

## **Narrative Representations of Protests: Bengali Middle Class Response to Globalization**

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### **Abstract**

*Enduring mass organizations engaged in protracted collective action tend to create detailed narrative accounts of their interventions. In case the leadership and the followers are literate, the narrative accounts are printed, circulated and re-circulated to constitute and invigorate such organizations. These enable the leadership to convince their members, particularly the new cohorts, about the quality of their leadership. It could also be by way of sustaining their self-belief. The narrative accounts analysed here were not merely serial listing of protests against contemporary globalization driven by their apprehensions about the many adverse consequences of this transformation on their conditions of work. It was also about the issues which generated a wide range of collective action, and about how the employees were motivated into sustained collective action. The narrative style was constituted by the critical anti-globalization discourse. This is brought out through an analysis of such narratives of collective action against contemporary globalization by a segment of unionized middle class white collar state employees in West Bengal between 1990 and 2004. During this period, the neo-liberal shift of the Indian state had firmed up. The employees' association is the Co-ordination Committee. The narratives are gleaned from its mouthpiece journal 'Sangrami Hatiyar'.*

Key words: collective action, globalization, contentious politics.

### **I. Preview**

In India protests against contemporary globalization are in good part led by political parties with some degree of commitment to Marxism. The leading agencies have been communist parties or parties with professed attachment to socialist ideas, singly or in an alliance. Such movements in West Bengal in recent decades illustrate this. Typical of the communist mobilization strategy is to inculcate an ideological reading of capitalism. For this, communist parties and trade unions and employees' associations have been using vernacular journals in which leaders, particularly those capable of thinking ideologically, educate the members about the ways of finance capital and state policies which encourage market freedom and a role to foreign capital in the Indian economy. In the process, these unions and associations create representations of their record of struggles against myriad forces of globalization. This serves the double purpose of claims to followership and of enlarging the belonging to the discourse community. What follows is this researcher's reconstruction of the history of collective action against globalization on the part of unionized below-officer white collar employees of the government of West Bengal when it was run by a CPIM-led left alliance (1977- 2011). The union of below-officer state employees in West Bengal, India, is known as the State Coordination Committee of West Bengal Government Employees' Associations (est. 1956), and is usually referred to as the Coordination Committee (CC). It is in fact a union of unions, comprising 33 associations of employees of different government departments as regular members of the CC and 12 associated associations. What makes this case interesting is the fact that despite being a part of the lower rungs of state bureaucracy, the members waged struggles against the state which facilitated globalization. The period chosen for this study is 1990 to 2004 when collective action against globalization in West Bengal as well as India, was intense. The text from which the following narrative is culled is the mouthpiece journal of the CC, called *Sangrami Hatiyar* (a Bengali expression for *The Instrument of Struggle*).

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## II. Narrative: Protest Sequence

Since 1990 till 2004 the state government employees took a part in thirteen major nationwide protests against globalization under the leadership of the CC. As it is evident, there was at least one major national protest every year except between 1995 and 1997, when weak coalitions<sup>1</sup>, considered 'a friendly government' by ruling Left alliance in West Bengal were at the Centre.

The major nationwide protests were, in fact, culmination of local protests. Both the national and local level protests took place in urban spaces like cities and towns. Only occasionally did the protests mobilization reach the rural side. A major difference between the nation and state-level protests was that, because the West Bengal Government was itself a critic of globalization, the target of protests at the state-level would be the Central Government. Thirty-seven protests between 1991 and 2004 were either towards preparation for a nationwide strike or a follow up of the same. A few examples of protest narratives are given. Interesting are the claims of a numbers of protestors, their identities and the principal issues (italics mine).

