

CHAPTER - IVSuccessive Chief Ministers of West Bengal : A detailed Study of their leadership Qualities.Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh:

Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh was a freedom fighter and was a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Ghosh participated various freedom movements launched by the Congress party. Later he became a member of the working committee, the highest body of the All India Congress Committee. He was also the first Chief Minister of West Bengal.

Family Background

"Profulla Chandra Ghosh was born on 24 December, 1981 in a lower middle Hindu Kayastha family in the Malikanda village of the Dacca district. His father's name was Purna Chandra Ghosh and mother's Binodini Debi. He had one brother Chaitanya Ghosh, and one sister, Jamuna Ghosh. Purna Chandra was a teacher at the village primary school. Profulla Chandra Ghosh never married."⁽¹⁾

As he hailed from a lower middle class family he had to lead simple life from his early childhood. And this simplicity was the main feature of Ghosh's life.

Educational Background :-

"Profulla Chandra Ghosh began his education at the Mina School (Dacca). Then he joined the Gobindapur School in 1902 and later the Dacca Pagoj School in 1908, from where he passed his Entrance Examination in 1909. Passing his intermediate examination in 1911 from the Jagannath College, Dacca, he graduated with chemistry Honours from the Dacca College in 1913. He passed his M.Sc. in Chemistry from the Dacca College in 1916, and took his Ph.D. at the Calcutta University in 1919⁽²⁾".

Economic Background:

It has already been stated that Dr. Ghosh was born in lower middle class family. So his family had to struggle hard to pass their daily livelihood. From his early childhood he had to face tremendous economic hardship.

After completion of his study "he had in 1920 held the post of Assay Master of Calcutta Mint, never before held by an Indian"⁽³⁾. This was a civilian post and Dr. Ghosh got a monthly salary of thousand rupees. But the job he promptly resigned to participate in the Independence Movements of the Congress Party under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Cultural Background:

Basically Dr. Ghosh was out-an-out an educationist.

"Formally terminated, his education nevertheless continued through a scholarly tour of America and Europe in 1953, and attendance at an educational seminar in Israel in 1958, including, of course, the many eminent books and people that influenced his life. Among his favourite books were biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and George Washington, history of American war of Independence, and the writings of Tolstoy. In Indian literature he was fond of the epics, the Upanishads and the Gita. He also loved the writings of Aswani Kumar Dutta, D. L. Roy, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dadabhai Naoroji and R. C. Dutt. The people moulded his mental make up included Sarat Chandra Chottopadhyay, the Head Pandit at Debinagar, Basanta Kumar Ghosh, the Head Master of Govindapur School, Prasanta Kumar Sen, the Head Master at Pegoj School in Dacca, Lalit Mohan Chottopadhyay, a teacher at the Jagannath College, Dr. E.R. Watson and Dr. Profulla Chandra Roy. The Ramkrishna Mission and the teaching of Swami Premananda and Swami Brahmananda also left an imprint on Profulla Chandra Ghosh".

(4)

As a Mass Leader:

"While still a school boy Profulla Chandra came under the influence of the Anussilan Samity of Dacca and joined it in 1910, in 1911 he attended the 27th session of the Indian National Congress, and in 1913 he left the Anusilan Samiti, realising that violent revolution was a wrong means. He met Gandhiji,

and attended the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917 and again the special session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1920. He joined the non-co-operation Movement in 1921 and organised the 'Abhoy Asram' for constructive work at Dacca. He toured the Districts of East Bengal to win mass support for the non-co-operation movement and was jailed for three weeks for distributing leaflets calling upon the people to join the Congress volunteer corps. He attended the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal, All India Political Conference at Delhi and the Congress session at Gaya." (5)

In various independence movements Profulla Chandra Ghosh led the Congress party and thereby he had a close connection with the Congressmen and the common people.

As a Leader of the Party:

Participating in various organisational activities and freedom movements, Profulla Chandra Proved to be an indispensable man for the Congress Party. Consequently he was elected Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. But ~~xxxx~~ resigning in 1923 both from the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and from the 'Abhoy Ashram' he spent the year touring with Congress leaders like Jamanlal Bajaj, Rajagopalachari and Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel, "He took up constructive work in the villages including the spread of Charka. He joined the Khadi

Pratisthan but resigned from it in 1923. In 1924 he attended the Indian National Conference at Ahmedabad. Returning to the 'Abhoy Ashram' in 1926, he stayed there till 1928, introducing dyeing, printing, agriculture and fishery. In 1929 he attended the Lahore Congress and in 1930 he was arrested for conducting the Satyagraha Movement at Midnapore, having organised the Satyagraha Committee through the 'Abhoy Ashram'. Released in 1931, he attended the Karachi session of the Congress, was arrested again and released in 1932. He attended the Calcutta session of the Congress and the Congress workers conference at Poona (1933). He attended the Bombay session of the Congress in 1934, and became a member of the All India village Development Organisation. He worked in the villages of Bengal and Orissa, organising volunteers for constructive work. Then between 1935 and 1939, he attended the Haripur and Tripuri sessions of the Congress, supported Pattabhi Sitaramayya against Subhas Chandra Bose, and became a member of the Congress Working Committee. Arrested in 1940, he was released in 1941. In 1942 he joined the Quit India Movement, was arrested again and released in 1944. On his release he met Gandhiji at Sevagram, and went to Balrampur to help Labanyalata Chanda and Jamuna Ghosh (His sister) in their basic education centre. He became President of the Kasturba Committee in Bengal in 1945. In 1946 he visited the riot affected areas of East Bengal." (6)

So Dr. P.C.Ghosh having leaded all the important free-

dom movements as well as being a member of the Congress Working Committee became famous as a national leader and there by soon established himself as an important congress leader. Dr. Ghosh was out-and-out a follower of Gandhiji and moreover he had a very close touch with leaders like Nehru, Patel, Kripalini, Rajagopalachari and other leaders. This relationship also helped him in his future political life.

As Chief Minister:

Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh was the first Chief Minister of West Bengal. But long before his joining as Chief Minister Dr. Ghosh was selected as the Premier designate for this state by the Congress High Command.

But before becoming the Chief Minister of West Bengal after independence Dr. Ghosh formed the 'Shadow Ministry' on 4th July, 1947, to take over power from the Suhrawardy Ministry. At that time the two wings of the Ministry, i.e., Suhrawardy's Muslim League Ministry and Dr. Ghosh's Congress Ministry functioned simultaneously.

