular basis

Our students also participated in inter - departmental and inter-college events with lot of enthusiasm. They made us proud by winning a number of prizes in extra-curricular activities —

- Raksha Pandey (II H) and Shrimati Mukherjee of (III H) won 3rd prize for Hindi and Bengal Creative Writing respectively on the occasion of Vidyasagar Divas in September 2015
- Siddhi Baid (II H) won 1st prize for Backstroke, Freestyle and Breaststroke swimming competition between different streams
- Apurba Hazra (II H) won 2nd prize in inter-stream Throwball Competition
- Apurba Hazra secured 3rd position in Shot Put and Discus Throw in college sports
- Siddhi Baid & Apurba Hazra secured 2nd position in inter-stream cricket competition
- Siddhi Baid & Apurba Hazra secured 3rd position and won Bronze in Inter- College Rowing Championship organized by Bengal Rowing Club on 9.12.15 to 12.12.15
- Ashna Jaiswal (II H) secured 1st position in 'Theme of Samagam, Photography' and 2nd position in Spot Photography in Loreto College Fest, Samagam
- Insha Dhanani (I H) won 2nd position in Spot Photography in Loreto College Fest
- Yanika Khan (I H) held 3rd position in Western Dance in Loreto Fest

The Department has a tradition of celebrating Teachers' Day and organising Freshers' Welcome and Farewell for various batches. The Department since last few years have started the practice of recognizing the achievements of the outgoing batch through token awards on the day of farewell. In the session 2015-16 the awards were given to Shafu Mittal and Varsha Kushwaha for obtaining highest marks in Selection Test, Afrin Sutana for highest attendance in class, Abhinava Bose & Afrin Sullana for Technical Support, Sumaita Hossain for Photography in the departmental events and Sanchari Chakraborty for efficiently moderating debate. The teachers in the department also celebrate Children's Day as Students' Day. Such activities help to strengthen the bonding among the students of different years on the one hand and between teachers and students on the other.

The Department is also happy to mention that -

- The Departmental Journal 'Perception' was assigned ISSN by NISCAIR ON 21.7.2015
- Koushiki Roy Bardhan of 2012-15 Batch achieved 1st rank in the University of Calcutta by obtaining 82.5% in honours
- Our former student Navneeta Chakraborty (1999-2002) was given Achiever's Award by the college for her achievements in the field of Media
- Former student Ritika Sahni was specially invited as a "performing Artist" to perform on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the College



An Institutional Visit to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 21.08.2015



An Educational Tour to the Department of Social Work Sriniketan, Viveka Bharati, on 28.08.2015 & 29.08.2015



Eighth Belarani De Memorial Lecture by Dr. Samita Sen, on 10.09.2015



Active Learning Day Celebration on 03.09.2015



Study Circle presentation by Third Year Honours Students In 2015



Orientation Class by the former student Koushiki Roy Bardhan (2012-2015) on 28.08.2015

PHOTO GALLERY

ORGANISED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN
 COLLABORATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK,
 VISVA BHARATI, SRINIKETAN
 AS A PART OF
 ACADEMIC EXTENSION ACTIVITY
 2015-2016



ACTIVE LEARNING DAY : A REPORT (2015-2016)

Active Learning Day is one of the most important events in the academic calendar of the college. It aims at involving the students in different kinds of academic exchange and help to extend the knowledge beyond the classroom lectures. It encourages students to participate and contribute creatively in the learning process.

In the academic session of 2015-16, the Active learning Day was celebrated on 3rd September 2015. The programme commenced with an introduction on the significance of such celebration by the final year honours student, Saadia Qadir followed by an exposition on the life and work of Late Dr APJ Abdul Kalam by a team of Second Year Honours students Maliha Fatema, Mariam Timol, Anefa Ahmed, Ritupama Mukherjee. Among Dr Kalam's famous writings, the students of Second Year Hons chose to present a Book Review on the introductory and concluding chapters of 'India 2020 : A Vision For The New Millennium', a book jointly written by Dr Kalam and Y.S.Rajan. The participating students were Ashna Jaiswal, Raksha Pandey, Chandni Jha and Neha Kumari Singh. Through their presentations the students wanted to pay tribute to the great teacher and scientist who passed away sometime before the event.

The year 2015 was very crucial for Britain since it was the year of General Election. The students of First Year honours made a power point presentation on the 'British Political System and Election in UK'. The participating students were Asmita Das, Megha Das, Saima Parveen, Arshi Hussain, Sudeshna Gorai, Tanza Khan and Insha M Dhanani.

The day -long program also included debate on the topic 'The House believes that Voting Age in India should be reduced to 16 Years'. The session was moderated by a Third Year Honours student, Sanchan Chakraborty. Shristi Mahindra (II Year), Madha Fatema (II Year), Debolina Biswas (I Year), and Asmita Das (I Year) spoke for the motion. Priya Tiwari (II Year), Ridhi Dave (II Year) Insha Dhanani (I Year) and Rohini Banerjee (I Year) spoke against the motion. Debolina Biswas was declared the Best Speaker.

The last part of the program comprised of twin power point presentations by the students of Third Year Honours. The first presentation was on the experience of 'An Institutional Visit to West Bengal Legislative Assembly' by Third Year Hons and General students and the other was on 'Educational Tour to Shaniniketan' as a part of Academic Extension Activity with the Department of Social Work, Sriniketan, Visva Bharati by Third Year Honours students.

This was followed by the distribution of prizes and certificates. The entire programme had been compared by Debolina Biswas of First Year Honours and brought to a close with the Vote of Thanks by Afra Sultana of Third Year Honours.

(II)

AUNG SAN SUU KYI: ICON OF A BLOSSOMING DEMOCRACY

DEBALINA BISWAS, SADIYA SULTANA AND SUDESHNA GORAI

FIRST YEAR (HONOURS)

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of the Union of Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is a sovereign state lying in South East Asia. Myanmar has been a witness of number of invasions. As per archaeological sources, traces of life could be seen in the land as far back as 400,000 years ago. City-states started springing up from 2nd century BC. It was from this period that the importance of Buddhism could be witnessed. From 9th Century onward, the Pagan Kingdom, named as it emerged from the Bagan region started unifying the hitherto disparate areas and in course of time what is known as present day Burma/Myanmar emerged. The Pagan rule continued until its defeat in 1287 by repeated Mongol invasions.

Not only the Mongol invasions, Myanmar's history been marked with a number of other invasions which led to the fragmentation of the land united by Pagan initiatives. Political unification returned in the mid-16th century, due to the efforts of Taungoo, a former vassal state of Ava kingdom, one of the then largest factions.

The first wave of colonialism came with Portugese domination in the 16th Century continuing till early 17th century when they got vanquished by the rulers of the Taungoo dynasty. It was from this period that rule by appointed Governors as in contrast to hitherto prevalent chieftains became the norm. At during this war, intermittent wars among the various powers continued and British and French colonists got involved in the internal warfare. Another empire was formed by King Bodawpawa in late 18th and early 19th century, which however succumbed to British attacks in the First Anglo-Burmese War in the years 1824-1826. With two more Anglo-Burmese wars, the Second and Third in 1852 and 1885 respectively, the country was completely annexed to Britain by 1886.

BRITISH PERIOD

British rule continued till 1948 when the country acquired independence. During the period between 1824 -1948, the resentment of the dominated Burmese people found vent in frequent rebellions with the demand for autonomy, particularly from 1930s onwards. On 1 April 1937, Burma became a separately administered colony of Great Britain with Ba Maw as the Prime Minister. From 1942, Burma came under Japanese occupation which continued till the end of World War II. After the War, negotiations started with the objective of achieving Burmese independence.

During the period 1962 and 1974 Myanmar was reigned by a Revolutionary Council which was headed by General Ne Win. Nearly every aspect of the society was nationalised according to the 'Burmese Way of Socialism' which was an amalgamation of the Soviet style of nationalism and centralised system of planning. In the year 1974, the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma adopted a new constitution; 'Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar'. Until 1988 The Union of Burma was under the authoritative regime of a single party which was the Burma Socialist Program Party headed by the general and other military officials. In 1988 SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) declared martial law after widespread protests against economic mismanagement, political repression and intense pro-democracy movements. The militant junta finalised the plans for Peoples' Assembly Elections on 31st May 1990. A year later in May 1990 the government held free elections for the first time in thirty years. The party of Aung San Suu Kyi, National League for Democracy (NLD) won 392 out of a total of 492 seats. The hope for democratisation of the county was short lived though. This league from authoritarianism to democracy was hindered by the military junta, who refused to cede power. The ruling military junta hindered the path to progress and refused to recognise the result of the election. They claimed that the vote was only to form an assembly to draft a new constitution, not for a parliament. In the ensuing months, the military government arrested and imprisoned dozens of opposition parliamentarians, while scores fled Burma to seek refuge abroad. They talked about moving the country to "disciplined flourishing democracy" in which the military would have a central role. The government's tightly-controlled process of drafting a new constitution dragged on for 14 years. The then ruling authority namely The State Peace and Development Council announced its "Seven Step Road Map to Disciplined Democracy" in August 2003 as a renewed plan to complete the constitution and prepare for future elections. They persisted to reign over the nation as SLORC until 1997. After 1997; they came to be known as the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). The personnel engaged with the old regime continued to be in office (most of them now in higher posts) in the SPDC until the latter withered away in march 2011. From 2011 to 2015- the period has been marked by a series of pro-active political reforms. It has been culminated in the 2015 general elections with the return of Suu Kyi as State Counsellor of Myanmar.

AUNG SAN SUU KYI - POLITICAL CAREER

Aung San Suu Kyi was the daughter of Aung San, Myanmar's independence leader and founder of the Burmese army and Union of Burma. She had begun her political career after returning to Burma in 1968. The long time military leader of Burma and head of the ruling party, General Ne Win, stepped down. Mass demonstrations for democracy followed the event of '8888' uprising on 6th August 1988 which was violently suppressed. Influenced by the philosophy of non violence of Mahatma Gandhi and more specifically by Buddhist way of thinking, Aung San Suu Kyi entered politics with a vision to establish democracy, but was put under house arrest on 20th July 1989. She was offered to leave the country, but she refused to do so. Despite her philosophy of non violence, a group of ex-military

commanders and senior politicians who joined National League for Democracy (NLD) during the crisis believed that she was too confrontational and they left NLD. But she retained enormous popularity and support among NLD youths with whom she spent most of the time.

In 1990, the military junta called a general election, in which the National League for Democracy (NLD) received 59% of the votes, guaranteeing 80% of seats in the parliament. But the results were nullified and the military refused to hand over power, resulting in an international outcry. Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest at her home on University Avenue in Rangoon, during which she was awarded the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought in 1990, and the Nobel Peace Prize the year after in 1991. On 9th November 1996, the motorcade with Aung San Suu Kyi and other National League for Democracy (NLD) leaders Tin Oo and U Kyi were attacked in Yangon. About 200 men swooped down on the motorcade. It is believed that the offenders were the members of the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). The NLD lodged a complaint but no action was taken. During her house arrest of 21 years she was prevented from meeting her party supporters and international visitors. On 12th November 2010, days after the junta-backed Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) won elections conducted after a gap of 20 years. The junta finally agreed to sign orders allowing Suu Kyi's release and on 13th November 2010 and her house arrest came to an end. In 2012 by-elections, Union Election Commission confirmed her victory, as well as the victory of her party in 43 of the contested seats, officially making Suu Kyi opposition in the Lower House. In 2015 elections NLD won a sweeping victory, winning at least 255 seats in the House of Representatives and 135 seats in the House of Nationalities.

Aung San Suu Kyi faced a lot of hurdles after winning the elections of 2015. The Myanmarese Army still holds many political aces which spell trouble for Suu Kyi. Crucially, the military will retain many key ministerial posts despite of losing the elections. These portfolios include the defence, police ministries, interior and border. Under the constitution, the military can take direct overall control of the government, including management of the economy, if it deems it necessary. However Aung San Suu Kyi has said she will nevertheless rule the country by positioning herself "above the president". But that may prove a hard trick to pull off.

Aung San Suu Kyi is barred from becoming President because she married a foreigner – the late Oxford historian Michael Aris and has two British sons. This is another constitutional tripwire deliberately set up by the generals.

As matters stand, the military's National Defence and Security Council is a more powerful body than the parliament. Thus an NLD government would have no say. This has led campaigners to suggest that real power will remain where it has always been, despite the NLD's success. Managing this delicate situation will require a high degree of political skill and subtlety on Aung San Suu Kyi's part if she is to keep the military on side and in barracks, while addressing Myanmar's many divisions and problems. Her unmatched international standing and proud lineage – she is the daughter of Aung San, Myanmar's independence leader and founder of the Burmese army – will help.

THE ROHINGYAS AND THEIR IDENTITY

One etymological version is that the word Rohingya is the Arabic word 'rahim' meaning 'mercy', which is clearly far-fetched as an attempt to dub the Burmese Muslims as Arabs settled in Burma since the 8th century CE. Their origins are uncertain mainly because of the varying versions of their genesis. History speaks of them as living in the Arakan region of Burma, today called Rakhine. But the word 'rohingya' appeared only recently, in the 1950s. After a recent massacre, when a television channel interviewed the victims, they spoke in Urdu. But their speech is actually supposed to be another Indo-European language linguistically related to the Chittagongian language spoken in the southernmost part of Bangladesh bordering Burma. The Rohingyas are Indo-Aryan people from the State, Myanmar, who speak the Rohingya language. According to Rohingyas and some scholars, they are indigenous to Rakhine State, while other historians claim that they migrated to Myanmar from the then East Bengal primarily during the period of British rule in Burma, and to a lesser extent, after the Burmese independence in 1948 and Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971.

Muslims have settled in Rakhine State (also known as Arakan) since the 16th century, although the number of Muslim settlers before the British rule is unclear. After the first Anglo-Burmese War in 1826, British annexed Arakan and encouraged migrations from undivided Bengal to work as farm labourers. The Muslim population may have constituted 5% of Arakan's population by 1869, although estimates for earlier years give higher numbers. Successive British censuses of 1872 and 1911 recorded an increase in Muslim population from 58,255 to 178,647 in Akyab District. During World War II, the Arakan massacres in 1942 involved communal violence between British-armed vs. Rohingya recruits and Buddhist Rakhine people. As a result the region became increasingly ethnically polarised.

ROHINGYA CONTROVERSY

The 2012 Rakhine State riots were a series of conflicts primarily between ethnic Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims in northern Rakhine State, Myanmar. Under the 1982 Citizenship Law, most Rohingyas are unable to qualify for Burmese citizenship. As such, they are treated as illegal immigrants, with restrictions on their movement and withholding of land rights, education and public service. Some activists criticised Aung San Suu Kyi for her silence on the 2012 Rakhine State riots (later repeated during the 2015 Rohingya refugee crisis). The Myanmarese army encouraged a radical Buddhist organisation, Ma Ba Tha which tried to paint the NLD as an Islamist party despite the absence of a single Muslim candidate on the NLD's electoral list.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY

The National League for Democracy (NLD) is a democratic socialist and a liberal political party in Myanmar; founded on 27th September 1988, with Aung San Suu Kyi serving as its President. The NLD won a substantial parliamentary majority in the Burmese General Election contested in 1990.

The ruling military junta led SLORC hindered the path to progress and refused to recognise the result of the election and continued to rule, this time rechristening itself as State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). On 6th May 2010 the party was disbanded and declared illegal by the military junta. They were refused the registration for the election due in November 2010. A year later in November 2011, the NLD announced its intention to register as a political party to contest future elections. This proposal was accepted on 13th December 2011; Burma's Union Election Commission approved their application and registered them eligible to contend future elections. In the 2011 by-elections the NLD contested 44 out of the 45 available seats winning 43 seats. Their leader Aung San Suu Kyi won from the seat of Kawhmu. In the 2015 general election, the NLD won an absolute majority in both the houses of the assembly, hopefully paving the way to democracy after decades of authoritarian rule. In the newly formed parliamentary set she has been selected as the 'State Counsellor', a new role similar to that of Prime Minister. Her close aide Htin Kyaw was sworn in as President. She also holds different governmental posts.

ASSESSMENT

While it's too early to prepare a marksheet of the ruling NLD regime, one cannot but notice the striking aberrations still existing which could mar the smooth working of a democracy that Suu Kyi's Myanmar aspires to be.

- The Myanmarese army still holds many political aces which spell trouble for Aung San Suu Kyi. Even after the NLD won a large percentage of the parliamentary seats, the Union Solidarity Development Party (USDP), meaning the military, will automatically retain 25% of them under the terms of the junta's gerrymandered constitution.
- Another irritant is the climate of perpetual ethnic intolerance and particularly the plight of the internally displaced (owing primarily due to the denial of citizenship rights) and tormented 'Rohingya' Muslims about whom Suu Kyi has been alleged to be indifferent.
- A host of other issues such as Buddhist chauvinism, ongoing political repression and high poverty levels will complicate her task.

