

Salt Lake Archives

A Report

Prepared by

Supurna Banerjee

Anwasha Sengupta

Sanjoy Kar

Sharannyo Banerjee

Syamantak Chattopadhyay



Institute of Development Studies Kolkata

27/D, DD Block, Sector-I, Salt Lake City, Kolkata-700064

Salt Lake Archives

A Report

Prepared by

Supurna Banerjee

Anwasha Sengupta

Sanjoy Kar

Sharannyo Banerjee

Syamantak Chattopadhyay



Institute of Development Studies Kolkata

27/D, DD Block, Sector-I, Salt Lake City, Kolkata-700064

Copyright © 2022 Institute of Development Studies Kolkata (IDSK), 27/D, DD Block, Sector-I, Salt Lake, Kolkata-70064, West Bengal, India

Telephone: +91 33 2321-3120/21/99; FAX: +91 33 2321-3119; e-mail: idsk@idskmail.com;
Internet: www.idsk.edu.in

Rights and Permissions



This work is available under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0) <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>. Under the Creative Commons Attribution license, you are free to copy, distribute, transmit, and adapt this work, including for commercial purposes, under the following conditions:

Attribution- Please cite the work as follows: Supurna Banerjee, Anwasha Sengupta, Sanjoy Kar, Sharannyo Banerjee, Syamantak Chattopadhyay (2022). *Salt Lake Archives: A Report*. Kolkata: Institute of Development Studies Kolkata. DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.6331546](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6331546)

Translations- If you create a translation of this work, please add the following disclaimer along with the attribution: *This translation was not created the IDSK and should not be considered an official translation of IDSK. The IDSK shall not be liable for any content or error in this translation.*

Adaptations- If you create an adaptation of this work, please add the following disclaimer along with the attribution: *This is an adaptation of an original work by the IDSK. Views and opinions expressed in the adaptation are the sole responsibility of the author or authors of the adaptation and are not endorsed by the IDSK.*

All queries on rights and licenses should be addressed to Institute of Development Studies Kolkata (IDSK), 27/D, DD Block, Sector-I, Salt Lake, Kolkata - 700064, West Bengal, India; e-mail: idsk@idskmail.com

DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.6331546](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6331546)

Cover and report design:

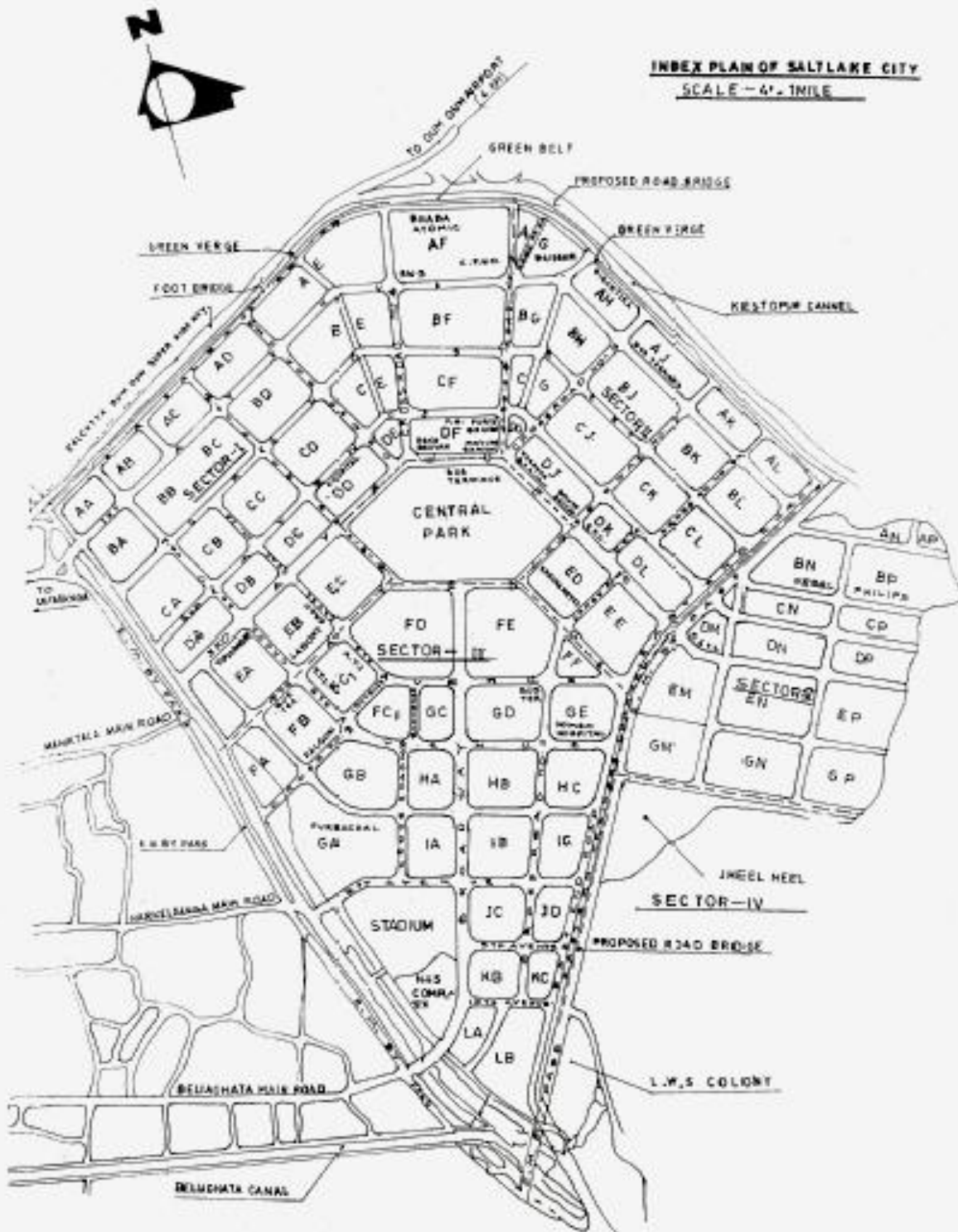
Syamantak Chattopadhyay



Scan and download the report

Contents

- 1 Salt Lake: A Brief History
- 2 Why archive Salt Lake?
- 3 Condition of material—why is archiving necessary?
- 4 Our Collection So Far
- 5 Future Plans
- 6 Works on Salt Lake
- 7 Photo Album



NAME OF AVENUES & ROADS OF SALT LAKE CITY

Courtesy: General Information Directory, Laban Hrad Sangbad, 1987.

1. Salt Lake: A Brief History

Salt Lake, also known as Bidhan Nagar, developed as a township in the eastern fringe of Kolkata through reclamation of parts of the vast marshlands. The plan was executed during the chief minister-ship of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and hence the township was named as Bidhan Nagar. Salt Lake, or Salt Water Lake, was a colonial coinage to describe the marshes bordering Kolkata on the east.

The plans of reclaiming Salt Water Lakes to expand Calcutta can be traced back to the colonial period. In 1830, when William Bentinck was the Governor-General of India, reclamation plans of the Salt Water Lakes were discussed in the government circles. In 1865, the colonial government examined a proposal tabled by ‘Salt Water Lakes Reclamation and Irrigation Company Ltd’. In 1882-83, once again, the possibility of reclaiming Salt Lake was discussed. The question of reclaiming Salt Water Lakes was routinely discussed in official circles in early 20th century as well. However, due to the



Photo 1.1: Courtesy: Salt Lake Archives, IDSK

huge expenditure, no concrete action was taken.

With independence and partition, Kolkata witnessed massive refugee influx and unprecedented housing crisis. In this context, Dr. B.C. Roy revived the plans of reclaiming the marshes bordering Calcutta. He invited Netherlands Engineering Consultants (NEDECO) to explore the possibilities of reclaiming Salt Water Lakes. On January 1953, NEDECO submitted its detailed report and following that a global tender was called to carry out the reclamation scheme of Salt Lake (1959). A Firm from Yugoslavia, named Messrs. Invest Import, was appointed for the task. On April 16, 1962, few months before his

death, the reclamation project was inaugurated by B.C Roy.