When Dr. Ghosh was the head of the 'Shadow Ministry' His ministry had to perform some important tasks. The first and foremost task of the new Cabinet was to contain communal disturbances in West Bengal. Dr. Ghosh's ministry also had to work hard for the task of implementation of the scheme of Partition and

creation of a new administrative machinery of the new state of West Bengal.

After independence Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh became elected as the ~~xxxxxx~~ leader of the Congress legislative party.

"With no single group in control of either the Assembly or the Bengal P.C.C., the congress High Command stepped in and extended support to Profulla Ghosh, who was an ardent supporter of Gandhism"⁽⁷⁾. Thus on 15th August, 1947 Profulla Ghosh became the first Chief Minister of West Bengal. "Politically, West Bengal was very disturbed, particularly because of the partition which uprooted large numbers of people on either side. Apart from that, there were political parties who were not very favourably disposed to the congress. Then again, within the congress party itself there were differences of opinion. The old group mentality which characterized politics in Bengal in one form or other still continued to disturb the congress party. Dr. P.C. Ghosh could not keep under control the various groups and sections in his party."⁽⁸⁾

The first sign of disunity in West Bengal ministry came to the surface when some ministers of the 'shadow cabinet' tendered their resignation following Dr. Ghosh's decision of the reshuffle of the Cabinet. Congress President Kripalini tried utmost to compromise the problem and at last Dr. Ghosh's Ministry was saved from the crisis on the 15th August, 1947.⁽⁹⁾

On 17th August, Sir Cyril Radcliff, Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, announced the award on the Bengal boundary. Immediately after the announcement of the award there was considerable resentment particularly among Hindus over some features of the award. West Bengal Chief Minister Dr. Ghosh and East Pakistan's Chief Minister Nazimuddin issued a joint appeal to both the Hindu and Muslim community to maintain amity and peace.

After the temporary return of communal peace in West Bengal which was started before independence, the problem of rehabilitation for the riot victim came before Dr. Ghosh's Ministry. Funds were necessary for the rehabilitation. So Ghosh Ministry intended to realise Rs. 1 crore needed for the purpose of rehabilitation through imposition of special taxes if the funds would not be collected through voluntary efforts.

Basically Dr. Ghosh was an honest person ~~xxxx~~ so immediately after independence he wanted to uproot the corruption from all walks of life which social evil was slowly destroying the morals of the society in the state. The Ministry adopted some measures needed to combat corruption from the governmental machinery. An ordinance was promulgated to curb black-marketing and corruption. Dr. Ghosh's ministry had also taken some serious steps to eradicate corruption from the government servants.

"Dr. Ghosh was a strict administrator so much so that on occasions he would seem to be lacking in tact. He was not respecter of persons and seldom yielded to political pressure in

administrative matters except on matters of policy." (10)

Dr. Ghosh's Ministry had taken some radical measures such as (1) A preliminary step to introduce Bengali as official language; (2) An ordinance was passed abolishing separate electorate in the Calcutta Corporation and its substitution by joint electorate with reservation of seats for minority community and doing away with the Government nominees." (11) (3) Prohibition from participation in gambling on the turf or in the speculation in the Stock Exchange; (4) declaration of dry-day in Saturdays.

"But the most important measure that he introduced in the Assembly was West Bengal Special Power Bill which evoked sharp criticism not only in this state but in Eastern Pakistan also. Kiron Shankar Roy leader of the Congress Assembly Party in East Pakistan strongly denounced it as its repercussions would spell great danger on the minority community there. This Bill was renamed as West Bengal Security Bill. Dr. Ghosh assured that the measure was not intended to suppress political opponents or muzzle the press. Saboteurs, communal mischief-mongers and foreign agents and spies would have reason to fear from this. The object of the Bill was to make special provisions for the prevention of illegal acquisition, possession or hoarding of arms, for the suppression of subversive movements endangering communal harmony or undermining the stability of the province, for suppression of Goordas and for maintaining supply and services essential

to the life of the community". (12)

"Despite opposition, the Security Bill was finally passed by the Assembly at its meeting on 4th January, 1948 by 47 votes against 12". (13)

"The first meeting of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly was in January, 1948. At that time everybody was agitated for one reason or other, especially because of the unsettled condition, influx of refugees, activities of underground parties and labour troubles. Dr. Ghosh's Ministry had introduced in the Assembly the West Bengal Security Bill about which there was sharp difference of opinion even amongst congress members, and also heated discussions.

-----conditions in Bengal and particularly those in Calcutta were very disturbed and the maintenance of law and order was extremely difficult. Infact, to prevent disruptive forces from activities calculated to create chaos, Dr. Ghosh's Ministry had to take police action, and any police action against any kind of agitation will always create a lot of public resentment. In the circumstances many congress members of the Assembly wanted a change in the leadership of the party. They put in a letter intimating their want of confidence in Dr. P.C.Ghosh and selecting Dr. B.C.Roy as the leader of the Congress Legislature party in his place." (14)

So, Dr. P. C. Ghosh had to leave Chief Ministership within 5½ months of his assumption of office. According to Saroj Chakraborty, the P.A. to Chief Minister, "To my mind the reason was his strict adherence to the principle that the rule of law must have free play. For this he resisted pressure from his partymen and incurred displeasure of majority of them, and of the vested interests. Another factor was that he hailed from East Bengal and his activities were confined mostly to that part of Bengal. His habits and dialect also confirmed this. Big business and vested interests combined to oust him from power and in this the then Chief whip of the Congress Legislature Party, Amar Krishna Ghosh, became handy. One evening a group of his partymen had come to his Theatre Road residence with a request to withdraw certain criminal cases, in the presence of the Chief Secretary and his Private Secretary Shri Hajra. Dr. Ghosh unceremoniously turned down their requests. They threatened Dr. Ghosh that they would not take it lightly and for his refusal to listen to the request of those who had helped him to power he would have to pay the full price." (15)

In an editorial column the Statesman on January 24, 1948 pointed out 'Nonetheless, the high qualities of Dr. P.C. Ghosh may be sadly missed, not only by his colleagues, but by a large number of the electorate who have admiration for the shining integrity of this "unattached" man'. (16)