CONCLUSION

After coming to power Suu Kyi has made a number of positive contributions to the very nascent democracy like freeing jailed students and extending amnesty to political prisoners, convince the western powers about better prospects of human rights in Myanmar among other important steps. Hopes are growing that the new government can accelerate the country's economic and political rejuvenation after decades of military repression.

The international community has welcomed the outcome of the 2015 elections. The two major powers, the USA and China, have been careful to keep both Suu Kyi and the army in good humour. After the visit of the then U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to the country in December 2011, the government

unilaterally suspended the huge, Chinese funded Myitsona dam project. Bilateral relations between Washington and Yangon were restored. Many of the sanctions were lifted and the West started describing Myanmar as a 'developing democracy'. American, European and Japanese companies started investing in the country, which has an abundance of mineral resources and cheap labour. China continued to be the biggest investor and trading partner of the country. What Myanmar makes out of the interest shown in her, only the future can tell.

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(ii)

FIRST BIDHANNAGAR MUNICIPAL ELECTION - AN ASSESSMENT

AFRIN SULTANA, VARSHA KHUSHWAHA, SHALU MITTAL
SHRIMANTI MUKHERJEE AND RIYA JAISWAL
THIRD YEAR (HONOURS)

INTRODUCTION

Bidhannagar or Salt Lake City as it is popularly called is a planned satellite town in the Indian state of West Bengal. It was developed between 1958 and 1965 to accommodate the burgeoning population of Kolkata. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal, was instrumental in formulating the plan to build this satellite area, and the township was named Bidhannagar in his honor. It is now a hub of economic and social expansion and is famous as the centre for IT in the city. The city was built on a reclaimed salt-water lake, which gave rise to its popular name of "Salt Lake City".

EVOLUTION OF BIDHANNAGAR CORPORATION

Bidhannagar was founded on 17 June 1758. Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, camped at this place to chalk out the strategy for attacking the British East India Company at Fort William. In 1863 the British officially started reclaiming these salt water bodies by connecting it with Mahatma Ditch (canal). In 1878, the Government leased out the right of the place to Nandalal Das and Durgachara Kundu till 1887. On 30 April 1890, the Government transferred the leasehold right to Bhabanath Sen.

After independence, under the aegis of Bidhan Roy government, the area came under government acquisition in 1955 and in 1962 the township of Salt Lake City was officially born. It came under Notified Area Authority in 1989, became a municipality in 1995 and finally had her Municipal Corporation in 2015 with the merger of the existing municipal areas of Bidhannagar Municipality and Rajarhat Gopalpur Municipality and the panchayat area of Mahishbathan II Gram Panchayat. The Corporation had its first elections in 2015 where Trinamool Congress had a sweeping victory.

EVOLUTION OF BIDHANNAGAR

The upliftment of Bidhannagar area has taken place in stages. Bidhannagar was originally developed and built under Direct Administration of the Irrigation and Waterways Department of the Government of West Bengal. Originally it came under the Public Works Department. In 1991, it came under the aegis of the Department of Urban Development (formerly known as Metropolitan Development Department). In 1989 a "Notified Area Authority" had been setup to administer this area. In 1995 Bidhannagar got its own elected body called "BIDHANNAGAR MUNICIPALITY". On 18th June 2015 "BIDHANNAGAR MUNICIPAL CORPORATION" was constituted by merging existing municipal areas of Bidhannagar Municipality and Rajarhat Gopalpur Municipality and the Panchayat area Mahishbathan 2 Gram Panchayat (vide Notification No. 401/MA/O/C-4/1A-12/2012 dated 18.6.2015 Kolkata).

BIDHANNAGAR: RECENT ELECTION

On October 3rd 2015, elections to Asansol and Bidhannagar Municipal Corporations and Bally Municipality were held. More than 70% of voting was recorded. Trinamool Congress, the ruling party of the state's Legislative Assembly, registered a sweep in the municipal corporations and municipality elections to the civic bodies were marred by violence and assault on journalist. However West Bengal State Election Commission on Sunday announced that counting of votes of civic elections will not take place on October 7 and a fresh election would be announced later. It was said that WBSEC is apparently convinced with the opposition CPI(M) and BJP which have lodged hundreds of complaints with the poll panel alleging that polls on Saturday were reduced into a farce as the ruling TMC allegedly resorted to unprecedented violence, vote loot and booth capturing with help of outsiders and miscreants were close to ruling party.

COMPOSITION OF MAYOR-IN-COUNCIL

After the Elections, the Corporation has 41 wards with 41 Councilors with 38 seats gained by Trinamool Congress and the rest shared by Congress and Left Front headed by Sri Sabyasachi Dutta as the Mayor and Shri Tapas Chatterjee as the Deputy Mayor.

The Bidhannagar Municipal Corporation was formed having the following composition:

- ⊙ Sri Sabyasachi Dutta, Mayor, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Tapas Chatterjee, Deputy Mayor, TMC
- ⊙ Smt Krishna Chakraborty, Chairperson, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Devasish Jana, Mayor In Council, Sewerage & Solid Waste Management, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Sudhir Kumar Saha, Mayor In Council, Light and Park Beautification, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Rajesh Chinmar, Mayor In Council, Mass Education, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Prosenjit Sardar, Mayor In Council, Sports and Youth Services, TMC
- ⊙ Smt Rahima BIDI (Mondal), Mayor In Council, Social welfare and Environmental Affairs, TMC
- ⊙ Sri Pranay Kumar Ray, Mayor In Council, Health, TMC

SOME IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS

- ▼ AMITY UNIVERSITY
- ▼ BIDHANNAGAR COLLEGE OF WEST BENGAL UNIVERSITY
- ▼ INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE EDUCATION AND RESEARCH, KOLKATA
- ▼ INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE
- ▼ RABINDRA BHARATI UNIVERSITY
- ▼ TECHNO INDIA UNIVERSITY

OTHER FACILITIES

A planned city, Bidhannagar offers many facilities usually not available in many other Indian cities. It has clean well maintained roads and sanitation, relatively pollution free environment, a large number of schools and education institutions. The largest sports stadium in India and the second largest stadium in the world by capacity, the Yuva Bharati Krirangan Stadium, shopping malls, amusement parks, medicare facilities Bidhannagar sub divisional hospital, AMRI etc. are in this locale. In order to improve the law and order situation, Bidhannagar Police Commissionerate was established in January, 2012 under the administrative control of Home Ministry of West Bengal. The said Commissionerate has nine police stations under its jurisdiction ; three of them being located in Bidhannagar area (Bidhannagar East, Bidhannagar North and Bidhannagar South).

BIDHANNAGAR CORPORATION IN NEWS

Recently, the Corporation came to limelight as Mayor of Canada's Markham city Frank Scarpitti met Bidhannagar Mayor Sabyasachi Dutta at Pura Bhavan in Salt Lake on 8th February 2016. The two mayors discussed on the possible collaboration for better solid waste management, rainwater harvesting and solar power and he appreciated the efforts.

CONCLUSION

Bidhannagar Municipal Corporation intends to be an environmentally clean urban area which wishes to provide the citizens with basic civic amenities In order to ensure healthy lives, healthy ambience, safety and security, properly preserve the wetlands in order to save the ecological balance of the Kolkata Metropolis ,to upgrade the economically weaker sections by engaging all families in gainful employment or self-employment through different training programmes and finally to turn itself into a smart city.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks to Shri Tapas Chatterjee, Deputy Mayor, Bidhannagar Corporation

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(iii)

POSITION OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY IN A STATE : RECENT CONTROVERSIES

AFRIN HOSSAIN, SANCHARI CHAKRABORTY, SHARMIN CHOWDHURY,
SADDIYA QADIR, SUMAITA HOSSAIN
THIRD YEAR (HONOURS)

INTRODUCTION

In the Indian administrative structure, Chief Secretary is the title given to a senior civil servant who acts as the administrative head of a state. He can be regarded as a counterpart of the Cabinet Secretary at the Centre. The Secretariat Headquarters of all the Indian States and Union territories, house multiple departments, each headed by a minister and a secretary, who is an IAS officer and acts as the chief advisor. The Chief Secretary of a state is the Chief among secretaries and plays a supervisory role. Moreover, he also plays a substantial position in formal and informal policy formulation and policy implementation. The Secretary is the ex officio advisor to the Councils of Ministers.

The incumbent to the position of Chief Secretary is appointed by the Chief Minister in consultation with Union Government, but this consultation is not obligatory. The Chief Secretary is required to work in close unison with the Chief Minister of the State, and he is said to retain his seat as long as he retains the confidence of the Chief Minister with his tact, neutrality and experience. It should be mentioned here that the administrative work is influenced to a considerable degree by the personality of the Chief Secretary. Recently there has been a situation which culminated in the transfer of the Chief Secretary of West Bengal. The incidence of a Chief Secretary being transferred is relatively new as such an event hasn't taken place in the remote past. This has aroused myriad speculations on the capacity of the state government in this particular respect though the constitutionality of the matter hasn't been brought into question. The former incumbent, Sanjay Mitra, who is an IAS officer of 1982 batch according to unconfirmed reports had refused to continue as the Chief Secretary of the state of West Bengal. Mr. Mitra had become the state's Chief Secretary in October 2012. Hitherto Bengal Home Secretary Basudeb Banerjee has succeeded Mr. Mitra as the next Chief Secretary from January 1, 2016 replacing Sanjay Mitra whose transfer to Delhi had been cleared and who eventually became the Roads Secretary, appointed by the Centre. Officials close to Mr. Mitra said that he had been seeking a shift to Delhi on health grounds as his family also resides in Delhi. Alleged rumors abound that the Chief Minister wanted to change the set-up before the 2016 Legislative Assembly polls. Moreover, it has also been brought to notice that there might have been a difference of opinion between the Chief Minister and Mr. Sanjay Mitra on the matter of removing officials under Election Commission's orders during 2015 general election.

It is pertinent to bring to notice a fact, which is that the Centre has superseded the position of the Delhi Government in appointing a Chief Secretary and has currently decided to take control of all the employees of Delhi Government and make them answerable to the Central Government through Lieutenant Governor (LG), Najeeb Jung.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY:

Comparing the cases across two states; one which took place in West Bengal and the other which took place in Delhi, one is likely to realize that the first case scenario, the constitutionality of the matter was not questioned as such but in the latter case, the incident has been described as "morally, legally and constitutionally wrong." Because any minor decision relating to the Civil Services, which has to be taken by Arvind Kejriwal, Chief Minister of Delhi, will first have to be cleared by the LG, who is a part of the Modi Government's Home Ministry. Moreover, a scrutiny of the constitutional article 239 AA does not give any indication that the central government is empowered to impose such dictums on a democratically elected state government that has been armored by Art.31B of the Constitution as far as appointments in the State Public Service Commission are concerned. This has led to various observations and speculations about trends in federal governance and Centre-State relations.

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(IV)

UK WELCOMES NARENDRA MODI, THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

SHUBHANGI PRIYADARSHANI, RISHIKA, SAIMA PARVEEN,

SHUBRA GHOSH, JAGRITI BANERJEE, JAYA JHA

B.A. FIRST YEAR (HONOURS)

In the span of more than 2 years, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi has visited almost 38 countries of which majority of the visits were official state visits. PM Modi paid an official visit to the United Kingdom from 12 November 2015 to 14 November 2015. Before that, former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh had visited UK in 2008. India's international priorities have changed since the early 1990s. Since then, it has been looking for more resourceful partners in order to grow. The UK is the largest European investor in India and India is the second largest investor in the UK.

Modi's visit was seen as an important event in both the countries. He was accorded a guard of honour by the 48-member F-Company Scots guard accompanied by the regimental band of Irish guards. This was followed by an address to the British Parliament. A community reception was organised where about 1.6 billion Indians had assembled to extend a warm welcome to him. Modi hailed his country's "special relationship" with the UK as he addressed the gathering at Wembley Stadium. Radhika Sanghai, a journalist with Telegraph said that Modi is popular in UK because he has managed to connect with young British Indians in a way other Indian PM's have not been able to in the past. He is also viewed as a leader whose focus is on growth and business interest across the world.

PM Modi and his counterpart Cameron issued a joint statement touching upon various vital areas of exchange. The main highlights of the visit are as follows -

- On the first day of the visit they signed a civil nuclear agreement to reaffirm the importance of addressing climate change and promote "secure, affordable and sustainable supplies of energy". They said in a joint statement that the civil nuclear agreement is "a symbol of our mutual trust". A "comprehensive package" of collaboration on energy and climate change that aims to support economic growth, energy security and energy access. The package encompasses £3.2 billion (\$4.9 billion) of commercial agreements, joint research programs and initiatives to share technical, scientific, and financial and policy expertise. DECC said this will encourage the research, development and eventual deployment of clean technology, renewable gas and nuclear power.

- They decided to elevate their defence by establishing capability partnerships in strategic areas.
- The two leaders discussed the existing threat of terrorism. They discussed and mentioned various terrorist organizations explicitly e.g. the Lashkar-e-Toiba, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, the Haqqanis and said that their countries will work together to disrupt "all financial and tactical support for terrorist networks" including Al-Qaeda and Islamic State
- They agreed to work together to support 'Make in India' initiative on indigenous defence project.
- The two countries decided to work together to provide world-class expertise, education and training to their nations' cyber security professionals. UK would expand its Chevening Cyber Scholarships programme for India and establish a Cyber Security Training Centre of Excellence. They would also work together to combat "online child sexual exploitation".
- The two countries sealed £9-billion worth of commercial deals in the retail, logistics, energy, finance, IT, education and health sectors. \$13.7 billion worth trade agreements were signed. The deals are likely to create a safeguard of 1900 jobs in UK.
- David Cameron has given assurance that UK is going to support India for the membership in UN Security Council.

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(V)

TERRORIST ATTACK IN PARIS 2015 : AN OVERVIEW

ASMITA DAS, ARSHI HOSSAIN, NISHA SRIVASTAV, PUNAM YADAV,

KRITI RANJAN AND POOJA KUMARI DAS

FIRST YEAR (HONOURS)

INTRODUCTION:

Terrorism is a major threat to mankind in the 21st Century. It is generally defined as the intentional generation of massive fear by some human beings to secure or maintain control over other human beings. It is an ideology that justifies the act of terror. It may result from a sense of deprivation, frustration due to long unfulfilled demand, identity crisis etc. It is an illegal but organized group activity with the strategy to weaken the hated political authority. It generally involves the use of techniques like kidnapping, bombing, suicide bomb, mass killing in order to attain political goals. The threat of terror attack has instilled immense fear in the hearts of the common people. Terrorists are blinded by their misleading organisations that encourage them to slaughter people without a second thought. One can have a perfectly beautiful cause in mind, but if it is achieved by using terror technique it is to be condemned.

There have been large number of terrorist attacks all around the world at different points of time. One of the most brutal attacks has been the Trade Center attack in USA in 2001 by Al Qaida which killed approximately 3000 people and injured around 9000. Our own country has been a victim of terrorism for a long time. Some of the worst terrorist attacks are Mumbai Serial Bomb Blast (1993), Attack on Indian Parliament (2001), Attack on Akshardham Temple Ahmedabad (2002), Delhi Serial Bomb Blast (2005) etc. Recently, what pitted the people of the world was the massive terrorist attack in Paris. Let us remember that France is one of the important members of the US-led coalition that is carrying out air strikes against 'Islamic State' (terrorist organisation) positioned in Iraq and Syria. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) also known as ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), is a Sunni jihadist group with a particularly violent ideology that calls itself a caliphate and claims religious authority over all Muslims. It was inspired by Al Qaida but later publicly expelled from it.

THE SERIAL ATTACK IN PARIS:

On the evening of 13th November 2015, there was a deadly terror attack in Paris, the capital of France and its Northern suburb, Saint Denis. Three coordinated teams of jihadi gunmen attacked at six different sites across Paris in a bloody wave of suicide bombings and shootings. The attack began at 9.20 P.M. outside the Stade de France stadium outside north of Paris, where three suicide

bombers detonated their explosive belts in the course of about 20 minutes. Other places attacked included Petit Cambodge Cambodian restaurant in Rue Bichat, Le Carillon bar, Rue de la Fontaine au Roi, Casa Nostra pizzeria, La Belle Equipe bar in Rue de Charonne and Bataclan concert venue in Boulevard Voltaire. This was one of the most deadly attacks where 89 people lost their lives when they were shot by black-clad gunmen wielding AK-47 and wearing suicide vests. The first explosion happened at 21:20, second at 21:30 and the third explosion near the stadium was 20 minutes after the start of an international friendly game between France and Germany which President Hollande was attending. Approximately 150 or more people were left dead in the gruesome attack.

REACTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT:

Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attack. The French President, François Hollande denounced it as an "act of war" that must be countered "mercilessly". President Hollande issued a statement asking the people of France to remain strong in the face of the attacks. He also visited the Bataclan theatre and vowed to "mercilessly" fight against terrorism.

The Government of France took immediate action to deal with the situation-

- Fire fighters and ambulances sent to take charge of the affected areas.
- Team of police deployed to rescue the injured people
- An emergency meeting called by President Hollande that particular night and National Security Council ordered to meet the next morning.
- Three days of national mourning declared
- Special session of the French Parliament convened
- An extension of the state of emergency for three months
- Changes to the French Constitution recommended one of which would enable France to protect itself from dual citizens who might pose a risk
- An increase in military attack against ISIS
- Tight border security

Reaction of the International Community:

The attack had sent shock waves around the world. The people lighted candles for the dead and expressed their grievances through social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and Orkut. The heads of state from across the globe condemned the tragedy and pledged their assistance in bringing those behind it to justice-

- PM of India Narendra Modi called it "Anguishing and dreadful news from Paris".
- President Pranab Mukherjee said, "India stands firmly by France. My heart goes out to the people".

- President Obama commented "This is an attack not just on Paris, it's an attack not just on the people of France, but this is an attack on all of humanity and the universal values that we share," and promised to redouble the US led fight against Islamic
- British Prime Minister David Cameron said, "I am shocked by events in Paris tonight. Our thoughts and prayers are with the French people. We will do whatever we can to help"
- Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, called the attacks "crimes against humanity."
- Condolence and support poured in from other countries like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait.

CONCLUSION:

The terrorist attack in Paris is indeed a horrifying experience not only for the people of France but the citizens of the world at large. The leaders of the world have promised a forceful response to this inhuman act. Possibly international community will have to develop well coordinated and comprehensive strategies to restrict such attacks in future. George W. Bush had rightly pointed out that we invite terrorism by ignoring them."

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AN ESSAY ON CAPITALISM, LIBERALISM AND WELFARE

Dr. Paramita R.

Capitalism is the most significant globalised phenomenon today. Its strength has overpowered indigenous, self-reliant, nationalistic and humanistic cultures, philosophies and economies of the world. Capitalism is now not 'primitive', from state capitalism it has reformed to large corporate capitalism and later on into an invisible as well as invincible, trans-national capitalism. In colonial economic operations, the village market was linked with the town so that the rural may be purposefully exploited but the transnational capitalism necessarily regulates the rural markets so as to enable control people's choices, tastes, consumption habits and of course production. Cross border free flowing capital also controls science and technology, markets and management, social institutions, communication and the future of nation-state, civil society and voluntary action.

In a country that is open to the movement of free capital, if the state pursues policies that is disliked by finance, then large amounts of finance pulls out of the country and goes elsewhere. Then the economy faces an acute crisis. In a neoliberal economy, the state is forever caught in an attempt to regain the confidence of the investors. For this the state has to bow to global finance capital with which domestic capital is intrinsically linked. This poses a threat to the functioning of democracy. The state follows policies that satisfy capital not the people. What more, no matter who comes to power the trend in policies remains same? People's choices and hence elections become irrelevant.

CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The conditions for democracy rests on the following theoretical understanding. first, democracy is a form of government that is likely only in the market economies or capitalist economies. second, democracy is more likely to be sustained in wealthy or economically developed societies, third, democracy evolves in societies where there is a well-established tradition of compromise politics and of acceptance of checks and balances on central power (Kohli, 1986). Thus both the liberals and the neoliberals readily admit that there is a historical and logical connection between capitalism and democracy (Lindblom, 1977; Huntington, 1968). According to the historical view, the rising business classes successfully tamed the monarchical state by replacing the aristocracy by a government of 'wealthy commoners'. Later, under the pressure of organized working classes the government had to be formed by a legally equal citizenry. The logical reasoning is also apparent in the historical linkage. Capitalism is an economic system that is based on private property and provides a fundamental check on state power by separating the private and the public sphere. This division separates political equality from economic inequalities and lays the basis for legitimate electoral

governments in egalitarian societies in the hope of modifying inherent inequalities through the use of democratic state power (Marshall, 1964; Moore, 1977). The political theorists have identified a number of characteristics of industrial economies that may help in evolving and sustaining democracy. Relative wealth laid the basis for the welfare state which in turn, tamed class conflict. In wealthy economic systems, the struggle for power is not also seen as a zero sum game. As a result the losers are less likely to pursue political mobilization. Another strand of theorists believes that democratic institutions took shape prior to industrial capitalism as these institutions provided a framework to accommodate the demands of a new social class. For example England's feudal past have contributed to its later democratic revolution (Gilbert, 1975).

A popular and well-established line of thinking suggests that the process of industrialization and economic development is an inherently unstable one. From Durkheim through Parsons and Selmer to Huntington, numerous scholars have concluded that the transitional stages between tradition and modernity are often characterized by social disorganization. The explanation for this state of affairs is thought to rest on the corrosive impact of economic development on a society's established beliefs and patterned behaviour. If new patterns of 'integration' do not keep up with the process of 'differentiation' then it results in social disorganization.

LIBERALISM AND THE STATE

Liberalism is a collection of related philosophies about the roles and functions of individuals, groups and institutions in managing, directing and controlling the character and progress of human social life (Gray, 1989). It has emerged on the base of eighteenth century Enlightenment and a number of socio-political changes that had taken place during that period like the demise of the monarchy and the rise of the parliament, the decline of the church and the rise of religious individualism, the growth of capitalism and the shrinking of the agricultural economy and the rise of science as the litmus test of progress and development. In 1650, Locke said that Liberalism believes in the 'natural rights' of men - to live as you wish, to act as you will and to amass what you can and these rights precede the organization of society, then it follows that no social body can legitimately interfere with them. Individualism is to be the tying force between the state and the society. All are equal before the state, the law should be rational not personal or spiritual (Paine, 1791; Wollstonecraft, 1792). A parallel interpretation that was necessary was about the moral basis of the government as natural rights could well bring in chaos. The response was that the government should act only in the interests of the individual and that the government had no wider role in the regulation of civil life. The government should maintain a legal framework in which the greater majority of the people could pursue their life's goals without undue interference from others. The 'invisible hand' and a minimalist state has been analysed clearly in Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776. It is a realisation on how self-interest leads to social harmony through the mechanism of market demand. This leads to a moral justification of pursuits of individual interests of wealth accumulation.

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(Heilbroner, 1986). The inequities of wealth, status and education in Liberalism can be reformed by civil laws and by teaching the citizens how to manage his household and labour and to know his rights and duties (Condorcet, 1955). But his proposal gave rise to a politics of exclusion later on. Liberals promoted formal equality before the law but did not promote substantive equality. Liberal thinkers like J. S. Mill (1948) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1946) were fearful of the tyranny of the majority. That the local governments can act as check against the tyranny of the centre was emphasized by Mill very clearly. Liberalism developed the casework method of tendering assistance and focused on the circumstances of each individual rather on each individual himself. Its form of social administration supported the tenet of economic individualism. The second wave liberalism experienced a change in its philosophical belief and nurtured certain paternalistic values in part by the experience of charitable work and a mistrust of democracy (Morgan, 1975).

Influenced by *The Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin, some liberals proposed that organized bodies of the state functioned like the organs of a living creature. Individual interests get subordinated to group interests in order to promote the welfare of the whole (Kidd, 1894; Durkheim, 1893; Pearson, 1905). Nation-state emerged strongly as the basis for social progress and social reform. The nation-state, in order to compete in the imperialist world, had to keep its citizens healthy and fit. Conversely individuals thrived when the society functioned well (Samuel, 1902). Liberal Managerialism viewed the state as 'directive intelligence' in a risky and uncertain world, encouraged technocracy, opportunity and efficiency (Keynes, 1927; Beveridge, 1936; Watson 1957) whereas the liberal radicalism focused on social pluralism, community and tradition (Berlin, 1990; Rawls, 1971; Taylor, 1989). In liberalism 'equality' implied the right to be unequal and equality of opportunity that promoted inequality of outcomes.

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE STATE

The economic and political crisis of the Keynesian Welfare State in the 1970s brought in a number of responses from the new liberal philosophy. Public expenditure had increased steadily without corresponding increase in taxation revenue. There was also concern about inflation. The Oil crisis followed by international recession worsened the situation. Hayek was another was another important social thinker of the time. The central philosophy in Hayek's work was 'freedom', but in a negative sense, as an absence of coercion upon the activities of the private individuals. Hayek's theory directly attacks the concept of 'reason'. We can never understand the whole world. *Tacit knowledge* develops in to the evolutionary process through cultural practices and gets embodied into certain institutions. The spontaneous order that prevailed in the eighteenth century was the process of socialization in the family, community and economic life. Thus planned and organized institutional arrangements destroyed the spontaneity. It was proved that the state was always less efficient than the market. Only the price mechanism could satisfy people's preferences because of the social dispersion of 'tacit knowledge'.

The state was not allowed to redress inequities blown out by the market because according to Hayek, market outcomes were not to be considered unjust and moreover this went against freedom. Rather than supporting the 'rules of conduct', the state wields an ever increasing power over its citizens. He also believed in the *trickle down* distribution of wealth. The role of the state in development was that it should not lead to monopoly of a service provider but must also engage the private and charitable service deliverers (Hayek, 1960, 1979, 1988).

The noted economist Friedman supported Hayek's thoughts and spelt the doom of Keynesian economics which formed a guarantee for the moral basis of state intervention in the 1929-33 economic depression. However combination of high inflation, increasing unemployment and a very low economic growth exposed the weaknesses of Keynesian economics (Gamble, 1985). Extensive state intervention in welfare creates a class of bureaucrats who have a vested interest in further expanding the activities of the state. Thus state services benefits producer groups more than consumers who become all the more dependent on the state as they lose all their individual initiative for self-maintenance. This breaks down the moral fabric that is the basis of bonding of the society. Moreover, social insurance is seen as a tax on the employment thus raises employment costs. By paying taxes for benefits people are deprived of the opportunity to look for alternative arrangements through the market and have no choice other than to take what the state provides.

Buchanan (1978) applied the public choice theory to argue that voters did not have the expertise and the information to select the state representatives. In fact the people were presented with a *ragbag* of policies to suit particular groups (Laird and Seldon, 1973). The solution was in the de-socialisation of the public sector and a return to the provision of services by the private after means-testing the solution. Reemphasizing the themes of 'freedom' and 'responsibility', Green proposes that the mainspring of a free and democratic society is the individual's sense of personal responsibility which is characterized by self-control, independence from government and duty towards fellow citizens. This made possible a 'community without politics' and it also encouraged a society the concept of 'duty without rights' (Green, 1996). The 'therapeutic' state often stigmatized the receivers of benefits seen as 'victims'. This has destroyed the moral framework in which civic associations functioned. Green emphasized that social solidarity generated by a moral community and civic associations are formed through legal, organizational and cultural measures. The legal system was to be outside the political system and there was to be complete independence of the charitable and voluntary institutions. Personal responsibility in family life would bring in a shared responsibility of males in family affairs. Public policy must strengthen the ethical principles and moral behaviour to restore the civic life as a central actor in social life.

THE PRACTICE OF WELFARE

Development practice has a direct attachment to the state. In what way the state will deliver and ensure that all of its citizens are enjoying a minimum way of life depends on the politico-economic

changes in the country. Thus it is expected that the practice of development will also adapt itself to the changing institutional structures. In the era before Enlightenment social and political hierarchy was ordered as determined by God and it was completely natural. With the coming of Enlightenment and hence modernity, ideas about the natural world shifted from the divine to the secular. Reasoning and intellect substituted God's will (Howe, 1994).

With the popularity of liberalism against conservatism and radicalism, different forms of the welfare state emerged in USA, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Actually the encouragement towards the establishment of a welfare state was a strategy to assist the European societies to smoothly transform from a localized, traditional and feudal economy to an industrialized and modern economy (Pierson, 1998). It was believed that the state, along with the development of social sciences, would gradually transform the society into a just and well-ordered entity. The state thus not only tried to smoothen out the bumps of capitalism but it also facilitated the continuance of capitalism. The state tried to support the interests of some small groups in the welfare of the society because it was assumed that the state worked for the welfare of the society through public expenditure, government intervention and an efficient legal structure. It would also redistribute wealth. The state formed social laws and also shaped personal lives. Development practice also found newer channels of work with the newer roles of the state. Development practitioners occupied a significant space between the family and the individual and between the state and the society.

States in many developed countries have experienced changes in key social institutions and hence in its role (Harris, 1999). The assumptions about the protective guardianship of the state did not hold any further. Occupationally based income redistribution has become unstable now and incapable to meet the needs of the people (Gilbert, 2002; Goodin, 2000). Other factors like falling fertility rates, rising life expectancy rates and low morbidity precipitated the financial crisis in the welfare state (OECD, 1995; World Bank, 1994). Increasing responsibility of the state towards welfare expenditure raised the expectation of the population. Economists repeatedly warned the looming macroeconomic crisis of the state and proposed a shift towards individual responsibility of welfare (Hoopark and Gilbert, 1999). Globalisation with its usual characteristics of high capital mobility, growth of transnational corporations and sophisticated information technology brought about with it retrenched welfare expenditure and restricted labour rights. That the state is the best to solve social problems was undermined (Taylor and Goody, 2001). As a parallel thought the moral validity of welfare was questioned. And taxation as a source of revenue to disburse welfare was also argued (Goodin, 2000). A variant of this thought was the proposition that welfare was a 'moral hazard' where the welfare state encouraged free riding and in some cases even cheating (Lindbeck, 1995). Another factor that undermined the role of the welfare state was that it created disincentives in production where the productive units become too much dependent on the state (Mead, 1985; Murray, 1994). The public intelligentsia came to terms with the softer role of the state in removing poorness (Adams, 2000; Fincher and Saunders, 2001). It was believed that the new welfare regime will be much inferior

to the one already experienced. There will be a growing acceptance of menaces like poverty, inequality and unemployment as obvious fallouts of modernization and understanding of the idea that collective responsibility is not to work anymore. State delivery will be replaced by markets, social justice and equality will be replaced by commitments to individual freedom and choice, autonomy and responsibility (Ferge, 1997). The new regime will replace public delivered benefits to selective approach to private delivery of support and services. The aim will be to increase labour force participation within the framework of individual management of risk (Gilbert, 1975). The welfare state will not destabilize, it will only adapt itself to the changing contexts (Kuhale, 2000).

CONCLUSION

With reference to development practice it can be understood that in the preceding era the state communicated a particular relationship with its citizens, one in which it cared for and took some accountability for the effects on citizen's life. The present position taken by states is that the citizens are responsible to it as a society as a whole. This necessitates a significant institutional change (Bourma, 1993). Institutions in development practice constitute human service organisations, their employees (the government, market and the non-profit sectors) and other interested groups (social policy makers, social workers, social researchers etc.). Institutional change thus necessitates changes in the functioning and logic of its constituents (Galvin, 2002). Friedland and Alford (1991) mention 'value spheres' as developed by Weber referring to the cluster of values nested within the overall logic of a system. The value spheres provide the basis for patterns of development practice shaped according to particular value spheres. Particular interpretative frameworks, logics and rationales develop. The role of the welfare state should be to give certain development practices the professional legitimacy to exist and act. The extent of normative isomorphism (people holding similar value frameworks and passing them onto others) will determine the extent of success of institutionalization and re-institutionalisation (Jepperson, 1991).

Development practice has an adorable attachment to the welfare state. The institutional instability and changes associated with neoliberalism calls for a reemphasis of development practice. The importance of the bottom-up participatory attitude towards development is strongly related with the core method of 'community development' practice (Parfitt, 2002; Ahmadi, 2003). However, economic goals should actively be conditioned by social perspectives to avoid 'distorted development' which is seen in the existence of high levels of poverty with high levels of welfare expenditures. Instead of remedial and ameliorative social programs, development practice should encourage policies that continue social investment.