Salt Lake was initially conceived as a residential locality for middle class professionals. The first few houses came up in 1970-71. 2021 marked the 50th year of the township as a place of residence. Apart from being a residential area, Salt Lake has emerged as an office space (both IT Hub and government offices), an entertainment hub (shopping mall, amusement parks etc.), prime centre of education, key centre of provincial governance and a political power

centre where many important provincial leaders stay. In many ways the Salt Lake experiments were followed when the marsh wetlands of eastern Kolkata were further reclaimed to establish New Town –Rajarhat urban settlements. The significance of Salt Lake in the urban studies and in the postcolonial history of West Bengal has encouraged us to initiate the building of an archive of Salt Lake at the Institute of Development Studies Kolkata.



Photo 1.2: An aerial view of Salt Lake (Source: Internet)

2. Why archive Salt Lake?



Photo 2.1: Karunamoyee Housing (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)

Overshadowed by Kolkata, Salt Lake remains almost entirely absent in academic research. The historians of the cities of the Global South have largely focused on colonial urbanism.

For the urban geographers, sociologists and anthropologists, the contemporary smart towns have been the main draw. Salt Lake, conceived and developed in the early postcolonial era, has remained invisible to both groups. It is in many ways similar to the Nehruvian modernist cities like Chandigarh. The 1950s and '60s was a very significant moment in the history of urban development in the Global South when

building cities in 'greenfield sites' became synonymous with modernist development. Cities like Salt Lake, like Chandigarh, attracted foreign experts and funding and emerged as symbols of modern development. This is a moment that requires rigorous scholarly intervention and here Salt Lake can be an important case study.

In the last 50 years Salt Lake has gained locational, administrative and political importance. Built by reclaiming a portion of East Kolkata Wetlands, on which thousands had depended for their livelihood and which had been crucial to the sewerage network of Kolkata, Salt Lake is an important site for studying political ecology, wetland management and environmental consequences of urbanization. There has hardly been any systematic scholarly work on Salt Lake focusing on any of these aspects. The archive will be central source material for any such kind of exploration. The newspapers, oral interviews, photographs and other collected items

provide rich material on Salt Lake's politics, culture, history, society and ecology. Along with the local histories, they are therefore of great importance for any scholarly work.

In terms of community life too Salt Lake is at the cusp of a potential transformation in its residence and demographic pattern. With

it will be of great cultural significance to the diasporic and resident community. Organising and cataloguing these is essential for preserving and making them accessible to the local community and researchers. Archiving Salt Lake then is important for preserving local history and making it

Photo 2.2: Namaz at Central Park (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)



a very high proportion of elderly population (Census 2011) with expatriate children, the local history of Salt Lake so far precariously preserved in amateur personal collections is in danger of disappearing altogether. The digitising and open access of these materials will make available elements of their history to the scattered local community. Therefore,

available for the community and scholarship alike.

3. Condition of material—why is archiving necessary?

Understudied in urban scholarship, Salt Lake has not been systematically documented. Several local newspapers, invaluable as sources of information, have been published at various points of time from Salt Lake. But these remain scattered, stored in personal collections of proprietors and subscribers who lack the space, expertise and fund to preserve them in professional conditions. Preserved as physical copies, the newspapers are in the danger of being damaged and/or lo

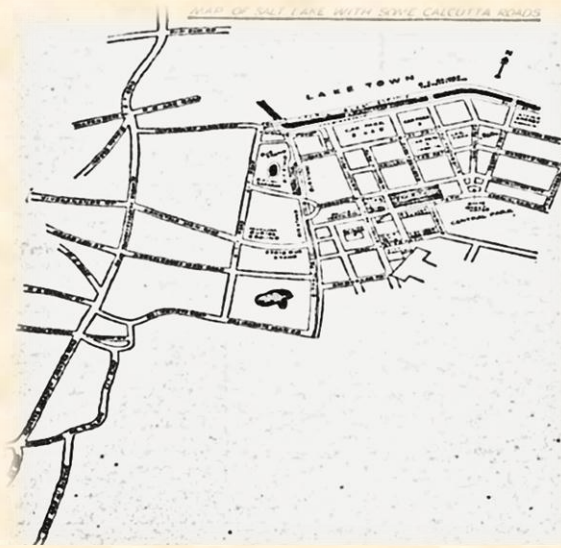


Photo 3.1: Jugantar Newspaper (Courtesy: IDSK)

Some newspapers and documents are preserved in local libraries. These local libraries are under-staffed and barely functional because of inadequate funds and few readers. With these libraries falling into disrepair through water damage, termite attack, lack of staff and general neglect, the newspapers, like other materials still housed there, will be destroyed in the near future.