The Relationship with the Opposition Parties:

As the first Chief Minister of the West Bengal after independence, Dr. P. C. Ghosh had to face serious challenges from the opposition party, i.e., the Communist party. The trouble that Dr. Ghosh had faced serious challenges from the opposition party, i.e., the communist party. The trouble that Dr. Ghosh had faced not so much because of his policies and principles but because of the changing policies of the Communist Party to oppose the newly formed Congress Government both at the Centre as well as in the states. "Indeed, when the final plans for independence and partition of India were announced in June 1947, the party's Central Committee pledged its support to the nationalist leadership under Nehru and called for a united front of Political Parties to begin the 'Proud task of building the Indian Republic on democratic foundations".⁽¹⁷⁾ But this policy came under dramatic change towards the ends of 1947 when "The radicals in the C.P.I.'s Central Committee argued that India was a capitalist country, where the bourgeoisie had gone over to the imperialist camp, and that it was time to discard the policy of co-operation with the Nehru administration and, instead, launch an all-out offensive against it. Their view point prevailed at the second congress of the party held in nearly 1948; and suitable action followed soon after".⁽¹⁸⁾

So, when Dr. P. C. Ghosh took the post of Chief Minis-

ter at the very outset meet the challenges of the communists. "The communists were very much vocal and their slogan was "A Azadi Jhuta Hai, Bhulo Math, Bhulo Math" (this freedom is sham, do not forget). The Communists staged ugly demonstrations in two of his public meetings in the districts with the objects of preventing him from speaking. But he was not to be cowed down by threats, and on no occasion did he seek assistance of the police. Once in the district of Birbhum his car was surrounded by Communist demonstrators but he promptly got down from it and proceeded on foot towards his destination".⁽¹⁹⁾

The communists were in a habit of leading processions of students, peasants, labour etc. to place their demands to the State Government. A "-----procession of students which wanted to go to Dalhousie Square was similarly stopped near Esplanade East but they clashed with Police when they tried to break the Cordon. On the following day Shri Jyoti Basu and other Communist members of the Assembly (there were only two communist members then) moved an adjournment motion on the police action. Dr. Ghosh in his reply revealed that Government had received report that some groups of political ~~wark~~ workers were "Ambitious" of seizing power by resort to violence."⁽²⁰⁾ And in against the move launched by the Communist party Dr. Ghosh remarked sternly, "We shall use all our strength to meet such efforts, if any."

Later on 10th December, 1947 in a violent students

demonstration police was forced to fire in the demonstration which culminated by the death of one Sisir Mondal. The police arrested 100 persons including 23 injured among the student demonstrators. Dr. Ghosh, in a statement in the Assembly described the incident as "part of a well-laid conspiracy to discredit the Government and to capture power by violence."⁽²¹⁾ Thus, through the statement, Dr. Ghosh accused the communists.

Again in the controversial 'Security Bill' issue, the Communists vehemently opposed the bill though the 'Security Bill' was finally passed by the Assembly at its meeting on 4th January, 1948 by 47 votes against 12.

So, the relationship between Dr. Ghosh's led Congress Government and the Communists were never good and both the party were at daggers drawn to each other.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:

Family Background:

Bidhan Chandra Roy was born on 1st July, 1882 Bankipur, Patna. Prakash Chandra Roy was his father's name Aghore Kaminy was his mother. Prankali Roy grandfather of Bidhan was famous for Philanthropic activities and for his purity life. He was employed in the Collectorate at Berhampore.

Bidhan's maternal side had also highly repute. Bipin

Chandra Basu, father of Aghore Kamini was a highly respected man of his locality and he was well-known for his Philanthropic and social activities.

"The parents of Bidhan Chandra Roy struggled hard not merely for their own existence but also in the service of others. They spared no pains and even endured physical and mental hardships to achieve what may be termed the 'spiritual union of their souls, free from all worldly attachments.'⁽²²⁾"

Bidhan's parents had to pass their early-days with tremendous hardships. "Though, no doubt, the Roy family had considerable landed properties, most of them were lost during Prakash Chandra's early days for one reason or other, not ~~excl~~⁽²³⁾ excluding disputes and litigation among the members of the family".

In 1871, he passed the B.A. Examination, thereafter got his first appointment as a temporary post Master at Burdwan, next joined as Post Master at Baguria. But soon he resigned from this post and joined as a second School Master at Harinbari upto December, 1873. He left that because he had already received appointments as Superintendent of Famine Relief at Motihari in Bihar on a monthly salary of Rs. 80/-. Later he became an Abgari (excise) Inspector. "The higher authorities appreciating his hard work and sterling honesty, promoted him to the position of a Deputy Magistrate."⁽²⁴⁾

Aghore Kamini, Bidhan's mother was totally illiterate at the time of her marriage. "It would surprise many people to learn that Aghore Kamini, after giving birth of five children, began her higher education along with her two eldest daughters. In fact, she stayed for a year with her daughters in Isobella Thobura College at Lucknow and herself learnt not only the English language but also the art of running an educational institution for girls. -----After this training Aghore Kamini opened a small school at Bankipore, Patna and devoted her time for the education of girls. She got no financial aid except from the little savings of her husband. It was a unique achievement." (25)

Prakash Chandra and his wife lived a very highly disciplined life. When Prakash Chandra go out for his work, Aghore, Kamini looking after her household works, go to her school and visit to the sick neighbours.

Prakash Chandra was one of the staunchest pillars of the Brahma Samaj. And he had a close relation with Keshab Chandra Sen, the founder of Brahma Samaj.

Prakash Chandra and Aghore Kamini had five children. The eldest two were girls, Susharbashini and Sorojini. Their three sons were Subodh, Sadhan and Bidhan.