The new world order will create problems for the development of social policies and development practice. Welfare policies will no longer limit itself only to the national arena but must address the connections between the local and the global. There will not be a single, total or complete theory of the role of the state. However, the state will re-emerge and put governance as a central element in development, through a focus on the interrelation between the state and its citizens in terms of

duties and rights. Theories embedded in the Rights Base Approaches will draw attention to the basic obligation of the state to take care of its most vulnerable citizens, including those not able to claim their rights for themselves. The practice of welfare should be appropriately tuned to the culture of the stakeholders. A mutual respect and understanding can build social capital very necessary for the success of welfare programs. Corruption will be an open secret and the protest against it should be through community and legal action. This should include humanitarianism which would need to be realised in self and others. One-way dependence would ruin sustainability concerns and program implementation should have a feasibility evaluation regularly. Finally though specialisation will be a buzz word in so far as the welfare practice is concerned there should be interdisciplinary effort in planning and implementation.

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A PICTORIAL ESSAY ON THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

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As a young student of Political Science Honours I was advised by the veteran politician Atulya Ghosh, a very close associate of mine, to have a look at the original Constitution of India. He was provided with the Calcutta University version of the text of the Constitution which I religiously carried with me along with the writings of Karl Marx, Harold Laski and Ralph Milliband. Highly influenced by the leftist ideology, we began to disregard the contribution of 'anarchic' Congress Party to our recent political past as well as the contributions of Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Our annoyance with the impact of emergency and the mass killing of the 'naxalites' in the seventies was evident in our behaviour. At that time Atulya Ghosh was not in touch with any political party and was pre-occupied with setting up the Bidhan Shishu Udyan, his dream project at Ulitadanga. Incidentally I was also a part of that huge project. He himself was a voracious reader, book collector and a prolific writer. Initially I had some reservation about him, but eventually I found him to be a brilliant intellectual, one with an unparalleled sensitive soul. Though disinterested, I agreed and accepted his proposal. He knew how to convince even the most unwilling person. He arranged for a gate-pass to the Bidhan Sabha library where a copy of original constitution was kept. It was an eye opener for me.

Prior to this, I had had no opportunity to see any of the original texts of our country or not even the first written versions of those e.g. Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita, Koran or Guru Grantha Sahib. I had no visual experience of the originals like *Kumar Sambhava* or *Arthashastra*. I had also not seen the original Bible. Standing in front of a transparent glass case I felt mesmerised with the visual décor of the Constitution. I could recollect the pages from Morris Jones where he categorically described the three cultural trends of India - Traditional, Modern and Santly.

The décor of the Constitution is a unique blend of all these three trends. Under the supervision of library assistant I was allowed to see it, turning the pages physically and one by one. The black leather-jacketed cover of the constitution is designed with a golden *alpona*, placing the *Ashoka Sthambha* at its centre. The calligraphy of the title of the text 'Constitution of India' is in a simple and smart font instead of any ornamental effect. That looked dignified and modern too. The golden *alpona*, also designed with large number of lotuses in different shapes and sizes, symbolises the pride of our national flower. The cover appears as a vibrant greeting to the citizens of the Republic of India. In the opening page Lotuses are differently arranged in a cubic style caging the Preamble of the Constitution, the most decisive beginning of the entire text. The first chapter begins with the significant Bull of Mahenjo-daro depicting the unaltered sovereignty and unconditional freedom of

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the nation. It took me hours to complete nearly 500 pages. Surprisingly I found the name of Abanindranath Ghosh, a member of the Constituent Assembly, as one of the signatories to the Constitution. I feel a strange current of love and respect for the blood and soul of the freedom fighters of India as well as for our treasured root and heritage sustaining the process of nation building of independent India. I started to sail in the ocean of a legal document by the sea wind of our cultural history and art while the boatman was *shilpayuru Acharya Nandalal Bose*.

Description

The original hand written and hand painted Constitution of India took around five years to produce and has the signatures of the framers of the constitution – members of the constituent assembly. 1000 photo lithographed reproductions were made in 1955. Most students and readers do not know about the pictures illustrated in the original copy of the hand-written Constitution of India. Facsimile edition of such book containing all the pictures of the Constitution of India, are now available.

The fine calligraphy in the book was done by Prem Behari Narain Raizada and the illustrations including the artwork were done by Nandalal Bose and his students of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan. The original copy of the book is kept in a special helium-filled case in the Library of the Parliament, New Delhi. There are 11 pages of signatures which begin immediately below the list of languages in the Eighth Schedule. The first to sign is Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the senior-most member later signed above Nehru's signature. The very last signature is that of Feroze Gandhi as the junior-most member of the team. It is signed by all the framers of the Constitution, who are regarded as the founders of the Republic of India.

The twenty pictures so far enshrined in the Constitution of India may be termed as the reflections of culture and tradition of Bharat. The illustrations represent styles from the different civilisations of the subcontinent, ranging from the prehistoric Mohenjo-daro, the art of the Indus valley to the present. Each page has a frame and at the beginning of each part of the Constitution, Nandalal Bose has depicted certain scenes from our national experience.

In doing so he gave us a gallery of some of the greatest figures of our history.

- ❖ The Vedic period represented by a scene of Gurukula
- ❖ The epic period represented by a visual of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana
- ❖ Depiction of Krishna propounding the Gita to Arjuna on the battlefield
- ❖ Depictions of the lives of the Buddha and Mahavira
- ❖ Scenes from the courts of Ashoka and Vikramaditya
- ❖ Other great figures of our history represented are Akbar, Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh, Tipu Sultan, and Rani Lakshimibai

- ❖ The freedom movement delineated by line drawings of Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi march and his tour of Noakhali as the great peacemaker.
- ❖ Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose saluting the Mahatma from abroad and asking for his blessings in the war of the liberation of India.
- ❖ A beautiful landscape depicting other historical episodes and scenes from the mountains, deserts and oceans of India.
- ❖ Decorations used for the borders exemplify the Santiniketan style of *alpona*

Every picture drawn in each part of the Constitution of India has its own relevance and significance. Part I of The Union and its Territory starts with the Seal of Mohenjo-daro. The seal with the traditional oxen worship in India. In part II, Citizenship starts with the scene reflecting the vedic tradition of India; Chapter III, Fundamental Rights, starts with the victory of 'Truth and Faith' over evil by depicting the picture of Lanka Vijaya; Part IV, Directive Principles of State Policy, reflects the knowledge of the picture of Lanka Vijaya; Part V, the Union depicts the picture of the Sangha established by Lord Buddha; Part VI, The States in part A – shows the picture of Tirthankara Mahavira, the picture of Maharaja in Part XII and so on. One cannot deny the significance of these pictures in relation to Indian culture and heritage in the context of the philosophy of the Indian Constitution. Illustrations also depict the historic role of Akbar and Tipu Sultan. The two contemporary Indian icons of the freedom struggle have been included in the Constitution. They are Gandhiji in Dandi March and his visit to Noakhali during the riot and Subhash Chandra Bose as Netaji and his Indian National Army in the Indian freedom movement. The pages of the Constitution are embellished with highly stylised decorative borders, headers and backdrops. The complex decorative patterns in the borders and in front and back covers, embossed in gold on leather, are reminiscent of the Ajanta ceiling murals.

This entire journey was not as smooth as it appeared to be. Controversies and debates were prevailing with regard to the composition and functions of the Constituent Assembly. However, there was no such controversy in assigning Acharya Nandalal Bose and his team from Kala Bhavana the responsibility as the chief illustrator of the Constitution of India. Thus the contribution of the cultural movement led by the Bengal School of Art has historically been acknowledged. Our Constitution has not a rare visual and cultural style of its own which is modern as well as deeply rooted in our heritage and culture. Okakura Kakuzō, the Japanese painter has rightly mentioned that 33 the spirit of a nation expresses itself in its art.

Minor Analysis of the Images

The exquisite original hand-crafted Constitution was a product of artistic inventiveness of Acharya Nandalal Bose and his team of students from Kala Bhavana, Santiniketan over a period of five years.

Beohar Rammanchar Sinha, who was lauded for his outstanding contribution by his teacher and other great artists and political figures of those times, was from Jabalpur (then spelled Jubbulpore) in the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh. Another Kala Bhavana artist who is said to have contributed to the art work of the original hand-written constitution is Kripal Singh Shekhawat from Rajasthan. In line with the nationalistic sentiments dominant at that time, Bose identified new indigenous sources of inspiration, and evolved a new artistic language, which would add to Bose added to his own creative genius the grand artistic traditions of ancient India (particularly Ajanta and Bagh murals and Rajasthan and Mughal traditions) and that of Indian folk art. He had already imbibed influences of Sino-Japanese art under his teacher Abanindranath Tagore and enriched further through his interactions with the visiting Japanese artists at Santiniketan. Illustrations and the decorative borders are the quintessential style of Santiniketan (Kala Bhavana). This original handcrafted Constitution of India represents one of the triumphs of Santiniketan and Kala Bhavana. At the beginning of each part of the Constitution, Nandalal Bose has depicted a phase or scene from our national experience and history. Nandalal Bose has taken us through a veritable pictorial journey across four thousand years of rich history, tradition and culture. The art work and illustrations (two in all) were done largely in the miniature style. They represent vignettes from the different periods of history of the Indian subcontinent ranging from the pre-historic Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley to the Vedic Period, the Gupta and Maurya Period and the Mughal Period to the national freedom movement. There is a beautiful line drawing of the Nataraja as depicted in the Chola Bronze tradition.

Calligraphy

Prem Behari replied "Not a Single Penny I need. By the grace of God I have everything and am quite happy with my life. But I have one request that on every page of the Constitution I will write my name and on the last page I will write my name along with my grandfather's name." His wish was granted and he started working. The task was completed in 6 months. 254 pen-holder nibs were used and No. 303 Nib was used for this calligraphy. The Government of India had allotted him a room in Constitution House where he completed this prestigious work. G. Mavalankar (the first Speaker of India) has written in a letter - "I must mention that he (Raizada) did the work merely for his love of art and his country, without any demand or expectation even of Remuneration".

Bengal School of Art and *shilpaguru* Acharya Nandalal Bose (1882-1966)

The 19th century was seen as a kind of cultural awakening for Bengal. The Bengal School of Art, commonly referred as Bengal School, was an influential art movement and a style of Indian painting that originated in Bengal, primarily in Kolkata and Santiniketan, and flourished throughout India during the British Raj in the early 20th century. Also known as "Indian style of painting" in its early days, it was associated with Indian nationalism (*swadeshi*) and led by Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), who was also promoted and supported by British arts administrators like E. B. Havell, the principal of

Government College of Art, Kolkata from 1896, eventually it led to the development of the modern Indian painting. Havell attempted to reform the teaching methods at the Calcutta School of Art by encouraging students to imitate Mughal miniatures. This caused controversy, leading to a strike by students and complaints from the local press, including from nationalists who considered it to be a retrogressive move. Havell was supported by the artist Abanindranath Tagore. He and Havell both believed in India's distinct spiritual qualities, as opposed to the "materialism" of the West.

A group of Bengal artists gave birth to a new tradition of painting and created a Renaissance under the guidance and direction of Abanindranath Tagore. The various protest movements, formation of societies and associations, religious reform movements, coming of new styles in Bengali literature, political consciousness, are very interestingly reflected in art too. This very movement gave birth to painters like Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951) who went on to establish what is known as the Bengal School of Art. The orientation in the artistic outlook of Abanindranath created a new awakening in India and brought about a revival of the Indian Art which for centuries lay decadent and hidden from the public view. Bengal school was the primary school for the development of Indian art in India. Its influence in India declined with the spread of modernist ideas in the 1920. In Bengal, a new group of nationalist artists started to gather around Abanindranath Tagore. They turned for inspiration to the medieval Indian traditions of the miniature paintings and ancient art of mural paintings in Ajanta. The paintings of Ajanta and Bagh, Mogul, Rajput and Pahari miniatures provided the models. The continuity of earlier traditions was sought to be maintained by borrowing from legends and classical literature like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Gita, and Puranas, the writings of Kalidasa and Omer Khayyam. At the same time, these artists were also influenced by the art of the Japanese artists who visited India at the time to develop an Asian Art movement. The initial artists are known for borrowing in profusion from Chinese calligraphy, Japanese colouring and Persian finish. The pilots of this school were Ernest Benfield Havell and Abanindranath Tagore. Bengal school in painting was called the Renaissance School as well as the Revivalist School because this movement endeavoured for revival of the Indian ancient and medieval traditions.

Chief among Abanindranath's followers was Nandalal Bose (1882-1966). Nandalal Bose had become part of an international circle of artists and writers who wanted to revive classical Indian culture. The circle already included Okakura Kakuzō, William Rothenstein, Yokoyama Taikan, Christiana Berrington, Laurence Binyon, Abanindranath Tagore, and the seminal London Modernist sculptors Eric Gill and Jacob Epstein. Ananda Coomaraswami (famous art critic and historian), and Sister Nivedita, the disciple of Swami Vivekananda and herself was a painter, helped Bose in his formative period. She advised him to make paintings of Ajanta Frescoes after visit. He started to travel for Art. He also accompanied Rabindranath in his visit to China, Japan, Malaya, and Burma in 1924. In 1934 he visited Ceylon. Simultaneously he experimented with the folk traditions especially of Bengal and became a common man's artist. His visit to Gaya, Banaras, Agra, Delhi, Mathura, and Brindavan enriched him with the knowledge of the myths and traditional cultures of India.

From 1936 Gandhi was drawn to Nandalal's art and his ideas and requested him to organize exhibitions at the Lucknow and Faizpur sessions. Success of those shows inspired Gandhi to invite Bose and a group of his students for the decoration of the pavilion of the Indian National Congress Party meetings before the independence in Haripura, Gujarat. The posters he painted for the Haripura sessions became famous. They were praised by everyone who saw them because they showed ordinary people going about their daily tasks like fishing, farming, carpentry, milking cows and other activities of Indian village life. Bose was relegated at times as a partisan idol, a prominent leader of the nationalist backlash against colonialism. Yet despite his nationalistic bent, Bose was not a defensive antagonist. He wanted to nourish the source streams of India's creative genius, so as to make stand with the world healthy and fruitful. He was also famously asked by Jawaharlal Nehru to sketch the emblems for the Government of India's Awards, including the Bharat Ratna and the Padma Shri.

Compared to the Haripura Posters, the illustrations that adorn the Constitution of India strike a more restrained note due to space constraint. But as a thinking painter he captured the key emblem of 5000 years of India's visual and civilisational history. It became a part of the history of visual language.

As a professor of Kala Bhavana (College of Arts at Tagore's International University named Visva Bharati, Santiniketan founded in 1922) he combined a passion bordering on devotion with an irrepressible analytical mind that compelled him to comprise open different art traditions and unravel their syntactic logic, and make them accessible to a new generation of Indian artists. In addition to the impact of his articulate creativity on the art of India for all time to come, Nandalal Bose's impression on his students was immense and through them it suffused all over the country.

For Kala Bhavana, Rabindranath Tagore had left it to Bose to work out a cogent agenda methodology and curriculum in the field of art and try this into practice. Bose, who was a nationalist and in later days very close to Gandhiji, approached his task in an organic home-spun way, without getting into the polemics of modernism and westernisation. At Santiniketan, Bose cultivated a unique aesthetic sensibility and a curriculum of art-education for Kala Bhavana that incorporated Tagore's notions about creativity and experimentation.

Final Note

What a theory cannot communicate has been communicated by this pictorial essay depicted the original Constitution of India, Rabindranath Tagore's thought of *swadeshi* and *visva* – the integrative spirit of our own identity has been coherently depicted in a new way. Bengal School of Art created a new mark covering every aspect of our dream and culture through a visual world of art. Political power of the emerging indigenous government was blended with the aesthetic potential of an institution like Kala Bhavana which at that time was not a national University but struggled to survive only as the dream child of a poet. Since then Kala Bhavana and Nandalal Bose became the co-sharer of the

glory of freedom movements and its fighting spirit demanding *bharatiya* identity for free and sovereign India.

That apart it proves that our constitution is not only a codification of legal words and a mere bunch of principles but also a pictorial essay supported by a unique style of Indian calligraphy. It has revealed the aesthetic pursuit of our political visionaries and leaders combined with the ardent desire of the artists to have a wider connect with the "people of India". Instead of making art an elitist pursuit cloistered within the confines of fashionable homes it can be treated as a part of social fabric. This newly created cultural-political heritage should be shared by all institutions that are at present dealing with human values and culture of the people of India and abroad. While it has tremendous archival value it can also set guidelines for the new-generation of artists. We are proud of this rare possession which is seldom found in the Constitution of many other countries of the world.