The souvenirs, directories and such other material are similarly stored in people's personal collections, block association offices and sometimes in the offices of housing associations of Salt Lake. Because they are scattered in various locations and stored in fragile set-ups of individuals, they are at risk of damage, destruction and getting misplaced.

Local histories of places are also documented through people's narratives. With a rapidly ageing population, these stories of Salt Lake too are in imminent danger of being lost to the posterity because of old age, frail health and fragile memories of the early residents who are invaluable sources of information.

Researching and writing about Salt Lake is not possible without these primary source materials. And it is this precarity of the material storage and their lack of availability to the public both general and academic that makes the project of archiving Salt Lake an important one.

4. Our Collection So Far

In 2021, IDSK started the initiative of archiving Salt Lake. It was to commemorate 50 years of the township and 20 years of the institute in 2022. The process began by tracing the origin of Salt Lake in old books, archival records, assembly debates and the census data. At first, the work was mostly restricted to locating published material due to the Covid pandemic. In between August 2021 and January 2022, the team conducted several interviews (both online and offline).

The initial plan was to conduct interviews



Photo 4.1: Newspapers at IDSK library. (Courtesy: Salt Lake Archives, IDSK)

with early residents of Salt Lake in order to understand their lived experiences and also make sense of the changes which the township went through over the years. What was living in Salt Lake like, 30-40 years ago? How did it evolve as a space? The senior residents narrated the stories of jackals, howling in the night sky; mosquitoes infesting entire houses, and even sandstorms as part of their everyday lives. At the same time, they told us about patterns of interactions and associations that shaped their social lives around 1970s and 80s. How did a sense of community emerge? Who were labeled as ‘outsiders’? What roles did certain religious/cultural festivals, political events and emergencies played in forging a sense of community? These questions became important in various interviews.

Apart from rich, long interviews, our other important find has been some of the newspapers published from Salt Lake. We are grateful to Mr. Bidhan Ganguly, editor of a local fortnightly newspaper called *Susambad*, for allowing us to access his personal collection. We have acquired 116 editions of the paper (from 2009-2014) with the goal of digitization. Apart from *Susambad*, there are other dailies and fortnightly papers of Salt Lake

without any proper archive. We, therefore, began tracing other editors of local papers and continued with the process of preservation. We managed to acquire a few editions of *Labanhrad Sambad* and *Salt Lake Post*. Apart from newspapers, IDSK now has a collection of old books, souvenirs, photographs, legal documents and other materials related to Salt Lake.

At present, we are conducting more interviews – with particular focus on the informal sector, housing residents, minority population among others. We are also in search of other newspapers, souvenirs, photographs, relevant documents



Photo 4.2: Newspapers stored at Labanhrad Sambad office. (Courtesy: Salt Lake Archives, IDSK)

সন্টলেকে সবাই অমর

জানেন,
আজকাল তুতেন খামেন
সন্টলেকেই থাকেন।

এক হাতে থলে, এক হাতে তরবার
মহাবীর আলেকজান্দার
সন্টলেকেই করেন বাজার।

অবসর প্রাপ্ত হারুন-অল-রসিদ
শোনা যাচ্ছে, গাঁথা হচ্ছে তারো বাড়ির ভিত,
তিন মাসের মধ্যে গৃহপ্রবেশ নিশ্চিত।

সেদিন পূর্বাচল মিনিবাসে 'এই যে আকবর'
সঙ্গে সঙ্গে 'অশোকদা যে, কি খবর?'
সন্টলেকে সবাই অমর।

Photo 4.3: A verse by Tarapada Roy from his book titled *Bhalo Accho Garib Manush* (2001)



Photo 4.4: The front page of *Susambad*

Newspapers:

SL	Newspaper	Coverage	Volume & Issues	Type	Total Issues	No of pages
1	Susambad	2009-2014	5(17)- 12(24)	Fortnightly	106	1362
2	Laban Hrad Sambad	2010-2021	21(6)- 32(19)	Fortnightly	35	1798
3	Salt Lake Post	2003-2003	12(4)-12(6)	Fortnightly	3	36

Interviews: We have interviewed 30 people from different sectors of Salt Lake City. Here is the list of interviewees and related information-