Being the youngest child of his family Bidhan received greater affection and consideration from his parents than the others. In 1896, Bidhan lost his mother at the age of 14 and his

father died when Bidhan was 29 years old. So, having lost his mother in his boyhood, Bidhan was forced to be self-sufficient. In the atmosphere and environment in which he was brought up, it was only natural that he should be profoundly influenced by the lives of his parents whose austerity, discipline and piety made a lasting impression on the child. There is no doubt that Bidhan's character was moulded by his parents." (26) (27)

Educational Background:

In his childhood Bidhan used to go village 'Pathsala' (Elementary School) where he learnt to read and write the Bengali language. "Although the 'Pathsala' was in Bihar, the medium of instruction in the village school was then Bengali. Later, the two brothers, Bidhan and Sadhan, got admitted to the lower class of a High English School, as in those days there were no Primary Schools in Bihar." (28)

Bidhan could not get any help of private tutor because though Prakash Chandra was Deputy Magistrate and later appointed as Deputy Collector, his financial condition was not so much good to afford private tutor for his sons. As because Prakash Chandra was very much busy for his highly responsible governmental post, Aghore Kamini herself shouldered the responsibility of teaching her son's and daughters in their early days.

Bidhan was very serious in study in his early boyhood.

"He was regular in his school duties and needed no parental threats or coaxing to study his lessons at home or in the class. But as he grew a little older, he became very fond of games. As a student in the High School, he had no definite ambition and did not realise his full responsibility."⁽²⁹⁾

Later Bidhan Chandra told in explaining his boyhood "during my school days and early age, I did not say any promise of ever-achieving eminence in any field; nor did I have any such secret longing. I was not born with any special gifts and was in every respect a very ordinary student. I did not work hard at school, did not mind like so many other boys, playing truant occasionally, never expected to do well at examination, and was quite happy when I just passed in one. Nobody thought I was in any way a talented boy."⁽³⁰⁾

"As a boy, Bidhan did not show any exceptional brilliance, though in intelligence he was above the average."⁽³¹⁾

In due course he passed 'Entrance' examination from Patna Collegiate School, F.A. and B.A. (Honours in Mathematics) from Patna College.

"He had then no ambition for any particular profession. -----

After Bidhan had graduated from Patna, he had to decide for himself the course of future studies to qualify for a profession. At that age, he had no special preference for Medicine or Engi-

neering and he applied simultaneously for admission to the Calcutta Medical College and to the Bengal Engineering college. Probably he would have been an Engineer had he not got the admission card from the Medical College a few hours before he got it from the Engineering College. As he told his father, he had then no special liking for either, but he hoped to do his best whichever he took up." (32)

In 1901 Bidhan admitted in Medical College. But during his tenure as a student of Medical College he had to pass those days with tremendous hardships. "From the second year onwards his father was not in a position to send him much money, as he had already retired from service and had to meet the expenses of the higher education of his other sons in England. Naturally, Bidhan had to find out for himself the money to meet all the expenses of his medical studies. Luckily he obtained a scholarship through all the next four years of his Medical studies." (33) But the scholarship was not enough to meet all the expenses of his student life.

Bidhan was popular both by students and teachers. Even some teachers was very much optimistic for Bidhan's future. But the man who had a life-long influence over Bidhan was the Principal, Col. Lukis. (34) Bidhan Chandra Roy had a high regard to Col. Lukis and according to Roy, "I keep his portrait always in front of my seat in my consultation room, as he was the guide and inspirer of my life who developed the manhood in me, who made me honour myself.

who roused the latent faculties in me and baptized me to a consecrated life of service to my country." (35)

Immediately after his graduation in Medicine in 1906, Bidhan joined as an Assistant Surgeon in the Provincial Medical Service as well as he was appointed as House Physician to Col. Lukis. During his House-Physicianships along with his hospital-duties he was busy for his M.D. thesis.

Dr. Roy was very much ambitious and inspite of his poor financial resources he set out for England and arrived there towards the ends of March, 1909. He took admission in the St. Bartholomews Institution for study M.R.C.P. and F.R.C.S. simultaneously. He finished both the degree by May, 1911 within the period of his leave of two years and three months which had been sanctioned by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal as he was Assistant Surgeon under 'Provincial Medical Service.'

It is also to be noted that during his stay at England he had to starve hard for to continue his higher study. 'It was a wonderful situation', said Dr. B.C.Roy. "I felt that the unseen hands of providence were helping me in my training in England inspite of the meagerness of my resources." (36)

Cultural Background:

Bidhan's character was guided and totally moulded by his parents. He was brought up in such an atmosphere and environment that it was natural that he had a lasting impression of the

qualities of his parents like austerity, discipline and piety.

"In fact, father Prakash taught his children to be self-reliant and humble and if additional help was needed, to depend solely and entirely on God's will -- as God helps those who help themselves. Man according to his philosophy, had to work hard. He taught his children that honest and sincere efforts would not go unrewarded. -----Such teachings naturally left a deep impression on the minds of his children. He wanted them to pursue these principles in their everyday life when they grew up. These were not mere preachings, for parents Prakash Chandra and Aghore, Kamini actually practised these ideals in their lives."⁽³⁷⁾

Bidhan had tremendous faith in the Almighty and that was also the influence of his parents. "The examples of the parents who lived up to their precepts helped the children to grow up, fearless of dangers and with abiding faith in the Almighty. From tender years Bidhan and his brothers and sisters joined the daily morning prayers of their own accord, without any compulsion."⁽³⁸⁾

Charity, love, affection and understanding of human beings were the main principles of Roy's family. And these ideas were deep rooted in young Bidhan's mind and later Bidhan tried to abide by all these ideas throughout his life.

Another great personality who influenced Bidhan

during his college days was Principal, Col. Lukis. Lukis lead down for Bidhan a code of moral conduct in the professional life, which he has never forgot. And Bidhan had always kept before him that code which said, ---

'A heart that never hardens,
A temper that never tires,
A touch that never hurts.'

(39)

According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "Dr. Roy is an institution by himself." It is because he was not only an eminent Physician in our country but also dealt with the activities as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Mayor of Calcutta Corporation as well as politician before independence and Chief-administrator of the state in the post-independence period.

When he became a teacher in the Campbell School and the Carmichael College he was interested in educational matters and became connected with Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. "It was Sir Asutosh who first suggested that Bidhan should become a Fellow of the Calcutta University and thus participate in education activities." (40) And in 1916, he became elected as a Senate member of that University and eagerly studied the financial side of the esteemed University. "He played a prominent part in the tussle between the Government and the University for its autonomy." (41)

Later, he became a fellow of the Calcutta University

in 1921, 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941 and 1946. From 13th March, 1942 to 12th March 1944 he was the Vice-Chancellor of the esteemed Calcutta University. As a member of Senate, Syndicate and as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University he had done enormous services for the cause of education and for that very reason in 1944 he was rewarded as "Doctor of Science" by the Calcutta University.