Under the aegis of the National Platform of Mass Organizations, the workers, peasants, agricultural workers, women students, and youth came out *in millions all throughout the country*, to make the all India general strike today (11.12.98) *the biggest ever mass action* and a severe indictment of the BJP-led Government at the Centre. The general strike peaked in its sweep and reach, in terms of mass mobilization and participation, ever since the advent of *Fund Bank dictated economic reforms process, accepted by the Government of India in implicit obedience and carried forward with religious devotion* by the present BJP Government. As a part of it, about 60 lakhs of State Government employees, Zilla Parishad, Panchayat employees and teachers of the country have joined the nationwide general strike at the call of the All India State Government Employees Federation as decided by the NPMO in its national convention held on 12 August 1998.<sup>2</sup>

On 9<sup>th</sup> March 2000, New Delhi witnessed a massive protest march of *a million people from all over the country* against *the anti-people economic, social and political policies of the Central Government at the behest of World Bank-IMF-W.T.O.* Marchers included *industrial workers, labourers from unorganized sectors, employees from central and state governments, teachers, local bodies, boards, corporations, banks, insurance sector, agricultural labourers, students, youths and women representing a wide cross section of the society*. The march was formally called by the National Platform of Mass Organizations, an umbrella organization comprising of 56 mass and trade union organizations of which All-India State Government Employees' Association is a prime constituent. The rally resolved to observe countrywide general strike on 11 May 2000 against the anti-national policies of the Government and appealed to all to make it a grand success.<sup>3</sup>

Almost the whole of India virtually came to a standstill on 11 May 2000, in spontaneous observance of the nationwide strike call given by the National Platform of Mass Organizations (NPMO) representing *56 mass organizations*, of which All-India State Government Employees' Federation is an important constituent. *Cutting across the artificial barriers of class, creed and religion, people from all walks of life joined the countrywide strike against the disastrous*

<sup>1</sup> Atal Behari Vajpayee May 16, 1996 to June 01, 1996 (Bharatiya Janata Party); H.D. Deve Gowda, June 01, 1996 to April 21, 1997 (Janata Dal) and I.K. Gujral, April, 21, 1997 to March 19, 1998 (Janata Dal).

<sup>2</sup> <http://ganashakti.co.in/old/1998/981214/nation2.htm>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.tradeunionindia.org/programs.htm>

anti-people policies of the Central Government, thereby creating a record of sorts in terms of mass participation. This should be seen as *a manifestation of the peoples' protest against the sell-out of the country to multinational corporations at the dictates of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation. Several million of employees and teachers belonging to state governments and local bodies joined the strike call given by the All-India State Government Employees' Federation.*<sup>4</sup>

#### Protests in West Bengal: 1991- 2004

##### Inset: Nation-level Protests<sup>5</sup>

Protests in		
West Bengal	National Level	West Bengal
1991		
December	29.11.1991	2001
1992		January
March	16.04.1992	July
April	16.06.1992	September
May		October
June	09.09.1993	November
September		
November	29.09.1994	2002
1993	11.12.1998	March
March		April
August	09.03.2000	May
September	11.05.2000	July
November		September
		November
1994	10.01. 2001	2003
January	25.07.2001	May
August	16.04.2002	April
August		September
November	21.05.2003	November
1997	24.02.2004	2004
August		December
September		

With an agenda of issues which relate directly to the fall-out of pursuing a neo-liberal economic policy under IMF and World Bank directives<sup>6</sup>, state employees went into an All-India strike on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2001. The Confederation of Central Government employees and workers and All-India State Government Employees' Federation organized the strike. The strikers wanted the central government to stop privatization of government functions, corporatisation of government departments, contractualisation and casualisation of government jobs, downsizing of establishments, abolition of posts and retrenchment, and amendments in existing labour laws. The strikers received support from national trade unions. This

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.tradeunionindia.org/programs.htm>

<sup>5</sup> In which the Co-ordination Committee took part.

<sup>6</sup> The imperatives set by IMF and World Bank are stringent. As far as IMF is concerned, these are reduction of budgetary subsidies, removal of subsidies for agricultural inputs, removal of food subsidies, pursuance of liberal economic policies, promotion of foreign investment, import liberalisation and privatisation of the banking sector. For WTO, these are: reduction of subsidies, reduction of support for domestic agriculture, removal of PDS (food subsidies), pursuance of free trade by developing countries, removal of restrictions on MNCs in utilities industries, removal of barriers to imports and lifting restrictions on entry of foreign investors.

indicates increasing solidarity between workers and employees, common victims of globalization. In fact, they succeeded in securing support from various trade unions and other organizations abroad. Thus, they became *a part of global protests against globalization*. That they were resolute was indicated by the fact that they took part in the strike despite punitive measures.<sup>7</sup>