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INSURGENCY IN NAGALAND: OBSTACLES TO INDIA'S LOOK EAST POLICY

Roopleena Banerji

The state of Nagaland, established in 1953, is a part of North East India. It borders the state of Assam on the West, Arunachal Pradesh and part of Assam to the North, Burma to the East and Manipur to the South. It is the home of the Nagas, a group of people divided into sixteen different tribes. Each tribe has its own set of social structure, tradition and way of life. India's North East is often seen as the 'Mongoloid Fringe' where it seems to look less like the rest of India and more like South East Asia. It is argued that this is the reason why it is considered different from the rest of India.¹ This difference gives rise to problems of assimilation of the North East in the mainstream India which challenges the essence of multiculturalism of India. The insurgency of Nagaland arose as a result of this failure of assimilation. North East India is surrounded by four countries. To its north are China and Bhutan and to the West is Bangladesh. These neighbours, since the last 50 years, have either been hostile towards India or have failed to quell the turmoil in their own frontier regions thus aggravating the troubled condition of the North-East. The Look East Policy means to integrate the relations of India with its neighbours in South East Asia through the North East. It is here that the Naga insurgency is a major deterrent in India's Look East Policy. The purpose of this paper is to analyze India's Look East Policy in the light of the Naga insurgency movement and the role of India's South East Asian neighbours in it.

HISTORY OF THE NAGA INSURGENCY

The Naga insurgency is the first and the longest of the secessionist turned insurgency movements in South Asia. The Naga insurgents since the last four decades (1956-1996) have fought with India's military machine. The insurgents were provided help by a cross-section of society of Nagaland. They were also helped by India's neighbours. The purpose of the insurgency movement was sovereignty earlier which was later toned down to a demand for 'Greater Nagaland'. This Greater Nagaland means carving out a state of Nagaland by taking parts of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh.

The first definite expression of the Naga desire for self-determination dates back to 1929 when the Simon Commission visited India. The first political group of the Nagas, the Naga Club told the Commission in a Memorandum that the British should leave the Nagas alone so that they can govern themselves as they did in ancient times.²

In February 1946 the Naga National Council (NNC) was formed with 29 members. When the Cabinet Mission plan was announced in 1946 June, the NNC adopted a resolution which supported

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the demand for autonomy within Assam. The NNC was divided on many issues. However, they had one common agenda that Nagas were not and never could be a part of India and they should be allowed to decide on their future without interference from India.³ Later on the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed by the China-returned Muivah and Issac Swu. It was under their leadership that the NSCN achieved great heights of insurgency.⁴

The conflict in the Naga Hills went through its ups and downs throughout the 1960s. With the intensification of the movement of the Nagas, there was the signing of the Sixteen Point Agreement between Delhi and the moderate Naga leadership in 1960s that resulted in the creation of a separate state of Nagaland after three years. Since 1962 the Naga rebels were helped by China in their insurgency moves. The efforts of the Government to arrive at a settlement with the Naga leadership culminated in the Shillong Accord. However, the result of this Accord was again a split in the NNC and the resultant NSCN was formed.⁵

THE LOOK EAST POLICY AND THE NAGA INSURGENCY

The Look East Policy has emerged as an important part of India's foreign policy in the post Cold War era. The main thrust area of this policy is that India should establish more and more linkages with its Asian partners and the rest of the world and its economic interests and other future interests can best be served if it integrates itself more with the East and South East Asia. The North East India was facing problems of development and it was thought that the diverse natural resources of the region, rich biodiversity etc could help overcome this feeling of backwardness among the people of North East. However, the threats of growing Chinese influence, increasing cross-border terrorism are some of the factors which limited the success of the Look East Policy in the region.

India has always been very critical about the involvement of foreign hand in the aiding and abetting of terrorism and insurgency as well as smuggling of drugs, arms and ammunitions and offering other assistance to the rebels of the North East.⁶ The involvement of China in the region started soon after China defeated India in the 1962 war. China actively started helping the rebels of Nagaland to destabilise India. Insurgent groups of Nagaland received huge consignments of arms and ammunitions from China. The leaders of the NSCN, Muivah and Issac Swu, also received their training in China. The Naga National Council and later on the NSCN developed close links with the Independence Army, the most powerful rebel army on Burma's western borders.

The co-operation of Bangladesh is also essential for the success of Look East Policy and ending insurgency in Nagaland. Former East Pakistan was the first nation to help the Naga insurgents to fight against India. These rebels are involved in shipment of arms and ammunitions to India through these safe havens.

India's relations with Myanmar also soured with regard to the help provided to the Naga rebels by Myanmar against India. However, at the time of the revolt of the Kachins, who were a martial people like the Gurkhas of Nepal, the Burmese control over parts of its western borders weakened. When China stopped helping the Naga rebels, the Kachins started helping them actively

with weapons, training and bases in return for a price. Till 1982, the Kachins had a big role in supply huge arms and ammunitions to the Naga movement².

The Khaplang faction of the NSCN, the NSCN-K (Khaplang) and also the NSCN-IM (Isak-Muva) have their training camps and their central headquarters in Myanmar. The Government of India and Myanmar have held talks in 1999 on the issue of cross border drug trafficking but the problem remains. However the attitude of the Government of Myanmar is slowly changing in this respect. Earlier it used to turn a blind eye to all these problems but now it has been co-operating with Government of India to curb this menace.

The disturbed conditions in the North East have given a great impetus to the local markets of small arms. The revolvers, pistols etc are all available in the various arms bazaar of North East of Burma and Bangladesh³. The NSCN used these markets to build up the Nagalim Guards, a militant group that fought the Kukis during the blood fratricidal strife in 1990. One of the large arms markets of Burma is Tamu where a large number of Chinese weapons have found their way to be picked up by rebels. The National Highway No 39 entering Nagaland from Assam passes through the capital of Kohima and the main commercial town of Dimapur and ends to the frontier town Moreh. It is regularly affected by violence and blockades by insurgent groups of Nagaland. National Highway No 53 entering Manipur from Assam's Barak Valley and goes to connect Imphal through Jiribam. The Naga tribes dominate both these highways. Since 1997 when talks began between NSCN and the Indian Government, Manipur government has steadfastly opposed NSCN's demand for inclusion of Naga dominated areas of the State into a 'Greater Nagaland' state. The Naga students and Youth groups under the United Naga Councils which backs the NSCN's plan for 'Greater Nagaland' regularly blocks roads on National Highway No 39 and 53 to cut off Manipur from the rest of the country. As a result of the delay in solving the Naga problem, there has been systematic extortion on the National Highways on the Nagaland Manipur stretch by NSCN factions who want to seek to tax the trade between Myanmar to raise funds for their armed campaign against India. Therefore these highways connecting North East India to Myanmar are susceptible not only to blockades disrupting trade but also to extortion which raises the cost of trade to a great extent.⁴

CONCLUSION

The present day world is a very complex one. All the countries are interdependent on each other and no one can live in isolation. Therefore a good foreign policy is needed which can bring together and integrate all countries. The Look East Policy of India is an encouraging step in this regard. Vision for the North East or issues related to its development is complete without a discussion of Look East Policy. Logically, the Look East Policy must begin with the North East. In order for a foreign policy to succeed, it is essential that the domestic sphere must be in order. If India is constantly troubled by insurgencies, violent agitations securing a place at the global high table appears difficult. Thus there is a great impetus to take the Look East Policy forward and also to examine the progress

made so far in order to introduce whatever course correction may be necessary and re-evaluate the paradigm in which the Look East thrust is concerned.

Notes:

- ¹ Subir Bhaumik (2015), *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North East*. Sage Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi. P - 25
- ² *Ibid.*, P - 92
- ³ *Ibid.*, P - 93
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, P - 98
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, P - 96
- ⁶ Tariq, Sidra. *Problem in the North East. A case study of Nagaland*. Online: www.irs.org. Accessed: 22.08.2015
- ⁷ Subir Bhaumik (2015). *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North East*. Sage Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, P - 89
- ⁹ Subir Bhaumik, *Look East through the North East: Challenges and Prospects for India*. Observer Research Foundation. Online: www.orfonline.org. Accessed: 25.08.2015

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FROM LOOK EAST TO ACT EAST: A SHIFT IN INDIA'S EASTWARD ENGAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The 'Look East Policy' (LEP) ever since its commencement in 1992, has been one of India's long-term policy visions to open up its economy for investment and trade with Southeast Asia. At the onset of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) in 1991 India has recognized the strategic significance of its northeast with regard to its "Look East Policy", envisioned and crafted by the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.¹ The LEP has received bipartisan support from successive governments and has evolved over the two decades, initially ranging from economic and diplomatic engagement with Southeast Asia (SEA) towards broader security and defence ties across the whole region of Asia-Pacific.²

India's Look East Policy was initiated in the midst of a worsening domestic economic and political situation. The 1991 Gulf War deeply affected India's economy, leading to economic recession and an acute balance-of-payments crisis by mid-1991. This crisis compelled India to search for economic opportunities in other dynamic parts of Asia. Besides, the Look East Policy was driven by three specific factors. Foremost among these was the disintegration of Soviet Union which created a strategic and economic vacuum for India, and the end of Cold War bipolarity reduced the significance of India's non-aligned position. Second, since China opened up its economy a decade earlier, it prompted India to reach out to Southeast Asia to maintain its superiority with regard to its political and economic role in the region. India was also driven by a desire to develop and make stable its fragile North-eastern states, which were at the heart of insurgency. These factors, integrated with the Gulf Crisis, positioned India to diversify its energy sources and economic partnerships into Southeast Asia. At this juncture it became indispensable for India to integrate into the global economy, and the vitality of India's eastern neighbours made Southeast Asia an eye-catching place to start off.³

Well over two decades has passed ever since the LEP was a key factor in Indian Foreign Policy with the aim to 'revive political ties, forge regional security cooperation and develop economic linkage by increasing integration with Southeast Asia. Over the years, India joined ASEAN-led arrangements such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+) as also ASEAN India Annual Summit and the East Asia Summit (EAS) which has institutionalized India's association with Southeast Asia'.⁴

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At present, a new government is in power, since May 2014, elected with the largest electoral mandate in over 30 years; the government of Narendra Modi has an exceptional opportunity to transform India into a serious strategic performer in East and Southeast Asia.

FROM LOOK EAST TO ACT EAST: WHY THIS CHANGE?

The 'Look East Policy' of India has been rechristened as the 'Act East Policy' in the year 2014 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and unveiled by Sushma Swaraj the External Affairs Minister, is being praised as the country's most victorious foreign policy initiative taken in the past two decades. Even the scope and focus of this policy has been expanded by P.M. Narendra Modi, as it was felt by this Government that more than two decades has passed since the LEP was initiated, but nothing much has been achieved despite there being success stories. Through this policy India is not only determined to engage with the member countries of ASEAN but, also with the countries of Asia-Pacific region in political, strategic, cultural and economic sphere. This is apparent from the ongoing efforts to build up stronger ties with Australia, Japan, and South Korea among others. In this respect, visit to Japan and Australia by Modi perhaps can be witnessed as steps in this direction.⁵

The Act East Policy envisages a more profound and constructive engagement with the countries of Southeast Asia. 'Look East' or for that matter the rechristened 'Act East' Policy is the blossoming of the bigger Asian dream and India's growing relations with the member countries of ASEAN, is at the heart of this recounting Asian resurgence. This emergent relation involving India and ASEAN is an abode of economic vibrancy, innovation and enterprise, which was summed up in P.M. Narendra Modi's maiden visit to Myanmar in November, 2014 in order to attend his first India-ASEAN summit and the East Asia Summit (EAS).⁶

The focus of this policy is on extended neighbourhood in the Asia-Pacific region. Not only the focus even the area of interest has a newly added dimension, from being an economic initiative to wider political, strategic and cultural ties together with establishment of institutional mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation. The three 'C's' Mantra i.e. Commerce, Culture and Connectivity, are the three pillars of the Act East Policy towards India's robust engagement with the ASEAN.

If we take into account the first pillar i.e. Commerce or we can also say the economic arena, it is anticipated that India-ASEAN relations is on the brink to reach greater heights. It is also expected that the two sides would sign an India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in services and investments soon and would also complement FTA in goods which was signed five years ago in 2009. With the recent visit by P.M. Modi to Myanmar in November 2014, India-ASEAN relations are heading towards substantive upgradation in both economic and strategic arenas. Once more, as the two sides are all set to augment their collaboration across a range of strategic issues including trans-national terrorism, maritime piracy and nuclear proliferation, the strategic content of the relationship is set to deepen in the coming days. This policy even pitches to facilitate infrastructural development

in order to make India a global manufacturing hub and thereby to rejuvenate economic growth. In this context it can be said that Modi's idea of 'Make in India' is linked with the Act East Policy.

Connectivity: If we analyse the idea of connectivity it can be very well said that it is an end goal of the India-ASEAN engagement. In this reverence India has been in the forefront approaching a host of trans-national projects that seek to weave the region together in an intricate web of road, rail and maritime links. The north-eastern region of India is made an integral part of India's Foreign Policy and to utilise this region to make good connectivity with Southeast Asia as a through land route. In his article 'Act East: India's ASEAN Journey' the Manish Chand put rightly says "selling new benchmarks for this blossoming relationship, India has set up an Indian mission to ASEAN in Jakarta, and has set up an ASEAN-India Centre which is housed in New Delhi. Capacity building, developmental co-operation and the burgeoning knowledge partnership are key features of what experts are calling India's 'Enhanced Look East' policy". In this connection India strategized to set up four IT Centres in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam. India is also set to commission a Tracking and Data Reception Centre in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam, which would help in processing remote sensing data available from the RESOURCESAT and OCEANSAT and for application in disaster management and mineral exploration for ASEAN countries an easier task. Through this East Policy India wants to reactivate or cultivate ties with the leading Asian economies like Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore etc. for competitive desires and to involve more projects and stronger engagements with these countries to balance China's rapid rise in the Pacific region.

Culture: Much has been said about the importance of Commerce, Connectivity and Capacity building as they continue to boost the India-ASEAN relationship to newer landmarks, on the one hand *Culture and Creativity* provides rational and spiritual synergy in order to foster this burgeoning engagement. In the ancient period Southeast Asia was known as 'Suvarnabhumi' or the land of gold. It bears deep impress of the Indian culture. In this framework, it can be very well understood that Buddhism forms the spiritual basis of India-ASEAN relations as the Buddhists from all over Southeast Asia gather to the sacred shrines like Bodhi Gaya for pilgrimage. The Nalanda University which is an ancient seat of learning is now a living reality as it has started functioning this year, formally inaugurated in September 2014, by India's External Affairs Minister- Sushma Swaraj.

INITIATIVES TAKEN UNDER THE ACT EAST POLICY

Some of the commendable initiatives under this policy that has been taken by the NDA government are:

- To establish a vibrant and dynamic economy, focussing more on economic growth in order to create a much better space for the Foreign Investors and to set up a congenial environment instead of Red-Tapism.
- To set up smart cities, improving infrastructure, producing bullet trains, promoting green energy, strengthening manufacturing capacity and creating a favourable economic environment.

To use soft power more proactively.

To attract, harness and utilise the energy and economic potency of the Indian Diaspora.

Last but not the least, to enhance the bilateral trade figures with the countries of South, Southeast and beyond more rapidly.

CONCLUSION

To conclude it can be more or less said that the novel 'Act East Policy' which was earlier the 'Look East Policy' was transformed by the Modi government to rectify the mistakes done by the earlier government. Due to non-implementation of this policy the LEP was becoming redundant. So through this transformation the government is trying to make it more dynamic and stimulate this policy.

Although, the Look East Policy has been changed to Act East Policy by this government, trying to incorporate active elements yet there are major challenges with regard to the implementation of this policy. The first and most important challenge is issues of infrastructure and lack of local support. Creating a congenial environment with the neighbouring countries in order to make the Act East Policy an effective one is a demanding problem. India had to develop its infrastructure in order to attract the investors, but this is a big hurdle in the way of this policy as local support, security and facilities is really hard to achieve. Considerably, India's conceptualisation of the 'Act East' policy has a scope for the exceptional local means of doing trade.

Furthermore, the crisis of insurgency and the existence of the AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) is another major challenge to this policy. Almost all the states in India's north-eastern region, barring Sikkim, Mizoram, and, to a large extent, Meghalaya and Tripura, suffer from militant organisations like United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), United National Liberation Front (UNLF) etc acts as a stumbling block to the implementation of Act East Policy. In such state of affairs, where the state is incapable to grant basic security to the people, one must question the logic of the 'Act East' policy being executed on such weak state foundations.

Last but not the least, if we analyse it is possible to say that China is a major challenge with regard to the implementation of this policy. As China is becoming powerful day by day and has a profound existence and influence in Southeast Asia, India's Act East Policy faces major criticism from China. In this connection, India's closer relationship with Japan is very much related to this policy and India- Japan- US forms the Axis power in order to contain China.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S THOUGHTS ON LIBRARY

Dr. Malmi Mukherjee

Rabindranath Tagore is indeed one of the pioneers of the library movement in India. He being an intellectual with a rare foresight realised the utmost importance of a well constructed library in advancement of learning.