At a critical period in the history of Calcutta Corporation in the year 1930 - 31, the leadership fell on Dr. Roy. At the beginning of 1930 when Mahatma Gandhi called Salt Satyagraha and started 'Dandi March', Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, the then Mayor of Calcutta Corporation was also imprisoned soon after the movement started. Meanwhile Subhas Bose was also arrested in a sedition case before this Salt-Satyagraha. So, while the Congress party was in search of an outstanding personality to be the leader of the Corporation, the name of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy was automatically selected.

Bidhan was elected as an Alderman of the Calcutta ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Corporation for 1930 - 31 and remained an Alderman till 1932 - 33. Later in 1938 - 39 he again elected as Alderman and continued as such till 1943 - 44.

In 1930 - 31 he became unanimously elected the Mayor of the Corporation but in 1932 - 33 he had to face a contest for Mayoralty, though he was elected Mayor for the second time. "Whether as an Alderman or as the Mayor, he distinguished himself by

dint of his service and acquitted himself creditably as a party leader, as the presiding officer and as an Administrator." (42)

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was tremendously influenced Bidhan's life. Both of them were from 'Brahma Society'. Moreover, Dr. Roy was the house-physician much closer. Bidhan had a high esteem for C.R.Das for the mental strength and character Chittaranjan Das shows. In an interview Dr. Roy told to K.P. Thomas, "It may be comparatively easy for some people to give up their source of income, but to my mind to abjure a habit which had grown for years -----habit of smoking and drinking ----- in one day indicated a strength of mind and character which was unique." (43)

As because Deshbandhu, the political Preceptor, inspired Dr. Roy to enter into the Corporation so also as a true disciple Bidhan never deviated from C.R. Das's ideal specially related to the Corporation. Immediately after he became elected as the Mayor of 1931 he, in his speech, declared to adhere the policy and programme already outlined by Deshbandhu:-

"The outlines of the canvas are there, we have to fill in the details : the broad features of the scheme are there, we have got to frame and work out a programme; the power, Prestige, the men and the money are there, let us utilise them with a set purpose and let us work in unison to bring about the uplift of the poor and the relief of the sufferer Let our

service to the rate-payers be guided by a pure heart and an honest effort."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Alike other versatile genius Bidhan also did not confined himself within any particular sphere. Bidhan often dream that the future of our country would depend on the industrial progress. He was also very interested in the industrial ventures of leaders like Sir Profulla Chandra Roy and Sir Nitratan Sarker.

Economic Background:

Bidhan was not born with silver-spoon. From his childhood he had the experience of financial struggle. "Bidhan realised from early life that his father was not rich, though he earned a modest salary. There were quite a number of other children in the house, mostly orphans, who were not treated in any different from the actual members of the family. As a result, a feeling of comradeship and kinship grew and existed in the house. Their food, clothing and other things came from a common Pool and Bidhan and his brothers, though they were the children of a well-placed Government gazetted Officer, never felt that they were in any way distinct or separate from the rest of the little ones in the house, which was named 'Aghore Paribar', meaning Aghore Family."⁽⁴⁵⁾

During his student life in Medical College, Calcutta, "Financially he suffered greater handicape, as medical education even in those days was expensive."⁽⁴⁶⁾

"He used to get some remittance from his father to meet his expenses but he had to live very frugally.

From the second year onwards his father was not in a position to send him much money, as he had already retired from service and had to meet the expenses of the higher education of his other sons in England. Naturally Bidhan had to find out for himself the money to meet all the expenses of his medical studies. Luckily he obtained a scholarship through all the next four years of his medical studies. Even that was not enough to meet all the expenses of board and lodging and college fees, not to speak of buying books and instruments. In all the five years of his studies in the Medical College, Bidhan could purchase only one Medical book for Rs. 5/- He had to depend upon copying notes from text books borrowed from different friends who were more favourably placed than himself, or to utilise the college library." (47)

Realising Bidhan's pecuniary condition the Professor of Surgery and the Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy" ----- gave him an opportunity to earn something as a student assistant or as a male nurse whenever they did any surgical operation in a private house. Often Bidhan had to work from eight in the morning to eight in the evening to earn Rs. 8/-. What he got during the winter months, when such operations were usually performed, used to be sufficient to provide some relief to his depleted resources for the rest of the year." (48)

When Bidhan was in England in 1909 to be a student of

M.B.C.P. (London) and F.R.C.S. (England), he had to struggle hard for to maintain the expenses of his college education as well as daily livelihood.

"On the completion of his medical studies in England, Bidhan was faced with the same financial troubles as he had before leaving India. So hard up he was in England that he had not even the money to buy for himself the frock coat and top hat in which medical students were to present themselves on the occasion of receiving degrees. Bidhan had to hire them on payment of a small fee. A friend from India gave him just enough money on loan to cover his passage which cost him £ 17 to Colombo and £ 4 from Colombo to Calcutta. When he reached Madras he had only Rs. 15/- with him and out of it he gave Rs. 10/- to a needy friend whom he met on the way. So with Rs. 5/- in his pocket - which was all his earthly possession at that time -- he reached Calcutta in July 1911 and rented a house at 84, Harrison Road." (49)

Thereafter, Bidhan managed to get a job in the Medical College though not according to his qualification and later he joined as a teacher in the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta. Simultaneously he was also busy in Private - Practice. His success in Medical service was almost meteoric and soon Bidhan was able to develop a vast practice which helped him to earn a lot of money. As a result within a few years Dr. Roy became one of the wealthiest person of Calcutta.

Referring Dr. Roy's income Soroj Chakraborty commented.