India witnessed *its biggest strike* since independence as *millions of workers and employees across the country* took part in the strike on 21 May, 2003. Almost all the central trade unions and federations including the AISGEF had jointly called the strike. The eight point demands included *a halt of privatization and downsizing of government departments, restoration of economic benefits to employees and workers, filing up of vacant posts, halting anti-employee changes in labour laws*, etc. This is the eighth general strike by the working class of India against the imperialist globalization since 1991. *More than eighty million workers and employees consciously took part* in the strike to register their protest against the anti-people policies being pursued by the Central and several State governments at the dictates of the World Bank-IMF-WTO. Employees and workers from various sectors including financial institutions, ports, mines, electricity, coal, oil, power, bank, insurance, telecom, fertilizer, iron and steel, public sector units, transport (including rail and road) along with State and Central government establishments contributed to the success of the strike. *Millions of workers belonging to unorganized sectors also joined the strike. Farmers, students, youth and women* organizations expressed solidarity through various support programmes on that day. In many states the protest took the shape of a general strike through spontaneous participation of the masses. The success of the strike reflected firm *rejection of the inhuman exploitation let loose on the people in the name of globalization by the imperialist forces*. In the state sector, more than five million employees of state governments, state public undertakings, and local bodies actively participated in the strike. This strike received *international solidarity and support* from the following organizations: World Federation of Trade Unions, Japan Federation of Public Service Employees' Union (Kokko-Roren), CIG-Confederacion Intersindical Galega – Spain, All Pakistan Trade Union Federation and Pancyprian Trade Union of Government/Military and Social Institutes servants PA.SY.E.K.P.E.O.<sup>8</sup>

In all similar narratives the number of protesters was unfailingly mentioned. Because the numbers are given as absolute numbers without reference to something like percentage of total employees, it is difficult to make a rigorous inference about the magnitude of participation. The figurative use of numbers was to valorize their collective action; and same with regard to reference to the country/nation. The politics of number, claims of social alliance and projection of national significance of the issue agitating the 'people' went hand in hand with bestowal of charisma to specific protest events like *All India Protest Day, Anti-imperialism Day, Anti-privatization Day, Oppose Privatization Day, World Trade Union Movement Day, National Protest Day and Jail Bharo Aandolan* (Fill up the prisons). Such nomenclatures summed up the purpose and the mood of collective action. The presumption was that such terse signifiers would facilitate easy remembrance by the association members and the bystanders. There was an interesting use of comparison with nationalist politics: comparing 25<sup>th</sup> November 1992 march to Parliament with the Quit India Movement of August 1942 – the call then was to the British and the call now is to the International Monetary Fund-World Bank combine, or 9<sup>th</sup> September 1993 anti-globalization protests projected as a nationalist struggle. Historicizing popular interventions is typical of radical discourse-driven movements.

<sup>7</sup> *People's Democracy* (2001July). 25 (30), 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.tradeunionindia.org/programs.htm>

*Protests: Level of Participation\**

16.04.1992	70 lakh employees; participation by 30,000 employees respectively; specific reference to women's participation.
16.06. 1992	45 lakh employees in India.
25.11. 1992	Nation-level protest march to Parliament; lakhs and lakhs of workers, employees & other working people; symbolic politics.
01.05.1994	Half a lakh of middle class employees, teachers & workers in an assembly to protest against economic policies.
03.08.1994 & 09.08.1994	Participation by workers, employees, students, youth, women, cultural workers, agricultural labourers & peasants; corresponding protest by state employees, bank & insurance employees under 12 <sup>th</sup> July Committee, a wide networking; protest not confined to Calcutta, in district towns also.
25.11.1994	Participation in mass sitting ignoring cold weather, even family members of employees joining; half a lakh spending under the sky in a cold night.
18.07. 2001	In West Bengal, about 7 lakhs Central and State Government Employees.
25.07.2001	By 80 lakh State Government employees, 15 lakh Central Government employees, 15 lakh teachers & educational employees, more than 1 crore of workers.
20-22.07. 2001	Global protests against meeting of G8 leaders 20 <sup>th</sup> -22 <sup>nd</sup> July 2001, intense and violent protest by more than a lakh of people.
24.09.2001	State-wide processions and meetings against neo-liberal economic policy at the call of 12 <sup>th</sup> July Committee (an amalgam of protests including protest against American policy on Afghanistan & Central Government's support).
14.10. 2001	Protest against Central Government's conspiracy to change labour laws following imperatives of globalization.
16.04.2002	Participation by 50 lakhs of state employees.
01.05.2002	Participation by the labouring class.
30.03.2003	A huge congregation (a sea of humanity) of people coming from all over West Bengal.
24.02.2004	Millions of workers and employees.