SL	Name of the interviewee	Occupation
1	Alakendu Ghosh	Doctor
2	Ananya Chatterjee	Professor
3	Aparesch Chowdhury	Engineer
4	Arunabha Majumdar	Engineer
5	Arup Dey	Editor
6	Ayan Chatterjee	Activist
7	Basudeb Burman	Professor (Retired.)
8	Bidhan Ganguly	Editor
9	Bijoy Padhi	Editor (Assistant)
10	Debajyoti Bhattacharya	Writer
11	Indrani Chakraborty	Professor
12	Mahasweta Bhattacharya	Research Scholar
13	Md Salauddin Mollah, Masud Alam	Aspiring Teacher
14	Nandini Ghosh	Professor

15	Nidhikant Singh	Carpenter
16	Nilanjan Sengupta	Social worker
17	Ranajoy Banerjee	Research Scholar
18	Ranjan Bhattacharya	Architect
19	Saikat Mukhopadhyay	Teacher
20	Saradindu Choudhury	Photo-Journalist
21	Shyamapada Das and Nidhikant Singh	Rickshaw-Puller/ Carpenter
22	Sibaji Pratim Basu	Vice Chancellor
23	Somesh Chandra Chatterjee	Assistant Commissioner of Income Tax (Retired)
24	Sucheta Chakraborty	Journalist
25	Sukanta Chowdhury	Professor
26	Sukumar Basak	Businessman
27	Swagata Dasgupta	Teacher
28	Trina Haldar	Aspiring Teacher
29	Tulsi Sinha Roy	Councillor
30	Shibu Ghosh	Caretaker

Photograph (s):

Mr. Saradindu Choudhury, a senior journalist of Telegraph has donated more than 3000 digital photographs from his personal collection. Moreover, our team has also collected 100+ digital photographs from interviewees' personal collection.

Online Sources:

- i. Salt Lake: A Living History (Online Magazine)- <http://saltlakealivinghistory.com/>
- ii. Facebook Page of Salt Lake: A Living History- <https://www.facebook.com/saltlakealivinghistory/>

- iii. Instagram handle of Salt Lake Archives: <https://www.instagram.com/saltlakearchives/>
- iv. Salt Lake City (Blog): <https://anilcm.wordpress.com/kolkata/salt-lake-city/>
- v. Kolkata First (How Salt Lake was born): <https://www.kolkatafirst.in/?p=7797>
- vi. East Kolkata Waste Management Authority: <http://ekwma.in/ek/about-us/history-chronology/>
- vii. Anandabazar Patrika (Archives) : <https://www.anandabazar.com/topic/salt-lake>
- viii. Times of India (Archives): <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/topic/salt-lake>



Photo 4.5: Old Bidhannagar Municipality Building (Courtesy: IDSK)

“In 1978, when we shifted to BD block, there were only about 15-20 houses in the whole area... Also, there were only two markets in Salt Lake, BD and CA... Because of the spaced out nature of this place, to get children or to get people to talk on a regular basis was very difficult... After sunset, there wouldn't be anything, everything would stop. So whether it was a howl of a jackal or a dog barking or even a frog croaking , every sound would get aggravated ...”

Nandini Ghosh

Assistant Professor, IDSK

“When I was young, I used to come with my father to see the landfilling process of Salt Lake. We would take a bus from College Street to Bengal Chemical. From there, we had to walk past a canal (somewhere near Duttabad)... I clearly remember seeing a boosting and pumping station located near the Vidyasagar Housing Complex (at present). It would accelerate the pumping process and people would often gather around the station. The sand and water was also accompanied by fish, dead animals and even gold coins... We were the fifth resident of entire Salt Lake... So we can perhaps claim to be a part of Salt Lake’s history!”

**Aparesh Chowdhury
Engineer**



Photo 4.6: *Bhit pujo* in Salt Lake Year 1990 (Courtesy: Shurjo Roy)

5. Future Plans

- i. Continue the process of interviewing old residents and also explore different spaces of marginality within the township.
- ii. Also collect other relevant materials like newspapers, documents, photographs, etc. related to Salt Lake.



Photo 5.1: Durga Pujo, FD Block (Courtsey: Saradindu Choudhury)

- iii. Initiate the process of digitization of already collected materials.
- iv. Apply for grants and also seek other financial assistance to continue the process of archiving.
- v. Organize an exhibition to introduce Salt Lake Archives.
- vi. Open Salt Lake Archives formally for public access.