"His income as a Physician was phenomenal. I once casually asked his accountant, A.J.Silas, the amount he had earned in the month previous to his joining the Ministry. He gave the figure as Rs. 42,000/-." ⁽³⁰⁾

As a Leader of the Mass:

Bidhan started his political career in 1923 when he was a renowned Medical practitioner. Before 1923 he had no relation with practical politics. In the truest sense of the term Bidhan was never regarded as a mass-leader and with his aristocratic ~~temperament~~ temperament he was aloof from the masses though he could feel the pulse of the people of Bengal and throughout his political career worked tirelessly for them. "The Nationalist Movement of his student days had made a great impression on him and he was determined to qualify himself so as to take useful part in the progress and welfare of the country when the occasion arose." ⁽⁵¹⁾

"As early as 1923 at the comparatively young age of 42 Bidhan made his first debate on the political scene of Bengal in a Big way by his decision to contest as an independent candidate, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, "The Father of Indian Nationalism" in the latter's home constituency of Barrackpore. Though not belonging to the Swaraja Party founded by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru, he affirmed his opposition to the Government and adherence to the ideals of Swaraja Party to work the Montague - Chelmsford. Reforms for "all it was worth". In those days, election contests used to rouse great popular interest and

Dr. Roy was very much constructive in his approach as a Parliamentarian.

"In the Legislative Council the vigilance, alertness and regard for details he displayed, the range and the sweep of the interest he took and the devotion to the duty of the Legislator which throughout characterised his performances were indeed remarkable." (55)

In the council, at its various sittings, he pleaded 'the greatest interest in problems, educational and medical', 'Problems relating to public health and medical relief'. 'Keenest interest in the budgets' and also for other contemporary issues.

"In 1929 he vigorously supported the Bengal Industrial Development Bill introduced by Nalini Ranjan Sarkar because he was firmly wedded to the policy of speedy development of industries with a view to improving the economic condition of the people". (56) Bidhan also tried to protect the interests of the labour.

'I am not a Labour Leader, bogus and real', he said interestingly by way of an introduction and claimed that he had a right to represent workers who had sent him, "to the House for the third time". (57) This he remarked during labour strike in Jute Mills in 1929.

However, though Bidhan did not start politics from

the grass-roots level and did not lead any movement with the masses but still as a representative of the people in the Legislative Council he was always vocal for the interest of the people.

According to K.P.Thomas "Bichan had never been a man of the crowd. In fact, it is doubtful whether he had ever addressed a mass meeting or maidan rally before he became the Chief Minister. As a politician and as a front rank leader, he had never succumbed to the lure of the garland. He himself expressed a surprise when he was garlanded on arrival at the Howrah station after his arrest in Delhi. It is a psychological truth that leaders, who delight in public ~~amaz~~ applause, often become depressed when that is not forthcoming for one reason or other. Dr. Roy never pretended to be a leader of the masses and did not indulge in the momentary pleasure of being acclaimed by the crowd as the hero of the day". (38)

As a Leader of the Party:

After the demise of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das in June, 1925. Gandhiji substituted Jatindra Mohan Sengupta as the leader of the West Bengal Congress and he conferred the tripple crown of Deshbandhu (Presidentship of B.P.C.C., Mayoralty of the Corporation and Leadership of the Congress party in the Council) on J. M. Sengupta.

At that time "Congressmen in every province were sharply divided into no-changers and pro-changers. The division

operated in the most pronounced form in Bengal, the no-changers and the pro-changers acrimoniously fighting each other for the capture of the machinery of the Congress organisation. The pro-changers, i.e., the Swarajests, were in power but had to put in every ounce of their energy in the fight to retain it with the no-changers who also commanded considerable following in the country. It was a tough fight for the pro-changers because the no-changers could always invoke the name of Gandhiji to justify their onslaughts on the Swarajists. The latter, though resourceful and though they could back on the spectacular success of their wrecking programme in the Council, were seriously handicapped in certain respects. Their leader, the irreplaceable Deshbandhu, had died. The only other man on their side with a magnetic personality and enjoying the affection of all, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, had been arrested soon after his appointment as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation and thereafter detained mostly in jail. Eyes therefore turned more and more on Bidhan who had proved himself to be a worthy lieutenant of Deshbandhu and an able Deputy leader in the Council".

(59)

Meanwhile Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Sarat Chandra Bose, Tulsi Charan Goswami, Malini Ranjan Sarkar and Nirmal Chandra Chunder together they formed a group which was popularly called as the Big Five of Bengal. This 'Big Five' had tremendous influence on the then Bengal politics because four of them were the members of the provincial legislative council and one was the influential

member in the Central Parliament. Moreover each one of them was renowned in their respective field likewise as Physician, Lawyer, Industrialist and big businessman.

The 'Big Five' supported Netaji Subhas Bose in against Jatindra Mohan Sengupta in the State Congress Politics.

In the 43rd Annual Congress Session held in Calcutta on December, 1928, Jatindra Mohan Sengupta was selected President and Bidhan became General Secretary of the Reception Committee. This was the first big assignment in the Congress came to Bidhan.

'I feel', wrote Bidhan later to a friends, "that my appointment as General Secretary of the Reception Committee was more in recognition by congressmen of my organising ability than as a reward for my performances in congress politics. Congressmen in general had seen me working in close association with Deshbandhu Das and Gandhiji for four years and they welcomed me for the purpose of organising the session of the Indian National Congress."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Under the able guidance of Bidhan, the Congress session at Calcutta received spectacular success. "Well did he perform his part of the job and at the conclusion of the session, rich out well-deserved tributes were paid to him by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, J. M. Sengupta. Bidhan him-

self was satisfied with what he had been able to do and he was 'happy' that the congress session had been managed 'fairly successfully'.⁽⁶¹⁾ And after the Congress session Bidhan became very much popular among the congress workers and leaders. As a result he became elected as a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1928 and thereafter in 1929. In 1930 Bidhan became a member of the congress working committee, the supreme body of the party.

"But though thus coming closer to the congress he maintained a spirit of detachment. He was prepared to give, and in fact, gave his services whenever these were demanded for some specific purposes. But he habitually shunned the lime-light and never hankered after office. In the Bengal Congress groupism was rampant in those days. Congressmen were divided as already stated, broadly into no changers and porchangers. But each group in its turn was sub-divided into sub-groups, each of which had the ambition "to capture" the congress. Rivalry among them was intense and no election could take place without its declared results being challenged by the defeated group or groups before the All India Congress Committee. Bidhan, however, kept himself strictly aloof from the current rivalry and bickerings and if at all he could be persuaded to take some interest in the dispute he would do so with a view to resolving the dispute."⁽⁶²⁾

At the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1929, Bidhan played the role of mediator and ultimately he succeeded.