The idea of a well developed library in Bengal has been intrinsically associated with the illustrious Tagore family of Jorasanko. History tells us that Tagores provided sincere patronage to the development of the library movement in India for more than 100 years starting from 1835, when prince Dwarkanath Tagore became one of the major contributors and patrons in the establishment of the Calcutta Public Library.

When Debendranath Tagore built an Ashram at Bolpur, he had plans to establish a prayer house, but it was mainly through the initiative of Rabindranath, that construction of the library and the school started in 1901.

A philosopher-poet with a scientific and rational bent of mind, Tagore had always acknowledged the vital role of the library in the realm of education and holistic development of the mind. Tenets of his thoughts have been expressed in two of his articles:

(a) 'Library' (1908)

(b) 'Function of a Library' (1928)

In the second article he had distinctly stated his concept of a modern library and its ideal functions.

With the establishment of Visva Bharati as a centre of learning in the year 1921, Tagore's active patronisation resulted in a well-developed library with a vast collection of valuable books and manuscripts from different parts of the world. He also pioneered a revolutionary movement in community education and mass literacy by setting up Mobile Libraries or Circulating Libraries, 'chalantika' in 1925 in the Village Welfare Department at Sriniketan. The Institute of Rural Reconstruction maintained its extension works in the

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A MEMORABLE EDUCATIONAL TOUR TO SANTINIKETAN

Ashna Jaiswal

I consider myself fortunate enough to have been a part of a Departmental Excursion. This has not only been an enriching learning experience but has also acquainted me with the dynamic aspects of my classmates, my teachers and myself. It evoked a stronger sense of belongingness to my department.

Day 1: 30.7.18

The two-day trip commenced with our train journey from Kolkata to Bolpur. From Bolpur station we hired 'tatu' to reach the Santiniketan Tourist Lodge. On our way I was little apprehensive about availing the new mode of transport but soon, was charmed with the scenic beauty & fresh breeze around me. After having a soul filling brunch at the lodge, the study team set out to visit the Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati as per schedule. We were instructed to wear *safwar kameez* against our wish, during the field visit. However, the dress code could not diminish our high spirit. We were confident that we look beautiful in traditional outfit.

We all were led to the Conference Hall for an orientation. We were oriented about the field visit by Dr. Joseph Varghese, faculty of their department. He introduced us to four students of Second Year, B.S.W who had later accompanied us for the field visit. It was followed by a brief interaction with Prof. P.K. Ghosh H.O.D. We were divided into four groups and I was assigned in Group B with three other team mates, accompanied by Utpal, the student of BSW, to visit a nearby village Mouldanga.

On reaching Mouldanga, Utpal introduced us to the resource person who accompanied us to different houses in the village. I was excited for the new experience which was nothing close to my daily life in the city. As I set my foot on the red soil of Mouldanga, I was captivated by the two pairs of gleaming eyes & cheerful smiles of Sakhi and Nadini mounted atop a bicycle bigger than them. It was then when I noted that bicycle was the primary mode of transport especially for the girls. I do not recall a single moment during this visit in the village when I was not accompanied by this duo. I loved every bit of it.

We had to fill informal survey sheets based on our interactions with the village dwellers. We met fourteen heads in total, mostly the women. I came across the house of a woman who runs the "Anganbadi", a Government Project for the pre-nursery kids. The smell of raw spices came out of her kitchen enclosure as she prepared her lunch for her family. Thereafter, along with my team members, I interacted with the two more villagers, a man and then a woman. I learnt that they were engaged in Beedi making to earn their livelihood. Then we surveyed few more houses and gathered

The author is a student of Third Year (Honours)

data. The best part was the little cycle ride I enjoyed while being seated behind Sakhi, who loves dancing and performs regularly after returning from school. They dwelled mostly in the mud houses. I was surprised to see a few dome-shaped houses in the other side of the village. I was allowed to step inside and went up the two-storied hut where the attic was comparatively cooler and learnt from the owner that it was built as compensation by the Nehru government when the original houses were washed away due to the floods.

Later we visited the house of the *pradhan* of the Village Panchayat and were joined by few other elected members of the Panchayat. One such member was a Muslim lady. We spoke about the different aspects of the village life including the work culture, government projects, employment opportunity, education, and crime rate and 'law and order' condition. The facts shared by the elected members matched with our day-long experience in the village. There was no major manipulation or boasting. On our way back we saw a government-run school, of which the resource person's wife happened to be the English teacher.

We also visited the Dog Farm which had eleven dogs. Due to bad weather we could not visit the Advaisi Village near the Dog Farm. However, we learnt that the Advaisis were not keen on meeting either. We spent some time in the home of the resource person who worked as a part-time carpenter. Here we saw the process of making *moon*. During the entire tour of the village till the time we were done with our survey, a curious and excited group of children accompanied us wherever we went. One of the girls complimented on my appearance, one gifted me a home-grown guava while another showed me her traditional dance moves. In return I taught them little city gestures and was touched by their involvement.

The field trip drew my attention to the following:

- Clean ambience
- Harmonious relation between low caste Hindus and Muslims and other religious community as evident in the existence of Mazaar right opposite to a temple
- Cordial relation between village dwellers and outsiders
- Bengali exists as the main spoken language
- Basic amenities like schools, toilets (Swachh Bharat Abhiyan), water supply, electricity available
- Televisions found in most of the houses
- Active participation during elections
- Low crime rate
- Awareness about population control
- Absence of hospitals or clinics
- High standard of living of Panchayat members

- Severe addiction to country liquor
- Contradictory statement about girl child's marriage and education rate in the village
- Problem of early marriage of the girl child
- Several young girls more interested to work as domestic help rather than pursuing higher studies

I was personally touched by the conduct and hospitality shown by the residents of the village. On our way back we stopped at a roadside shop for some fresh milk, tea and coconut cookies. I dropped the students who accompanied us to the social work department.

After taking rest for a couple of hours we headed towards a craft and cuisine bazaar, 'Soneha Haat'. This haat has been set up on promotional basis by local residents, art lovers, small craftsmen, women, former students of Vrsva Bharati and there is absence of any middleman. It is one of the important attractions for the tourists who visit Shantiniketan. The live performance of Bau' singing adds further charm to the haat. We found the prices reasonable and bought few things from there. Later, on our way to 'Kasahara' food joint adjacent to Sangeet Bhavana, we visited the river Kosi but missed the chance to admire the beauty of the place because we reached in the late evening. It was already dark. However, I admired the night sky, the stars, the sound of insects and birds, the glow of the fireflies in the entire ride. After an hour long wait, the food was served which we relished and returned to the Tourist Lodge. We thoroughly enjoyed the much awaited final round of address at the lodge before retiring to bed.

Day 2 : 31.7.15

Next morning we assembled for an early breakfast. After breakfast we visited Uttarayan complex and Rabindra Bhavan Museum. We found the belongings of Tagore family in the museum and saw the houses resided by Tagore. We admired the paintings, sculptures, art works, writings and everything exhibited in the museum premises.

Thereafter we visited the Kala Bhavana where we met Prof. Ashoke Showmik, a jovial person who made us feel very comfortable and invited us to visit the Department of Pottery and Sculpture. A senior student of the department oriented us about the ongoing work and answered all our queries. We saw some brilliant artwork made out of Chinese soil, glass, variety of colours. The entire building was covered in black and white Aztec painting. The garden had several sculptures. The creativity was beyond what the words can express.

Due to shortage of time we had to return to the lodge, collect our luggage and go to the station to board Santiniketan Express. We managed to click loads of pictures. I was highly inspired by the simple lifestyle of the people and pollution free environment. I also remember spotting the famous Banyan Tree which holds a position in the Limca Book of World Records and the beautiful Parliament House.

The entire journey was a memorable one. Team spirit, sharing of convenience & constructive management of energy spirit were the part of our total experience.

I am thankful to my Principal and teachers of my department for such a wonderful experience which I would surely treasure for the rest of my life. ■

REPORTS

(I)

AN INSTITUTIONAL VISIT TO THE WEST BENGAL STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Third Year Honours And General on 21.8.15

The Third Year Honours and General students of the Department of Political Science, Sri Shikahayatan College, were taken for an Institutional Visit to the West Bengal State Legislative Assembly (Vidhan Sabha Bhawan) on August 21, 2015. This visit, like previous years, was organised by the Department of Political Science of the college.

Study Area

- Historical Background, Composition and functions of the West Bengal State Legislative Assembly.
- An interactive session with the Speaker and other important officials.
- To visit the Assembly House and its various departments.

Study Team

The study team comprised of 24 students, out of which 14 were from Honours Course and 10 from the General Course. The students were accompanied by two teachers from the Department, Dr. Mandar Mukherjee and Smt. Urmi Gupta.

Purpose of the Visit: Learning beyond the Class Room

The purpose of the visit was to acquire first-hand knowledge about the functioning of the law making body which constitutes an important part of the prescribed syllabus.

Historical Background

The history of the West Bengal Legislature can be traced back to 18 January 1862 when under the Indian Councils Act of 1861, a twelve Member Legislative Council for Bengal Presidency was established by the Governor-General of British India with the Lt. Governor of Bengal and some other nominated members. The strength of the Council was gradually increased by subsequent acts. Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the maximum strength of the Council was raised to twenty members of which seven were to be elected. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 further raised the number of members of the Council to fifty. Under the Government of India Act 1919, the number of members of the Legislative Council was once again raised to hundred and twenty five members. The Bengal Legislative Council constituted under the Act of 1919 was formally inaugurated on 1 February 1921 by the Duke of Connaught.

Before the construction of the Assembly House, the sittings of the Legislative Council for Bengal

was held at Belvedere, Calcutta, the residential place of the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1920. Later, the Bengal Legislative Council sat at Town Hall between February 1, 1921 and February 8, 1931, till the new building was ready.

A few years later, under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 two chambers of the Bengal Provincial Legislature, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly were created. The tenure of the Assembly consisting of 250 members was to be five years unless dissolved sooner while the Council with a membership of not less than 63 and not more than 65, was made a permanent body and not subject to dissolution with the provision that one-third of the members should retire every three years.

On the eve of Independence in 1947, on account of partition of India, Bengal Province was divided into West Bengal and East Pakistan. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly was constituted with ninety members representing the constituencies that fell within the area of West Bengal and nominated members from Anglo-Indian community. The Bengal Legislative Council stood abolished. The Legislative Assembly met for the first time after Independence on 21 November 1947.

The Constitution of India again provided for a bicameral legislature for West Bengal. Accordingly the West Bengal Legislative Council consisting of fifty one members was constituted on 5 June 1952. The number of members in the Legislative Assembly was two hundred and forty including nominated members from the Anglo-Indian Community. After the first General Elections, the Assembly met for the first time on 18 June 1952.

On 21 March 1969, a resolution was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for abolition of the Legislative Council. Subsequently, Indian Parliament passed the West Bengal Legislative Council (Abolition) Act, 1969 abolishing the Legislative Council with effect from 1 August 1969.

At present it is a unicameral legislature where the members are directly elected by the people of the State every five years. The total strength of the Assembly is two hundred and ninety five (295) directly elected from different constituencies and 1 nominated from the Anglo-Indian Community. The term of the house is five years, with the provision for earlier dissolution.

Composition of the 15th West Bengal Legislative Assembly

The 15th Assembly was elected on 30th May, 2011 with 295 members. Trinamool Congress Party won absolute majority (184 seats) and emerged as the ruling party. The opposition includes Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India (Marxist), All India Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party (India), Gorkha Janmukti Morcha, Samajwadi Party, Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist), Democratic Socialist Party, and two independent candidates. One member is nominated from the Anglo-Indian Community. The important members are –

- Shri Keshari Nath Tripathi, Hon'ble Governor (2014)
- Smt. Mamata Banerjee (TMC), the Hon'ble Chief Minister
- Shri. Biman Banerjee (TMC), Hon'ble Speaker

- Smt. Sorali Guha (Bose) (TMC), Deputy Speaker
- Dr. Surjya Kanta Mishra (CPI(M)), the leader of the opposition
- Shri. Sovandeb Chaktopathyay (TMC), Chief Whip
- Shri. Budheswar Mohanty, Secretary
- Shri Debabrata Mukhopadhyay, Marshal
- Shri Bholanath Mukherjee, Deputy Marshal

Procedures of Functioning

Tenure, Session, Closure, Adjournment Motion, Quorum, Cut Motion, Committees, Calling Attention, Question Hour, Vote on Account, Casting Vote, Suspension.

Constitutional Functions

Law Making Function: The primary function of the State Legislature is to formulate Laws for the state on the subjects enlisted in the State list and Concurrent list of the Indian Constitution. Bills that are passed in the Legislature become laws after obtaining the signature of the Governor. There are mainly two types of bills- ordinary & money bills. State Assembly does not have any power in amending the constitution except the power of ratification.

Financial Function: The State Legislature is responsible for controlling the finances of the State. The Money Bill includes matter related to the expenditure to be incurred by the government, imposition or abolition of taxes, borrowing etc. The bill is introduced by a minister on the recommendation of the speaker. Whether a bill is a money bill or not is certified by the Speaker.

Control over Executive: The Council of Ministers is responsible to the Assembly collectively and remains in office as long as it enjoys the confidence of the Assembly. The legislature keeps a check on the executive by asking questions, moving adjournment motions and attention notices.

Electoral Functions: The elected members of the Assembly are also the members of an Electoral College which is constituted to elect the President of India. The elected members of the state legislature are also responsible for electing members to the Rajya Sabha from their respective States.

Dignitaries and few others we met

- Shri. Biman Banerjee, Hon'ble Speaker
- Shri. Budheswar Mohanty, Secretary
- Shri. Tushar Kant Mandi, Deputy Secretary
- Shri. Rabindranath Chatterjee, MLA, CPI(M)
- Shri Manas Bhattacharya, Secretary to the Speaker
- Shri Bholanath Mukherjee, Deputy Marshal

Places we Visited

- The Assembly House
- MLA's Lobby
- Assembly Hall
- Library
- Speaker's Chamber
- Secretary's Room

The Assembly House

The entrance of the main building of the Assembly is decorated with a plaque highlighting the fact that the foundation stone was laid by The Right Hon'ble Sir Francis Stanley Jackson (P. G. C. I. E), Governor of Bengal, 5th July 1928. Thereafter, the construction of the building started on a plot measuring 33 bighas and was completed within two years and seven months. Mr J Greaves was chosen as the chief architect of this magnificent building and the Martin and Company, Calcutta, was entrusted with the construction work.

The architecture of the building shows a mixture of oriental and occidental influences including the central dome and resembles the English alphabet 'H'. Its magnificence is in keeping with the more illustrious neighbours such as the Raj Bhavan and the Writers' Buildings. The Chamber measuring 4300 square feet is circular in shape. This is where the actual sitting of the House takes place. It holds a separate enclosure for the Speaker and there are galleries to accommodate officials and visitors. Inside, the insignia displayed shows a sailing ship surmounted by a Bengal tiger. National emblem was added to the insignia following independence. There is an antique chandelier beautiful to behold, hanging inside.

There is a long passage encircling the Chamber and it leads to the various office-chambers and lobby where the members sit when the Assembly is not in session. The lobby has a rich collection of oil paintings and portraits of national leaders, freedom fighters, former chief ministers, Speakers and other eminent persons, many of whom had strode in this Chamber as key members taking part in debates. The Chamber has witnessed historical debates by great orators of Bengal like Fazlul Haq, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Sarat Chandra Bose, Tulsi Charan Goswami, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Krishna Shukla, Shaukar Roy, Bankim Mukherjee, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Nirmal Chunder Chunder, H. Suhrawardy, Hanpada Bharati, Hiren Mukhopadhyay, Jyoti Basu and Siddhartha Shankar Roy.

There are separate chambers for the Speaker, Chief Minister, Ministers, Leader of the Opposition and two Committee Rooms christened after the names of two great Speakers of the past - Sir Azizul Haque, the first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and Shri Bijoy Kumar Banerjee. The erstwhile Council Chamber, now used for committee meetings and seminars has also been christened after the name of Syed Nausher Ali, another great Speaker of the past.

There are three administrative buildings - North Annexe Building, South Annexe Building and Golden Jubilee Building. The rich collection of the Legislature Library has now been shifted to Golden Jubilee Building. The Post Office, bank, railway reservation counter, medical dispensary

and teen are also situated inside the Assembly premises. The foundation stone of a new Millennium building which can accommodate 600 members was laid by Jyoti Basu, former Chief Minister of West Bengal in 2001.