Photo 5.2: Salt Lake *Bhit Pujo*. Year: 1990 (Courtesy: Shurjo Roy)

6. Works on Salt Lake (Bidhannagar):

1. 'Reclamation of Salt Lakes - Dr. B. C. Roy's dream' (1964) in A. Home (ed.), *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette: Official organ of the Corporation of Calcutta*, Central Municipal Office, Calcutta, India, 81(6&7).
2. Anuradha, Roy (2019). Salt Lake: A Bridge between the Old Calcutta and the New in *Kolkata in Space, Time, and Imagination*, edited by Anuradha Roy and Melitta Waligora, vol-1, Primus Books, Delhi, ISBN: 9789352907861, 94-125.
3. Bandyopadhaya, T. et al. (2004). *Preliminary Study on Biodiversity of Sewage EFD Fisheries of East Kolkata Wetland Ecosystem*. Kolkata: Institute of Wetland Management and Ecological Design.
4. Banerjee, Bireswar & Roy, Aparna (1959). Reclamation of Salt Lake of Calcutta, *Science and Culture*,
5. Banerjee, S. (2012). The march of the mega-city: Governance in West Bengal and the wetlands to the east of Kolkata. *South Asia Chronicle*, 2(2012), 93-118.
6. Banerji, S., & Mitra, D. (2017). Evaluation of water resource management in Salt Lake City, West Bengal, India. *Hydrological Sciences Journal*, 62(12), 1980-1994.
7. Banerji, S., & Mitra, D. (2017). Grey water footprint of domestic households in Salt Lake City, India: An overview.
8. Bhattacharya, A. K. (2008). Hydrogeology and Land Subsidence in Salt Lake City, Kolkata, India. *Electronic Journal of Geotechnical Engineering*, 13, 1-14.
9. Bhunia, A. K. (1992, October). Economics of Water Supply To Bidhannagar: Calcutta Water Supply-Techno Economic Options. In *Proceedings of the Seminar organized by The Indian Association of Geohydrologists. Kolkata, West Bengal, October* (pp. 14-17).
10. Biswas, K. P. (1927). 'Flora of the Salt Lakes, Calcutta', *Journal of Department of Science, University of Calcutta*, vol. 8.
11. Bunting, S. W., Kundua, N., & Mukherjee, M. (2005). 5 Peri-urban Aquaculture and poor. *Urban Aquaculture*, 61.
12. Bunting, S. W., Pretty, J., & Edwards, P. (2010). Wastewater-fed aquaculture in the East Kolkata Wetlands, India: anachronism or archetype for resilient ecocultures?. *Reviews in Aquaculture*, 2(3), 138-153.
13. Chatterjea, D. P. (1990). Bidhan Nagar: From marshland to modern city. *Calcutta: The living city*, 2, 142-150.
14. Chaudhuri, S. R., & Thakur, A. R. (2006). Microbial genetic resource mapping of East Calcutta wetlands. *Current Science*, 212-217.