\*Left out in this table are those protests whose participation levels are not available.

A long tradition of agitation in politics in this state had already set the possible forms of anti-globalization struggles. The accounts of struggles and movements revealed protest forms indulged in by the protestors. The repertoire included: organizing national conventions,<sup>9</sup> gate meetings, sit-ins, mass deputation, slogan shouting, wearing solidarity badges, banter hoardings, posturing, rallying, protest marches to power centres like the Parliament, setting up group meetings, market place meetings, politically informed *jatras* (popular and traditional form of plays staged particularly in villages), processions with *mashals* (lighted torches), singing songs for peace, and, obviously strikes. The narrative accounts of the variety of forms and sites of protests,

<sup>9</sup> For example, National Convention jointly held by All India State Government Employees Federation and Confederation of Central Govt. Employees & Workers at Mavalankar Auditorium on 25 September, 2003 against the Supreme Court's observations that the State Government employees had no 'Fundamental, Statutory/Equitable/Moral Right' to strike'.

both partly chosen and partly contingent on situations, were intended to keep on record the capacity for flexibility on the part of the leaders of the unionized employees. What they did further was to argue that beneath the audio-visual experience of protest activity was a diagnosis of consequences - some emergent and some inevitable - of state-aided globalization.

### III. The Narrative: Creating Convictions

Having a discourse is never sufficient until it is disseminated and secured through persistent acts of protest. But mobilizing the Coordination Committee members for the purpose of protest presupposed a process of careful motivation. Confronting the members of the Coordination Committee with a proper critical analysis of consequences of globalization and of the role of various agents was one way of motivating them for the purpose of struggle. That was towards helping them understand globalization in times of finance capitalism; towards creation of political convictions.

It had been a combination of reference to history and to the contemporary developments to convince the members that the state-sponsored globalization of the 1990s was rooted in the longer history of capitalism. The reference to history, in fact, went far beyond 1990s' India: to 'the historic May Day' protests of 1884. In a way this was valorising the collective action the Committee led.<sup>10</sup> May be, it was suggesting that their struggles could be reckoned with in the future.

The graphic presentation which follows describes the endeavour on the part of the leadership to create political convictions about the perils of globalization. Some of the leading members of the Committee were well-versed in the Marxist understanding of capitalist globalization. Invoking history – global history of struggle against capitalism – has been an integral part of communist political education. The India-specific reference point was anti-imperialist struggles. The Committee made it a point to remember and remind its members of public expression of protests against economic injustice inside Writers' Building in the 1880s as well as continuous participation in anti-partition movements in 1905 by a section of employees for one and a half-month which cost them their jobs.<sup>11</sup> Given the well-recognized connection between colonialism and globalization, this was remembering how the late nineteenth –early twentieth century writers responded to the nationalist cause. The same cause was brought up in struggles against globalization and its harmful consequences almost a century later. For this later phase, the Committee drew up on global political resources in two ways. One: it drew up on a global anti-globalization discourse and reports of international bodies to bolster the legitimacy of its struggles. The reports pointed out the fact that the countries in the 'south' were the victims of contemporary globalization. The South Commission categorically reported:

What is abundantly clear is that the North has used the plight of developing countries to strengthen its dominance and its influence over the development paths of the South. Developing countries have been forced to reshape their economic policies to make them compatible with the North's design.... The most powerful countries in the North have become a *de facto* board of management for the world economy, protecting their interests and imposing their will on the South. The governments of the South are then left to face the wrath, even the violence of their own people, whose standards of living are being depressed for the sake of preserving the present patterns of operation of the world economy.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Chattopadhyay, Pranab (2002 May). International May Day and Present World Situation, *Sangrami Hatiyar*, 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Gupta, Subhasish. (2001 December) 'The ensuing conference must give direction as to how to cope with new and unanticipated conditions', *Sangrami Hatiyar*, 4-6.