The MLA's Lobby

The MLA's Lobby with its marble flooring is a grandeur. The walls are decorated with the portraits of the dignitaries like Raja Rammohun Roy, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Gandhi, Shyamaprasad Mukhopadhyay, Subhas Chandra Bose, Siddhartha Shankar Ray and many more. The MLAs sit here during lunch. There is an attendance register where the MLAs have to sign their presence. The opposition and ruling parties sit in their allotted places in the Lobby. The Lobby leads to the Assembly Hall.

Assembly Hall

The Assembly is spectacular with a grand ceiling carved out of wood and velvet flooring. The furnishing dates back to the era of the British Raj. There are multiple entrances to the Assembly. Entry gates have been specified for the Speaker, Governor, Ruling Party members, the Opposition party members, the Press and the Visitors. We were shown the seating arrangement. One side of the Assembly is donned by the Ruling Party and the other is warmed by the Opposition. Each elected member has a seat allotted to him. The Speaker has the highest chair. But in the presence of the Governor, the Speaker steps aside and the Governor occupies his seat. There is a special seat in the gallery for the Governor's guests. When the Governor, Speaker or Deputy Speaker are absent, the Assembly is presided over by the Chairman selected from among the members of the Assembly unanimously. In normal times, the Speaker controls the switch to the mikes of the various legislators. There is also a press corner exclusively for the Assembly. The Public press sits in an allotted corner of the gallery with the Speaker's permission. There is a recording room in the gallery where the minutes of the session are recorded. There are digital display boards for Ayes and Noes, with indicators in green and red to maintain the speaking time allotted to each Legislator. The Committees, headed by the respective chairmen also sit in the Assembly while the session is on. They are in-charge of scrutinising the reports and presenting them to the Speaker.

We were informed that when the speaker ushers in, he is accompanied by the Marshall with a space that is adorned by the country's national emblem. This convention started during the British rule and has been followed ever since.

The Library

The Library treasures over 2 lakh books and newspapers from the past. The Library originally located at the first floor of the Legislative Building has been shifted to the Golden Jubilee Building in the year 1995. This new Library building was inaugurated by former Chief Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu. The Library hours are 11:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. and are open to the Legislators, administrative officials and other scholars who come with special permission. The treasured collection of the Library is the original Constitution of India. We consider ourselves lucky for having got the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the original Constitution which was designed by Shri Bhaicharya, Late Nandalal Bose and

his pupils of Visva Bharati. There are also beautiful renderings of our landscape and some of masterpieces of our art. Even the decorations used for the borders exemplify in the Santiniketan style. The calligraphy was done by *Pran Behari Narain Raizada*. The original version was signed by all the members of the Constituent Assembly in January 1950.

The Statue of Ambedkar

The premises of the Assembly are adorned with the statue of Ambedkar, the father of the Indian Constitution. It is a beautiful massive sculpture.

The Greenary

The lush green ambience in and around the Assembly makes it very special. It maintains a greenhouse and involves number of trained gardeners. It organises flower show annually in collaboration with Calcutta Flower Growers Association. 'Bidhan Saha Bhawan' the title of the assembly has been worked out in Bengali topiary fountains. This is in keeping with the lush green surrounding.

Interactions

Speaker's Chamber

Shri. Bholanath Mukherjee, the Deputy Marshal led us to the Speaker's Chamber on the basis of a prior appointment. Shri *Biman Banerjee*, the current speaker of the Legislative Assembly was present in his cabin and the students got the opportunity to interact with him. Although the duration of our meeting lasted for a brief span of 15 minutes (from 12:45 to 1:00 P.M.), yet it was quite fruitful. The Speaker clarified the queries of the students and teachers on various issues. He briefed about the way the proceedings of the House are carried out, the manner in which the Business Advisory Committee selects the agenda and the date as well as the duration of the sessions of the House. He enlightened us about the duties and responsibilities of the Speaker whose office is expected to be neutral.

Secretary's Cabin

The Secretary of the Legislative Assembly *Shri Budheswar Mohanty*, welcomed the students and the teachers to his office for interaction. He enlightened us about the working of the Secretariat and the different Committees which help in the proper functioning of the Assembly. According to him there are 39 Committees in total and 24 of them are Standing Committees. The Business Advisory Committee, consisting of the members from different political parties, is chaired by the Speaker and elaborated on the proceedings of the House. First hour is the Question Hour. At least one week prior to the session, the list of questions are submitted to the Speaker who decides which questions to be allowed and which to be rejected.

Shri Rabindranath Chatterjee, M.L.A., CPI (M)

The Students were happy to meet Shri Chatterjee who informed them that the Winter Session of the Assembly might have to be dissolved due to the forthcoming Assembly Elections. He also briefed the students on the various motions and activities of the House.

Observation

- The body has a well supported network of communication among the numerous departments
- An efficient and strict security system.
- Cordial and helpful team of staff.
- The dignitaries were open to the queries.
- The building along with the chambers of the dignitaries is clean and well maintained
- Rare privilege to see the handwritten original Constitution of India, the heritage building and the plaque highlighting the origin.

Some Initiatives taken by the government in power

- **Chit Mahal:** Chitmahal was an issue involving India and Bangladesh. During Prime Minister Modi's visit to Bangladesh, Land Boundary Agreement was signed under which it was decided that 111 border enclaves will be transferred to Bangladesh in exchange for 51, that will become part of India. Since it is in the border area along Coochbehar district of West Bengal, it required a positive response from the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The physical exchange of enclaves was successfully implemented in two phases – 31 July 2015 and 30 June 2016
- **Teesta River:** Bangladesh and India share almost 54 rivers but none evokes as much controversy in Bangladesh as 'Teesta' Water, being a state subject, the Centre cannot hope to conclude a deal on sharing 'Teesta' water without getting West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee on Board. Negotiations on 'Teesta' are on for the past 18 years. After the settlement of Chit Mahal issue there is a hope that 'Teesta Water Issue' will also be solved.
- **Flood:** Mamata Banerjee declared 12 districts in Bengal as flood-hit and demanded adequate funds from the Centre to work on the damages caused.
- **Rice Subsidy:** The West Bengal government's decided to provide subsidised food grains in the state, especially in the Darjeeling District
- **Creation of six new districts in West Bengal.** Alipurduar, Kalimpong, Bishnupur, Sunderbans, Jhatgram and Burdwan Industrial.
- **Creation of Bidhannagar Municipal Corporation.**
- **Creation of number of City Police Commissionerate.**

Findings

- It helped us to gain practical experience about the working of Legislative Assembly of West Bengal.
- It was interesting to see the Speaker, Secretary and other officials carrying out the task in person.
- The frank interaction with the dignitaries helped sharpen our knowledge.
- This session helped us to realise the importance of promptness and thorough groundwork for any kind of interaction.

- It familiarised the students with all the necessary information, process and preparation required to organise a visit of this kind.
- It taught us how to manage the resources and time.
- It exhibited a good team spirit among the Honours and General students.
- The visit motivated us to in study in a greater detail and with a focused perspective.
- It helped us to understand how to write and present a report.
- It set exemplary guidelines for further research and studies.

Suggestion

An exhaustive documentation about the artefacts and adornments should be available in public domain as it is available in the case of the Indian Parliament.

Acknowledgement

- ❖ We are thankful to the Hon'ble Speaker Shri Biman Banerjee for sparing his valuable time.
- ❖ Our sincere thanks to Shri. Budheswar Mohanty, Secretary for his cordial interaction and support.
- ❖ We are obliged to the officials of the West Bengal State Legislative Assembly for granting permission and making the required arrangements for our visit.
- ❖ We would like to thank our respected Principal, Dr Aditi Dey and the Management for extending necessary support and encouragement.
- ❖ We thank our H.O.D, Smt. Urmi Gupta and Dr. Mandar Mukherjee, faculty for arranging the visit and accompanying us to the Assembly.
- ❖ We thank our teacher Dr. Mandar Mukherjee and Sumaita Hossain, the student of Third Year Honours for capturing the moments of the day in their cameras.
- ❖ We extend our thanks to Afrin Sultana the student of Third Year Honours for designing the front-cover and to the printer 'Pratirup' for printing the back cover.
- ❖ We thank our teacher Smt. Rajni Jaiswal for helping with the report writing.
- ❖ We are thankful to our faculty members Dr. Mandar Mukherjee, Smt. Urmi Gupta, and Smt. Dabolina Mukherjee for its final editing and print.

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(ii)

AN ACADEMIC EXTENSION ACTIVITY IN COLLABORATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK, SRINIKETAN VISVA BHARATI

Third Year Honours on 28.8.15 & 29.8.15

The Third Year Honours students of the Department of Political Science, Shri Shikshayatan College, were taken for an educational tour to the Department of Social Work, Visva-Bharati, Sriniketan, on the 28th and 29th of August, 2015. The trip was organised by the Department in consultation with Prof. Prasanta Ghosh, the Head of the Dept. of Social Work, Visva Bharati. The students also visited other places of interest in Santiniketan on the same day as well as on 29.08.15.

Study Team

The study team comprised of eight honours students of Third Year accompanied by two teachers of the department.

Purpose of the Visit

The purpose of the tour was to help the students acquire information about the scope of doing further studies and making career in social work. Direct interaction with the department dealing exclusively with social work would also help in developing an academic approach to the understanding of the subject. Besides, the purpose was also to orient or tune the students for future collaborative project in the field.

Places Visited

Day 1 : 28.08.2015

Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati: The study team visited the department of Social Work at 2:45 P.M to have an interactive session with the H.O.D, Prof. Prasanta Ghosh and other faculty members. The students were given a brief overview of the prescribed course and myriad rural re-construction projects undertaken by the undergraduate as well as post-graduate students of Social Work department, who are generally guided by their field instructor. Since Mondays and Fridays are the designated days in the week for field work, the students of their department were not available for interaction. Through multiple projects, their students provide social, legal, political and medical amenities to the deprived section of the society. Their work usually revolves around the selected villages in the district of Bolpur. Smt. Paramita Roy the Course Coordinator, asserted that though the department generally arranges for the field work in the rural area, they would be interested

to organise an urban camp for their students. Hence we proposed for a collaborative urban camps in various parts of Kolkata involving the students of both the Institution. We were also briefed about the admission procedure to the department and the placement cell within the department.

Shilpa Sadan: After having a fruitful interaction with the Department of Social Work, the team visited Shilpa Sadan, a unit under the Institute of Rural Re-construction at Santiniketan, a pioneering institute in India in developing and revitalising cottage industries. It was set up in 1942. One of the most fascinating interactions was the one we had with the workers making hand-made paper. It was really interesting to watch how the waste papers are recycled in different stages and supplied to different places. Batik is a prevalent art form of Santiniketan. We interacted with the teachers of the department of 'Batik' who helped us understand the market-value of batik and the hard work and skill required to do the work.

Amar Kutir: Although it is not a part of Visva Bharati we took out time to visit Amar Kutir for its historical relevance. During the freedom struggle, Amar Kutir was founded as a place of refuge for political prisoners who were then released from jail. Currently, it acts as a crafts development centre having a huge stock of handicraft goods. We thoroughly enjoyed purchasing handmade products from there.

Kasahara Cafe: The cafe is situated in the vicinity of Kala Bhavana and Sangeet Bhavana and named after a Japanese émigré Kasahara who was in close touch with the department of Social Work, Visva-Bharati. We enjoyed some light refreshment in the cafe. It has a beautiful ethnic decor. We loved the place for its ambience, simplicity and quality service.

Day 2 : 29.08.2015

Kala Bhavana: Kala Bhavana of Visva-Bharati, is a distinguished centre for Visual Art. Here we visited the department of Pottery and Ceramics. We saw many sculptures of old masters and had an interesting round of interaction with Prof. Ashok Bhattacharya of the Painting department. We also attended a few music and dance classes at Sangeet Bhavana adjacent to Kala Bhavana.

Central Library: The Central Library of Visva-Bharati, was instituted in 1901, under the supervision of Rabindranath Tagore, who emphasised the use of books for the educational development of students. With the permission of the Librarian, we availed the opportunity to visit the various sections of the Library. Today, the Central Library has approximately 3,76,351 books, around 4000 users and a daily transaction of 300 books. It is spacious, fully digitalised and reader-friendly. The Librarian suggested that we could take our students in future for a workshop to their library which is so rich in resources.

Rabindra Bhavana and Museum: Rabindra Bhavana was founded in July 1942, a year after the Poet's death. It is a treasury of Rabindranath Tagore's works and manuscripts.

We visited 'Uttarayan Complex' a unit of Rabindra Bhavana. The complex has five houses resided by Tagore himself. We could visit only four houses since one house was under renovation. The houses still have the furniture used by Tagore. The museum treasures 1580 original paintings by Tagore and 554 by others. There are 11380 photos, 3855 curio collection and 52 statues. We were fascinated by what the museum has to offer. It helps one to get a deep insight into the poet's life. We saw various gifts received by him, his Oxford Gown and Cap, a replica of his Nobel Prize and even his medicines.

Conclusion

The trip to Santiniketan, was a very welcoming one.

It made us aware about the social work related activities carried out at the institutional level.

It also made us aware about our duty towards the society and gave us an opportunity to learn about various career options in the field.

It taught us self-discipline, along with the prime virtue of punctuality and team spirit.

It is in fact a new method of study based on real experience.

Acknowledgement

We take the opportunity to thank

The Principal, Dr. Aditi Dey and the Management of the college for all the necessary support to organise this project.

Prof. Prasanta Ghosh, H.O.D. of the Department of Social Work, for allowing us to visit the department.

Our H.O.D, Smt. Urmi Gupta, and Dr. Mandar Mukherjee for accompanying and guiding us on the trip.

Prof. Chandrima Das (former faculty, Department of English), for helping us with the required information for the trip.

Smt. Rajni Jaiswal, (guest faculty of our department) for editorial support.

Smt. Somdatta Nayak, (former guest faculty of our department) for her special support in arranging the other classes of the department.

Lastly, the parents of the students who cordially allowed their ward for the trip.



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ONE-DAY ORIENTATION WORKSHOP IN COLLABORATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK, VISVA BHARATI, SRINIKETAN ON 20.1.2016

[I am very happy to see and know that the Department of the College has started an extension project in collaboration with the Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati, keeping in centre Little Sisters of the Poor, a Catholic Church based voluntary organization working for aged well. Faculty members and students of the College have the sufficient motivation and attitude to continue it. They all are well behaved and supportive in nature. I wish best luck for this extension.]

Dr. Asok Sarkar

Professor, Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati, Sriniketan

On 20th January 2016, the Department of Political Science, Sri Shikshayatan College organized a One-Day Orientation Workshop in collaboration with the Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati, Sriniketan as a part of Academic Extension Activity. The day long programme included of 'Field Visit to 'St. Joseph's Home' followed by an 'Orientation Lecture' by Professor Asok Sarkar and reporting.

Purpose of the Workshop

- Initiate collaborative study
- Generate interest and orientation about social work
- Boost team spirit
- Extension of academic activity beyond the classroom

Guidelines for Organising the Workshop

- Project Design
- Preparation of the budget
- Preparation of the Programme Schedule
- Preparation of Interview Schedule
- Setting up of Committees for undertaking various responsibilities
- Ensuring participation of all the three years

- Compulsory carrying of Identity Cards by the students
- Report writing on the day of the visit itself
- Arrangement for photography

Study Team

- Students of IInd Year Honours: 11
- Students of IInd Year Honours: 09
- Students of Ist Year Honours: 18
- Student of IIIrd Year General: 01
- Teachers of the department: 04
- Prof. Asok Sarkar, Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati
- Dr. Mandar Mukherjee, Faculty
- Smt. Umi Gupta, Head of the Department
- Smt. Roshni Sharma, Faculty

Methodology

- Pre-visit survey of the site 'Little Sisters of the Poor'
- Background study, books, published articles and sites from internet
- Selection of the Respondents (71 inmates -both male and female)
- Interview
- Observation and Data Analysis
- Pie Charts and Report Writing

The Little Sister of the Poor

The religious congregation called the 'Little Sisters of the Poor' was for the first time set up in France by a French woman Jeanne Jugan (1792-1879) in the 19th century. It was inspired by the urge to serve the old people who were needy. Over time the congregation expanded its organizational base and strengthened itself. Today it has branches all over the world. In Kolkata its base was set up in the year 1982. The head office is situated in Bangalore. The most recent Home is the one set up in Jabalpur in 2004. The office of the Sister in charge of the Home is transferable. The organization has a secular character. The organizational branch in India does not accept financial help either from the central government or the state governments. The body functions with the help of whatever comes by way of voluntary donation or charity.

Jeanne Jugan and her Contribution

Jeanne Jugan, the founder of this institution was the sixth of the eight children of Joseph and Marie who struggled hard to rear up Jeanne and her siblings. She grew up during the political and

religious turmoil of the French Revolution. Her parents somehow managed to impart religious lessons amid the anti-Catholic persecutions in that period.