15. Clarke, W. (1865). 'Report of the project of The Salt Lake Reclamation & Irrigation Company Limited', in Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government (containing papers from 1865–1904), Calcutta, India.
16. Das, P.K. (2016). History and Profile of Urban Growth of Kolkata City: A Journey from 1690- 2011. *Journal of Science and Humanities*, 1(1), 56-63.
17. Dasgupta, Keya (2007). City Divided? Planning and Urban Sprawl in the Eastern Fringes of Calcutta, *Indian cities in transition*, edited by Annapurna Shaw, 314-340.
18. Dasgupta, R. (1973). 'Contribution of botany of a portion of Salt Lakes, West Bengal', *Ind. Mus. Bull.*, vol. 1.
19. Dey, D., & Banerjee, S. (2018). How expensive is the decay of East Kolkata Wetlands? An estimation of opportunity cost for Kolkata. In *Sustainable Urbanization in India* (pp. 181-205). Springer, Singapore.
20. Dey, Sudhir (?). *Marshy Land To Modern Township, Salt Lake City*
21. Everard, M., Kangabam, R., Tiwari, M. K., McInnes, R., Kumar, R., Talukdar, G. H., ... & Das, L. (2019). Ecosystem service assessment of selected wetlands of Kolkata and the Indian Gangetic Delta: multi-beneficial systems under differentiated management stress. *Wetlands Ecology and management*, 27(2), 405-426.
22. *From Marsh to Township, East of Calcutta: A Tale of Salt Water Lake and Salt Lake Township (Bidhan Nagar)*- Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad. KP Bagchi & Company, 1990. ISBN: 8170740738, xi, 127.
23. Furedy, Christine (1987). From Waste Land to Waste-not Land: The Role of the Salt Lakes, East Calcutta, in *Waste Treatment and Recycling, 1845-1930*. Sinha, ed.
24. Ghosh, B., & Bhunia, D. (2016). Scarab beetle (Coleoptera: Scarabaeidae) from Salt Lake City, Kolkata, West Bengal. *Journal of Entomology and Zoology Studies*, 4(1), 269-273.
25. Ghosh, D. (1990). Wastewater-fed aquaculture in the wetlands of Calcutta—an overview. *Wastewater-fed Aquaculture*. Bangkok: Environmental Sanitation Information Centre, Asian Institute of Technology, 49-56.
26. Ghosh, D. (2005). *Ecology and Traditional Wetland Practice: Lessons From Wastewater Utilisation in the East Kolkata Wetlands*. Kolkata: Worldview.
27. Ghosh, D., & Sen, S. (1987). Ecological history of Calcutta's wetland conversion. *Environmental conservation*, 14(3), 219-226.
28. Ghosh, Tushar Kanti (1987). *Bidhannagar Rajat Jayanti Smaranika- The Saga of Salt Lake City of India*.
29. Gupta, A., & Malik, I. H. (2021). Dynamics of Land Use and Land Cover Change in Salt Lake City, Kolkata, West Bengal. *Annals of the Romanian Society for Cell Biology*, 5563-5578.

30. Huque, S., Pattanaik, S., & Parthasarathy, D. (2020). Cityscape transformation and the temporal metamorphosis of East Kolkata Wetlands: A political ecology perspective. *Sociological Bulletin*, 69(1), 95-112.
31. Kumar, B., Senthil Kumar, K., Priya, M., Mukhopadhyay, D., & Shah, R. (2010). Distribution, partitioning, bioaccumulation of trace elements in water, sediment and fish from sewage fed fish ponds in eastern Kolkata, India. *Toxicological & Environ Chemistry*, 92(2), 243-260.
32. Maity, P., Roy, S., Chakraborti, U., Biswas, O., Ghosh, J., Gayen, A. K., & Mitra, B. (2016). Insect faunal diversity of Salt Lake City—an urbanized area adjacent to Kolkata, India. *Bioscience Discovery*, 7(2), 101-112.
33. Mitra, S. (2018). Roads to new urban futures: Flexible Territorialisation in Peri-urban Kolkata and Hyderabad. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 53(49), 56-64.
34. Mondal, B., Dolui, G., Pramanik, M., Maity, S., Biswas, S. S., & Pal, R. (2017). Urban expansion and wetland shrinkage estimation using a GIS-based model in the East Kolkata Wetland, India. *Ecological indicators*, 83, 62-73.
35. Nandi, S., Ghosh, S. K., & De, T. K. (2017). Enhanced Rate of Fish Production by Inducing Probiotics in Wastewater Aquaculture Ponds In East Kolkata Wet Lands, West Bengal, India: A Brief Study. *Journal of Environmental Science, Computer Science and Engineering & Technology*, 6(4), 464-475.
36. Roy, A., Roy, R., Sarkar, D., Roy, M., Mitra, A., & lake Campus, S. (2016). Hydrological parameters of east Kolkata wetlands: time series analysis. *International Journal of Life Sciences Scientific Research*, 2(6), 692-699.
37. Roy, P. K., Roy, M. B., Chatterjee, S., Halder, S., Nag, S., & Majumder, A. (2021). Land reclamation and reuse of waste water on the backdrop of urban sprawl of Kolkata metropolitan: a case study of East Kolkata, Wetland, India. In *Modern Cartography Series* (Vol. 10, pp. 557-579). Academic Press.
38. Sahu, P. (2006). Hydrology of the Quaternary Aquifers in and Around East Calcutta Wetlands. *Asian Studies*, 24 (1; 2).
39. Sahu, P., & Sikdar, P. K. (2011). Threat of land subsidence in and around Kolkata city and east Kolkata wetlands, West Bengal, India. *Journal of earth system science*, 120(3), 435-446.
40. Sewell, R. B.(1934). A study of the fauna of the Salt Lake, Calcutta. Record of the Indian Museum. 36. Stewart. D. (1836). 'Report on the project of The Salt Lake Reclamation & Irrigation Company Limited', in Selection from the records of the Bengal Government, (containing papers from 1985 to 1964), Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, India. Link: <http://210.212.232.211:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/449>
41. Sewell, R. S. (1934). A study of the fauna of the Salt Lakes, Calcutta. *Records of the Zoological Survey of India*, 36(1), 45-121.