<sup>12</sup> Thadani, Veena. (2006). Globalization and Its Contradictions: Democracy and Development in the Sub-Continent, Paper presented at the *British International Studies Conference*, University College Cork.

The other: it had networked with employees' unions and workers' trade unions in other countries, particularly in the global 'south', to coordinate protest activities. 'Globalization from below' was a useful reservoir of political capital (Roychowdhury, 2015). But the cause of the nation was integrated with the cause of the class. Here too, the experiences of the people in comparable social strata in other southern countries were highlighted by reports on job security by International Labor Organization and United Nations Development Program.

### *Creating Convictions*

- Telling a long tradition of anti-imperialist struggle.
- Invoking a long tradition of trade union struggle as a stimulus for similar struggle against globalization.
- Providing employees with a chronological report on struggles by state employees on Anti-imperialist World Peace Day on 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1991.
- Recounting a decade of struggle against neo-liberal economic policy.
- Setting up a chronology of anti-globalization All-India strikes.
- Making anti-globalization struggle a part of national political process.
- Cautioning against economism.
- Relating IMF policies to economic policies of the Third World.
- Reporting on observations by ILO and UNDP towards an impending huge loss of employment by workers and employees.
- Describing mammoth peace processions in America itself.
- Pointing out adverse implications of patent laws (dependence on advanced capitalist countries for seeds, loss of livelihood for firm hands, and dependence for medicine).
- Exhorting state employees in West Bengal to understand globalization.
- Showing the connection between globalization-directed central economic policy and constraints on West Bengal government leading to reduction of benefits for its employees as well as their economic and political security.
- Arguing that the miseries of salaried employees and that of working class were due to capitalism and the two must be a part of a social alliance against capitalism.
- Telling the employees: 'if you want to live, learn to die; learn to fight united'.
- Advising involvement of family members for anti-globalization struggles.

### **IV. The Narrative: Apprehensions**

Organizations engaged in contentious politics routinely construct the threat perception of their members. Towards mobilizing the employees, a comprehensive reference to the consequences of globalization was made in the pages of the Coordination Committee's mouthpiece as well as in office-level meetings and in the Coordination Committee conferences. The intention was to situate the employees in a global context. The implicit argument was that in order to counter globalization, they needed to think globally. To give such thinking a comprehensible reference point, the discourse articulated through a series of long essays, brief articles and cartoons were both diagnostic and strategizing. The thrust of the argument in all these compositions was that they should look beyond their immediate demands relating to their pay and work conditions; or better still, should discover the connections between these and the constraints due to globalization that reach them through the agency of the nation-state.

Though the Coordination Committee insisted that the employees should avoid economism, it comprehensively drew their attention to the adverse impact of globalization on economy of the globalized communities. The theoreticians in the Committee, who acted as the conduit for the global critical discourse on globalization, used official statistics and authentication by academic social scientists. Refreshing the memories of financial hardship suffered by the members of the lower bureaucracy during the closing years of colonial rule and the first four decades after independence was towards playing on the fear factor. That there could be a repetition of the same

### Consequences of Globalization: Economy

#### Price

- Basic requirements like food, cloth, education and health to be purchased at competitive prices because of withdrawal of subsidy.
- Increase in prices of essential commodities.
- Attack on purchasing power of the common people.

#### Employment

- Shrinkage of employment opportunities.
- Withdrawal of state subsidies leading to decline in standard of living and reduction of employment opportunities.
- Lay-off threats for workers and public sector employees.
- Lay-off and increase in working hours.
- Huge vacancy in permanent posts in administration.
- Insecurity of employment.
- Loss of employment by 2 crores of labourers (7 lakh factory workers, 40 thousand in public enterprises; a drop in employment rate by 8% in the 2000-2001).
- No fresh employment.
- Beginning of contract labour.

#### Wages and salaries

- Reduction in wages and salaries.

#### Structural changes

- Destroying the public sector, the foundation of economic self-sufficiency.
- Closure of centrally funded projects in the state.
- Collapse of public distribution system.
- Privatization.
- Diminishing state revenues.
- De-industrialization due to import of foreign technology.
- Crisis for domestic industries/ Little prospects for new industries.
- Restructuring of departments.
- Joint ventures.