On the eve of the Lahore Congress session there became

a rift in the Bengal Congress between the Subhas Bose's group and J. M. Sengupta's group ⁽⁶³⁾ for the election of Bengal's quota of members of the All India Congress Committee. The members of both the group had gone to attend Lahore Congress session. "The election of Bengal's quota of members of the All India Congress Committee had been challenged and the then President of the Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, on the advice of the Working Committee had ruled that the old set of members and not the new set, should participate in the A.I.C.C. in Lahore. But when the All India Congress Committee met on December, 27, 1929, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose challenged the President's ruling in the form of a motion of adjournment of the House on the ground that - "the elected members of the A.I.C.C. from Bengal were not allowed to take part in the meeting." This was followed by a certain amount of disorder and a heated discussion ⁽⁶⁴⁾ -----". But again the motion was rejected by Motilal Nehru, the President of the Congress. "At this, resentment rose high in the Bengal Camp and a number of Bengal members led by Netaji walked out in protest." ⁽⁶⁵⁾

Bidhan tried his utmost to solve the dispute and for compromise he met his Bengal friends on the one hand, and Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru on the other and finally Bidhan was able to persuade not only both the contending groups of Bengal congress i.e., the Sengupta and Bose's group, but also persuaded Motilal Nehru to solve the dispute. But again when some subhasities having issued a statement to the Press which contained observations liable to be interpreted as constituting reflections on the impartiality and integrity of the then President Pandit Motilal Nehru and

also a challenge to the authority of the Working Committee'. (66)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The situation became tense and the compromise wiped out. (66) But Bidhan again took the role of Peace-maker in this juncture and pacified the situation.

This was the first time Bidhan took the key-role at the A.I.C.C. meeting and thus influenced the leaders by his tactfulness, soberiety, cool-temperament and solidarity.

At the Lahore session, Congress "directed the present congress members of the Legislature and Committees to resign their seats" as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for independence. Bidhan, like many others, resigned from the Bengal Legislative Council without the slightest hesitation.

According to the resolution of the Lahore congress, the leaders of the Congress party were ready to celebrate the 26th January, 1930 as the independence day. But 3 days before the All India Celebration of the first independence day on 23rd January 12 leaders and workers were convicted and sent to prison for the charge of treason. Among the convicted leaders Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of B.P.C.C., Kiron Shanker Roy, Secretary B.P.C.C. and Dr. J. M. Dasgupta, President Sara Bazar Congress Committee were included. Meanwhile Jatindra Mohan Sengupta was also put into jail for another sedition case and later leaders like Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Dr. Suresh Chandra Bandopadhyay,

Satis Chandra Dasgupta, Purna Chandra Das and others were also being imprisoned. As a result Bidhan had to lead the Civil disobedience movement in Bengal with great devotion and competency along with the help of other congress workers. (67)

During the civil-disobedience movement, Dr. Roy attended all the meetings of the working committee of the congress party. The British Government had tried utmost to break this movement and so tyrannised the Congress leaders Motilal Nehru, Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and the other Congress leaders were put into Jail. The British government had already banned the Congress Working Committee. On 27th August the British Police arrested Dr. Bidhan Roy, Dr. M.A. Ansari (President) Mathurdas Trikomji, Pandit Madan Mohan Mallabya, Vithal Bhai Patel, Dipnarayan Sinha, Dunichand, Sardar Mongal Singh, Choudhury Afzal Haque and Raja Rao (Secretary), when they were attending a congress working committee meeting in New Delhi. On 28th August all the arrested leaders were convicted for attending an illegal meeting and penalised for six months imprisonment. Thus Bidhan entered into the jail life. (68) Later Bidhan transferred to Alipore Central Jail in Bengal from Delhi.

When Bidhan Chandra arrived at Howrah Station on his way from Delhi as a prisoner, he was greatly welcomed by the people. In describing that situation Bidhan told : "I was over-run with and amazed at the welcome by friends gave me as if I had done something wonderful. This was the first time when I recei-

ved presents of bouquets and garlands from the public. I wondered why. I had no realisation of having done anything extraordinary, anything more than another person in the same situation would have done".⁽⁶⁹⁾

Regarding his prison life Bidhan wrote : "I had an enforced rest for five months. I was given many privileges denied to an ordinary convict. I was respected by one and all. I had my hours in jail fully employed and yet can I truthfully say that I liked incarceration? In my mind I had no such feeling that I was making some sacrifice for the motherland or that I was fulfilling the directions of the leaders of the Congress. I went to prison merely owing to a chain of circumstances and not because I had planned for it. I do not hesitate to declare that lie in prison, however, comfortable it may have been made for me, implies all the restrictions on the prisoner's freedom which everyone of us highly cherishes."⁽⁷⁰⁾

However for his excellent service as Physician during jail days Bidhan was allowed six weeks remission of his sentence in course of the six months period.

"Apart from interesting himself in the constructive work for the congress in 1932-33, there was not much scope for Bidhan to play a very prominent part in the political arena. As has already been seen Bidhan's genius was more constructive and he did not aspire for leadership of the movement. He shunned lime-

light despite the fact that he was regarded as one of the intellectual leaders of the congress; and he would not court arrest voluntarily as he felt that he could be effective to the cause outside the jail. But if arrest or detention was forced on him he would not avoid it either."⁽⁷¹⁾

Meanwhile the tempo of the civil-disobedience movement was waning and late in December, 1933, Bidhan and Dr. Ansari decided to call a conference of the prominent leaders of the Congress in Delhi in March 1934 to discuss the future programme of party. Later Bidhan, Ansari and Bhulabhai Desai met Gandhiji and informed him the decisions which had taken in the conference:-

- "(1) To re~~re~~vive the suspended Swaraja Party.
- (2) To call upon those congressmen who did not or could not take an active part in the civil disobedience movement and yet wanted to carry on the fight inside the Legislature to contest the ensuing Central Assembly elections on the issue of proposed "repression and reforms" ~~adumbrated~~ adumbrated by the British Government.
- (3) To request the congress to permit the Swaraj Party to be so revived without in any way affecting its own declared programme of civil-disobedience!"⁽⁷²⁾

Gandhiji supported the decision of the conference and declared to withdraw the civil-disobedience movement for the time

being and Gandhiji said "----- I will, therefore, withdraw the Civil disobedience movement so that the Council Entry Programme be given a chance. After six months it is possible that I would accept their programme of they will accept mine." (73)

"In July, 1934 at a meeting of the A.I.C.C. it was decided to suspend the Civil disobedience movement and accept the Council Entry Programme of Ansari and Bidhan ----- . But instead of permitting the Swaraja Party to conduct the ensuing Central Assembly elections to be held in October that year, The A.I.C.C. decided to put up Congress candidates. For this purpose an Election Committee was formed with Dr. Ansari as President and Dr. B.C. Roy and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai as the Secretaries." (74)

Though the Congress fought the election and Dr. Roy worked hard but the Congress was failed to win in the Central Assembly election in Bengal.