42. Tošković, *Dobrivoje*. (2008). A review on salt lake city, Kolkata, India: Master planning and realization. *Spatium*, (17-18), 98-105.
43. Yugāntara. Jugantar. (1972). *Yugāntara. Jugantar., December 25, 1972.*
<https://jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.28236022>
44. লবন হ্রদের ইতিকথা - সুশীল কুমার রায়চৌধুরী, সৃজন পাবলিকেশন, কলকাতা, ১৯৮৭, পৃ: ১৭৪।
45. বিধবা বিবাহ ও সমাজ সংস্কার আন্দোলনে ২৪ পরগণার মহিষবাথান গ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামী লক্ষ্মীকান্ত প্রামাণিক- সুধন্য কুমার মন্ডল, *ইতিহাস অনুসন্ধান-১৮*, অনুরুদ্ধ রায় (সম্পাদক), ২০০৪, পৃ: ৩৪৪-৩৫২।
46. রাজারহাটে আইন অমান্য, বিপ্লববাদ ও বামপন্থী চিন্তাধারা (১৯৩০-১৯৪০)- পুষ্পরঞ্জন সরকার, *ইতিহাস অনুসন্ধান-১৮*, অনুরুদ্ধ রায় (সম্পাদক), ২০০৪, পৃ: ৩৫৩-৩৫৬।
47. বিধাননগর/ বিশ্বনগর- শিবাজীপ্রতিম বসু, বারোমাস, শারদীয় সংখ্যা, ২০০৫, পৃ: ২৬৭- ২৭৩।
48. কলকাতায় মহিষবাথানের (চব্বিশ পরগণা) লবণ সত্যাগ্রহের প্রভাব- পুষ্পরঞ্জন সরকার, *ইতিহাস অনুসন্ধান-২০*, অনুরুদ্ধ রায় (সম্পাদক), ২০০৬, পৃ: ৩১৩- ৩১৬।
49. লবন হ্রদ কথা - স্বপন কুমার ঘোষ এবং অজয় দত্ত, চন্দ্রকেতুগড় থেকে দমদম, কলকাতা, ২০১৮, পৃ: ৭৯-৯১।
50. লবণ-হ্রদ প্রকল্প ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের রূপকার ডাঃ বিধানচন্দ্র রায় - সুধীর দে
51. বিধাননগর পরিকল্পনা - তেজোময় চক্রবর্তী, লবণ-হ্রদ সংবাদ, ২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৯০
52. স্মারক গ্রন্থ- বিধাননগর (সল্টলেক) ওয়েলফেয়ার অ্যাসোসিয়েশন, বিধাননগরের ৩৮ তম প্রতিষ্ঠা দিবস উপলক্ষে প্রকাশিত, ১৬ এপ্রিল, ২০০০
53. উড়ো খই- বিমল কর, দ্বিতীয় খন্ড, আনন্দ পাবলিশার্স, কলকাতা, ১৯৯৪, ISBN-817215285X, পৃ: ১৮০-২০২।



Photo 6.1: Salt Lake Stadium (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)



Photo 6.2: Central Park (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)



Photo 6.3: Anandadhara (CB-41, Salt Lake), one of the earliest residences of Bidhannagar.
(Courtesy: Sudeshna M Ray)



Photo 6.4: The Main Thoroughfare (Courtesy: Salt Lake Archives, IDSK)



Photo 6.5: Protests near Karunamoyee (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)



Photo 6.6: Elections in Salt Lake. (Courtesy: Saradindu Choudhury)