#### Facilitating capitalism

- Possibility of unlimited exploitation due to foreign capitalism.
- Dismantling protecting legal framework, facilitating entry of foreign capitalism.
- Owners being given free hand in closure.

#### Exploitation, destitution and death

- Poverty, hunger and increase in unemployment.
- Peasant suicides.
- Millions of destitute street children as a result of neo-colonialism.
- Curtailing public distribution system benefiting the common people.
- Reduction of social welfare fund leading to hunger deaths.
- India's 134<sup>th</sup> rank in Human Development Report, 1993.
- Inevitability of unlimited exploitation due to entry of multinational corporations.

financial deterioration due to increased prices of basic commodities and services like food, clothing, education and health in the wake of state minimizing its social welfare role was the recurrent message sent out to the middle class employees. The fight had to be eventually against capitalist globalization. The Coordination Committee projected a multi-dimensional image of globalization much in keeping with the critical literature on the transformation. This was also implying that its threat to the middle class, particularly those on the lower spectrum of the class, was very comprehensive.

Analysis of adverse economic consequences in the pages of *Sangrami Hatiyar*, in fact, went much beyond the question of price increase, insecurity and fall in employment. The immediate causes were traced to restructuring of the economy characterized by severely curtailing

the public sector, privatization and diminishing state revenues leading to withdrawal of subsidies. All these, in the perception of the Coordination Committee, were towards facilitating growth of unbridled capitalism and entry of foreign capital both in industry and agriculture. The State's readiness in reforming a protective legal framework was also criticized. To highlight the pathetic consequences, cases of peasant suicides and a drastic increase in the number of destitute street children in the Third World as well as the inevitability of unlimited exploitation in times of globalization were narrated.

Because economic globalization was a state-mediated process and involved political decision-making on the part of the ruling party/ party alliance, globalization had evidently a set of political consequences.

#### *Consequences of Globalization: Politics*

##### State

- Surrender of political independence and economic policy.
- A foreign policy of appeasement.
- India as a target of neo-imperial exploitation.
- A few state governments succumbing to Fund-Bank imperative of privatization.
- The state drawing on NGOs.
- Contractors being handed over tasks of administration.

##### Domestic politics

- Communal, separatist and divisive forces gaining strength because of economic chaos.

##### Working class politics

- New labour policy as inimical to trade union rights.
- Rendering the working class impotent.

In the perception of the Coordination Committee, the main adverse impact on the political system was the undermining of sovereignty of the nation-state. In fact, in all its pronouncements, it insisted on the loss of economic sovereignty. Corresponding to it was a switchover from a policy of non-alignment to one of appeasement. The State in India turned Indian society into a target of neo-imperial control and exploitation. This degeneration percolated down to the working of the governments of the constituent states of the Indian union. In fact, a few State Governments succumbed to the Fund-Bank imperatives of privatization. The Coordination Committee as a part of its mobilization drive alerted its members about a similar fate falling on the state of West Bengal. The compulsion of drawing on a network of NGOs for developmental work pointed out contingent withdrawal of the State. The use of contractors for assigned development work, which was based on a calculation of economy and efficiency, actually undermined the role of the bureaucracy.

Domestic politics was characterized by two developments: an upsurge in communal and divisive activities; and, a threat to trade union rights of the working people. In fact, this was a development in all societies under the influence of contemporary globalization. It was economic chaos due to adoption of neo-liberal economic policy which made the community vulnerable to communal conflicts. Along with an analysis of economic and political consequences, the impact on culture was also brought out in its discourse. The role of media, increasingly under control of global capital as an instrument of cultural and psychological manipulation, was categorically brought out. An inevitable increase in the cost of education was due because of commoditization of education. The Committee in fact forecast the crisis of family and on-set of unrest in the civil society.

#### **V. Conclusion**

The narratives function as the aperture involved in the production of images of the organizational self of the Coordination Committee. It was like production of an organizational self-

reflection to be looked at by the same collectivity which had produced it. This is because the Committee's mouthpiece journal was circulated among its members only. The history of thinking politically and acting organizationally in the process of coping with the challenges of this momentous transformation recorded in its pages served a number of purposes: connecting the local with the global, historicizing the Committee's performance in contentious politics against the state and the global economic regime, and remaining trustworthy in the estimate of the Committee's members.

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