Jugan worked as a shepherdess while still very young, and learnt to knit and spin wool. She could barely read and write. When she was 16, she took up a job as a kitchen maid. She refused to get married. At the age of 25, the young woman became an Associate of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary which was founded by St. John Eudes. Jugan also worked as a nurse in the town hospital of Saint-Servan. She worked hard at this physically demanding job but after six years, she left the hospital due to her own health issues. Eventually, she began to teach catechism to the children of the town and taught them how to take care of the poor and other unfortunates.

In 1837, Jugan along with Françoise Aubert, an old woman took a portion of a small cottage on rent. Later, Virginie Tredaniel, a 17-year-old girl who was an orphan joined them. These three women then formed a Catholic community of prayer devoted to teaching the catechism and assisting the poor.

In the winter of 1839, Jugan encountered Ann Chauvin, an elderly woman who was blind, partially paralyzed and had no one to care for her. Jugan took the elderly woman to her own house and let the woman use her bed while she herself slept in the attic. She soon gave shelter to two more old women in need of help and by 1841 she had rented a room to provide housing for a dozen of elderly people. The following year, she acquired an unused convent building that could house 40 of them. From this act of charity, with the approval of her colleagues, Jeanne focused on the mission of assisting abandoned elderly women and started a religious congregation called 'The Little Sisters of the Poor'. Jugan wrote a simple Rule of Life for this new community of women, and they went door-to-door daily asking for food, clothing and money for the women in their care.

During the 1840s, many other young women joined Jugan in her mission of service to the elderly poor. By begging in the streets, she was able to establish four more homes by the end of the decade.

In 1847, based on the request of Leo Dupont, known as the Holy Man of Tours, she built a house in that city. She was much sought after whenever problems arose and she worked with religious and civil authorities to seek help for the poor. By 1850, over 100 women had joined the congregation.

Jugan, however, was forced to step down by the Abbé Auguste Le Pailleur, the priest who had been appointed Superior General of the congregation by the local bishop. In an apparent effort to suppress her true role as the founder, she was only assigned the duty to beg on the street until she was sent into retirement. Thereafter she led a life of obscurity for 27 years. Her eyesight was impaired in her final years.

Expansion of the Congregation

After communities of the Little Sisters had begun to spread throughout France, their work spread to England in 1851. From 1866-1871 five communities of the Little Sisters were founded across the United States. By 1879, the community Jeanne founded had 2,400 Little Sisters and had spread

across Europe and to North America. That year, Pope Leo XIII approved the Constitutions of the Little Sisters of the Poor. At the time of her death on August 29 of that same year, many of the Little Sisters did not know that she was the one who had founded the congregation. Le Pailleur, however, was investigated and dismissed in 1890, and Jugan came to be acknowledged as their founder.

In September 1885, the congregation arrived in South America and made a first foundation in Valparaiso, Chile, from where it expanded later on.

Jugan died in 1279 at the age of 86, and was buried in the graveyard of the General Motherhouse at Saint-Perr. Today pilgrims can visit the house where she was born, the House of the Cross at Saint-Servan and the Motherhouse where she lived her last 23 years.

Veneration

She was beatified in Rome by Pope John Paul II on October 3, 1982, and canonized on October 11, 2009 by Pope Benedict XVI. He said, "In the Beatitudes, Jeanne Jugan found the source of the spirit of hospitality and fraternal love, founded on unlimited trust in Providence, which illuminated her whole life."

- In an article "Kolkata's Unknown Saint" (Times of India-October 27, 2009)

Abhijit Dasgupta, highlighted that "The City of Joy gets its first saint in Frenchwoman Jeanne Jugan, the founder of Little Sisters of the Poor, a Home for the old and the poor but away from public glare."

- Subhojoy Roy in an article published in The Telegraph dated October 12, 2009 asserted that "the God of little things in Kolkata had been beaten to the sainthood post by a Frenchwoman whom no one had even heard of before, in Kolkata."

- In the year 2000, a stamp carrying the name of The Little Sisters of the Poor was printed.

- Sarah Lamb's book entitled Aging and the Indian Diaspora: Cosmopolitan Families in India and Abroad, published by Indiana University Press in 2009 highlights the contribution of Jeanne Jugan and her Little Sisters of the Poor.

Visit to the St. Joseph's Home

A team of 20 students along with Prof. Sarkar and two faculty of the Department visited the St. Joseph's Home on 20.1.19 at 10.30 A.M. The team reported to Sister Beatrice who took them around the vast premises of the Home. She introduced the Study Team to the inmates of the Home; showed various amenities and gave valuable inputs.

Location

The Saint Joseph's Home established by the 'Little Sisters of the Poor', a religious congregation, is located at 2, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road, Kolkata - 700020, West Bengal. The Home has good number of sisters and several volunteers. They take care of around 120 aged people, the inmates of the Home.

Reasons for choosing the Home

- it is set up by the 'Little Sisters of the Poor', one of the oldest religious congregations dedicated to the service of the elderly people in Kolkata.
- it is located very close to our college.
- Most of the inmates are English speaking and it was convenient for the students to interact

Objective of the Visit

- To gain practical knowledge about the activities of a charitable organisation that has a world-wide base and rich history
- To be acquainted with the amenities provided by the Home for the beneficiaries
- To gain awareness about the plight of the older people through interaction
- To be more sensitive about social responsibility

People We Met

- Sister Ann
- Sister Beatrice
- 71 Inmates (Female 26 + Male 45) with whom the students and faculty interacted.

Survey

The students conducted a general survey on the 71 inmates on the basis of an interview schedule prepared in advance for the purpose. After the survey the students came back to the college to analyze the data through pie-charts and prepare a report on their observations and findings (Interview schedule enclosed.)

Observation and Findings

The old men and women appeared happy. The clean rooms, the amenities and the general air of bonhomie indicate nothing of the stench that poverty is associated with. The sprawling grounds, the freshly painted two-storied buildings and mirror-clean floors make the interiors look more like a sophisticated guest house than a home for the poor. There is, also no overt religiosity.

This visit to the St. Joseph's Home of the Little Sisters of the Poor was a good exposure. It helped the students to learn about how important it is to reach out to the people in need.

The study team drew following observations about the Home and the inmates

Home

- Well-maintained, peaceful with home comfort
- Friendly and cooperative attitude of the Sisters

- Absence of regimentation
- Involvement of the inmates in various programmes
- Availability of basic amenities to live a dignified life
- Provision for separate zones for men, women and couples
- Proper care of the inmates by the concerned authority
- Several small and big living rooms for enjoying leisure
- Specified dining spaces for those fit to move around and those with limited mobility
- Sponsorship of food from various sources
- A Physiotherapy Unit
- Regular visit by doctor for health check-up
- Health check-up outside the Home if necessary
- Salon for male and female inmates
- A Chapel for offering prayers at least thrice a day
- Free choice to practice any religion
- Inmates often taken for an outing
- Permitted to go out on their own subject to certain restrictions
- Birthday celebration of the inmates
- Access to Television, Newspaper

Inmates

- Mostly Christians and Hindus
- From different walks of life and professional background
- Keen and enthusiastic
- Fond of participating in various creative activities
- Barrier of language and culture among a small section.
- No scope for exercising the right to vote during elections.
- Few suffer from acute depression

Suggestions

- Arrangement required for the exercise of voting rights
- Need for greater choice over the selection of clothes.
- Need for consultation with inmates regarding the choice of food

The visit was followed by an Orientation Lecture on social work by Professor Asok Sarkar of the Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati, Srimketan. Important highlights of the lecture delivered are as follows:

- Awareness about the history of the institution under survey
- Distinction between Questionnaire and Interview Schedule
- Prospects of Social Work in academics and future career
- Distinction between Social Work, Social Welfare, Social Service and Voluntary Work
- Distinctive feature of the Department of Social Work, Visva Bharati in offering under-graduate, post graduate and Ph. D courses in the discipline

Lessons for furthering any such projects in future

- Proper Project Design
- Pre-survey knowledge and training
- Time management
- Better co-ordination among the team members
- Adequate knowledge about the sample selected for survey
- Documentation with professional care
- More developed observational power and skill.

Future Plan of Action

- Setting up of a core team to be formed for doing social work in a sustained manner
- A Students' Research Team and Documentation Committee for keeping records
- A team comprising the students of all the 3 years for regular visit either on a weekly or monthly basis
- An entertainment program for the inmates
- Promoting hand-made products created by the inmates

Acknowledgement

We take the opportunity to thank

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A GENERAL SURVEY ON THE INMATES OF 'THE LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR'

Interview Schedule

- 1) GENDER: Male Female
- 2) AGE GROUP:
45 TO 59 60 TO 74 75 and above
- 3) For how long have you been staying in this Home?
Less than 5 years Less than 10 years
Less than 15 years 15 years and more
- 4) Do you have access to...?
Newspaper Television
Radio Any other.....
- 5) What do you enjoy doing the most in free time?
Reading Writing Sewing Gardening Any Other...
- 6) Do you exercise your voting right during elections?
Yes No
- 7) Would you like to offer your voluntary service to the community?
Yes No
If Yes, specify.....
- 8) Do you go for an Outing?
Yes No
If yes, specify.....
- 9) Whose company do you enjoy the most?
Children Young people
Peer Any other
- 10) What is your opinion about the succeeding generation?

OBSERVATIONS

IV

STATE LEGISLATURE : A STUDY ON WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

[An excerpt from the Summer Project of the Department of Political Science- 2015-2016]

'Federation' came to be used in a legal document for the first time in the Government of India Act 1935, but the Federal Scheme under the Act was never put into effect until after Independence in 1947, although its Provincial Autonomy Scheme was given a trial.

The Constitution declares: 'India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States'. The basis of federal system is the maintenance of what Dicey called the 'federal sentiments' and 'cooperative federalism' in India. The founders of our Constitution had realised that a federal system was the only option suitable to country like ours, consisting of so many heterogeneous elements. But in view of our external dangers, existing and potential, they sought to impart into the federal system the elements of adjustment by opting for Quasi Federal model. That apart, the units of federation are not uniform in nature. We have the units like

- Full-fledged states acquired from British Indian Territory
- Union Territories
- Acquired Territories from the French Colony
- Acquired Territories from the Dutch Colony
- Princely States
- Associated States

After independence most of the states soon realised that it was no longer possible for them to maintain their existence independent of and separate from the rest of the country. In their own interest, it was necessary to accede to either of the two Dominions - India and Pakistan. The Indian States became part of one uniform political organisation embodied in the Constitution of India.

Thus the process of integration faced two major problems rather challenges like

- a) Shaping the Indian States into sizeable or viable administrative units
- b) Fitting them into the constitutional structure of India.

The above problems had to be kept in mind while developing a Quasi-Federal model suitable to our system. The original constitution maintained nine states in Part A, five states in Part B, five states in Part C and two states in Part D. Later, after Seventh Amendment in 1956, the units were reduced into three main categories like States, Union Territories and Other territories as may be acquired. In addition to this, 'Jammu and Kashmir' was given the special status (Article 370) and Governors of few states were empowered with special powers and discretionary powers in relation to the development of certain states independent of the Chief Ministers of those states.

For the smooth functioning of our quasi-federal model, the Constitution has several provisions to regulate the Centre-State relation in administrative, legislative and financial spheres.

Unlike the union territories, the states are autonomous administrative units having their own legislation and elected chief ministers as head of the government. The law making body exists both

at the central and the state level. Being a parliamentary system, both Union and State Legislatures play an extremely important role in Indian democracy.

Hence, the Third Year Honours students of the Department of Political Science undertook the project to study the Institution with reference to the state of West Bengal.

The project consists of the following sections :

- (I) Highlights of the constitutional provisions related to the composition and functions of the State Legislature in India.
- (II) Historical background of the West Bengal State Legislature.
- (III) An assessment of the 15th West Bengal Legislative Assembly.
- (IV) Experience of the visit to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly

Objectives

State Legislature is the part of the prescribed Honours syllabus of the University of Calcutta. An institutional visit was organised by the Department in August 2015 to acquire first-hand knowledge about the functioning of the law making body in West Bengal. Inspired by the visit the students have undertaken this project. Through an in-depth study students aim

- to understand the constitutional provisions related to State Legislature
- to know the historical background of the West Bengal Legislature
- to identify the special features of the West Bengal Legislature
- to take note of the business conducted in the present Assembly (2011-2016)
- to train themselves about how to undertake a project
- to familiarise students with the Institution where their elected representatives function.

Methodology

- Textual Analysis
- Past experience of the Institutional visit
- Case study

Final Note

Summer Projects is one of the most important and interesting academic exercise in our department. Such projects give students an opportunity to know their discipline in depth and develop an orientation towards future research.

The Department initiated its first project in 2009 in collaboration with the Department of Statistics, and the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Summer Projects have become a regular practice in our college since the academic session 2013-2014

The Central Research Committee of Shri Shikshayatan College decided to compile and publish all such projects in their journal IMPACT. This project has been published in IMPACT, VOL 2, 2015-2016, an exclusive number on Summer Projects

Acknowledgement

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The Central Research Committee of the College ■

BOOK REVIEW

Ashna Jaiswal,

'India 2020: A Vision for The New Millennium' : Kalam, A.P.J and Yagnaswami Sundara Rajan.(1998)
Penguin Books, India 2002, ISBN: 9780140278330, Pages : 324, Price Rs. 299

India 2020: A Vision for The New Millennium is one of the most well researched and widely appreciated writings of the great scientist Dr. Avul Pakir Jain:abdeen Abdul Kalam co-authored by Yagnaswami Sundara Rajan. Scientific Secretary in the office of the Principal Scientific Advisor to the Government of India. This book published by Penguin Publishers in 324 pages consists of 12 chapters covering wide domain of issues relating to technology, agriculture, industry, services, infrastructure, health etc. It gives a detailed list of references and future reading and subject index as well for the convenience of the readers. Hence, it is a book which is well researched and combines facts and vision. It was for the first time published in 1998 on the completion of 50 years of India's independence. The ideas of the book have been shaped by 'several hundred Indians-some very well known' and also members of Technology Information, Forecasting and Assessment Council (TIFAC).

The authors acknowledge that 'India 2020' is 'the story of 'India's developmental needs and actions required'. It gives readers an opportunity to assess what India has already achieved in fifty years and what it is yet to achieve. It also mirrors the strength, weaknesses and the future ambition of India. It discloses 'elements of a few action plans which can be the missions for many young people in the country'. The book was actually inspired by the interaction that took place between Dr. Kalam and a 10 year old girl who came upto him for an autograph after listening to a talk delivered by him. "What is your ambition?" he asked her. "I want to live in a developed India", was her reply without any hesitation. This book is dedicated to her & the millions of Indians who share the same aspiration.

The book dreams of a Developed India. If the nineteenth century belonged to Europe, the twentieth century to the United States, then the twenty-first century will definitely belong to the Indians. Dr Kalam envisions India as the fourth developed nation of the world by 2020. He says that India is one of the largest economies in the world. There has been an upliftment in the standards of living, education, health and above all, national security. According to Kalam, there are four chief areas of development. the people, economy, strategic strength and infrastructure and to achieve all these, technology is the answer. Thus technology should not only be for the classes but the masses as well.

Kalam defends his theory of exploitation of technology by saying: "If you don't have the technology,

The author presented this review in Active Learning Day Celebration, 2015

your natural resources are of no value to you!" He compares Japan with Africa and shows how the former has been able to progress through technological creativity despite dearth of natural resources whereas a resource rich continent like Africa has been unable to progress much due to absence of fundamental technology. However, once again citing the example of Japan, Dr. Kalam says that although technology is the key to realize our vision, the craving to reach the goal should be the driving force. This brings us to the very important question: "Why do we need a vision?" Dr. Kalam answers this question by citing the example of countries like USA, Malaysia, Israel and China and points out that they are what they are today because they had a vision and they strove towards it. Through various meticulously co-related statistical data, the authors try to show that Vision 2020 is certainly not unattainable and corroborates this further by giving several examples from past successes, e.g. the Green Revolution, the development of space technology since the last fifty years and the setting up of our very own satellite-based communication system.

However, there is no mention of the communal tensions and other divisions that tend to hinder the process of development. I wish the authors had addressed these problems while discussing so movingly about the betterment of all Indians and their families. Moreover, there are scores of facts, figures and theories which certain section of readers may find difficult to understand. Above all, the book definitely makes all Indians optimistic and hopeful about reaching greater heights in future. Appreciating the content of the book 'The Tribune' reported 'this is no ordinary book... it should be in all libraries and on the desk of everyone who dreams about the future of India'.

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