In 11th October, 1934, in the Presidential election of the Bengal Provincial Congress committee, Dr. Bidhan Roy's name was proposed, without his consent, in against Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. At that time Subhas Chandra was in Europe. In this Presidential election Bidhan was elected by a margin of 113 - 86 votes. (75) Thus Bidhan became President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and remained in that post for only four months. He resigned because he could not devote himself fully to the party

affairs due to his busyness in medical profession.

"Throughout the year 1935 and early in 1936 the difference of opinion amongst congressmen in Bengal continued. They were practically divided into several groups and it was well-nigh impossible to bring them together to accept any common programme. Thus differences became more outspoken in 1936 at the time of the provincial elections, for the legislature. A committee was formed consisting of four members from the two opposing groups of the congress for the nomination of the candidates for the election. Bidhan was elected the Chairman of the Committee." (76)

But the rift between Sarat Bose and Bidhan Roy, regarding selection of candidates in the provincial legislature's election, compelled Dr. Roy to resign from the selection committee and Shri Sarat Chandra Bose undertook the entire responsibility for conducting the election of 1937. (77)

And then Bidhan Chandra concentrated himself fully in his medical profession for the most part of 1937. In 1938 Bidhan Chandra was elected Alderman of the Calcutta Corporation. But he became again involved in the main stream of the congress party, when in April 1939 at a meeting of the A.I.C.C. held in Calcutta Subhas Chandra Bose resigned from the Congress Presidentship following a conflict between Bose and Gandhiji. The reason of the conflict was, in 1939 Subhas Bose defeated the official Congress candidate Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who was supported by Gandhiji. Following Bose's resignation "Gandhiji came to Calcutta and stayed

had changed its policy. The Congress Working Committee had taken a resolution of with-drawing from participation in the Legislatures. (80) "Dr. Roy was one of the two members of the working Committee, who opposed this move, but the majority overruled him. Bidhan felt that with-drawing from the Legislatures was unrealistic and he represented to Gandhiji that he would not continue his membership of the Working Committee because he did not agree with the approach". (81)

Thereafter "when the new Working Committee was formed with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as the President, Dr. Roy requested him not to include him in the committee. Therefore, for two years, 1940 and 1941 Bidhan was out of the Working Committee at his own request." (82)

In 1942, Bidhan accepted the offer after consulting Gandhiji, of Government of India to help in recruiting the proper type of men in the Medical department of the Army.

"In 1942 came the August Declaration of the Congress and wholesale arrests were made all over the country. But as Bidhan was not taking any active part in the Congress then, he was not touched." (83)

As Chief Minister:

When Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the first premier of West Bengal had to quit the premiership following the no confidence motion

passed by the majority Congress members of the Assembly. Consequently Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy became the premier on 23rd January 1948, with the support of the State Congress Legislature Party along with Gandhi's blessings. "I cannot say that it was Gandhiji's desire alone which made me decide to take up the responsibility", reveals Bidhan. "In spite of kinsship with him, Gandhiji never decided things for me, nor did I ever feel that I was to follow his desire. As a matter of fact, in my case he told me that I should make in Bengal a first class Ministry." (84)

So, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy became the chief of a state, which was popularly known as the "Problem State". "Its problems are many and varied, some peculiar to itself, and most constituting the legacy of the past. The war, famine, outbursts of communal frenzy, inter district shifts of population in panic, enormous loss of territory at partition with the residue about one-third of undivided Bengal, left in three disjoined portions, massive and uncontrollable movements of the dispossessed and displaced, all created numerous problems for the state. The people of West Bengal suffered many hardships in quick succession when independence dawned. Frustration was universal, land as ever as inadequate, industries were mostly in non-Bengali hands, production was at a low ebb, prices were high, the basic necessities of life were scarce and unemployment, particularly among the middle class educated population, was rampant. Such was the situation when Bidhan came to the helm of the administration of the

state.

He came with quiet determination, and many ideas some of which were unorthodox, almost shocking in their novelty. Fantastic was the epithet with which critics used to describe the plans as Bidhan unfolded them one after another. But the ideas and plans worked", during his tenure, "it is evident to every one that West Bengal is very different from what it was about the middle of 1948". (35)

When Dr. Roy was willing to accept the responsibility of premiership of this 'problem state', he wanted to form such a Ministry which would be capable to cope with the enormous problems of West Bengal. "The first problem for Bidhan was to choose the personnel of the new Ministry. Dr. Roy selected a team even including persons who were not members of the Congress party, particularly those who has been nourishing the ambition to become-Ministers. They resented and objected to the idea of including outsiders in the cabinet. But Dr. Roy insisted on the condition that he would accept the leadership only if there was no party interference.

His great advantage was that he was not anxious to be the Chief Minister, but if he was to be, he insisted, he should be given a free hand not only in the choice of his colleagues, but also in the control of the administration, Eventually the Congress Legislature Party and the Pradesh Congress Committee agrees

On the 23rd January 1948 Dr. Roy formed his cabinet with Nalini Renjan Sarkar, P.C.Sen, Kiran Sankar Roy, Jadubendra Nath Panja, Bhupati Mazumdar, Kalipada Mukherjee, Bimal Chandra Sinha, Hem Chandra Naskar, Mohini Mohan Burman, Niha-rendu Dutt Mazumer and Nikunke Bahari Maity.

The Chief Ministership of West Bengal at that time was not a bed of roses. Almost all the problems that Dr. Ghosh faced, were still there. Additional problems also arose. But having taken up the steering wheel Bidhan was not the man to be frightened by adversities or opposition." (86)

Of all the problems, problems like law and order, Refugee, splinter-politics in the Congress Party as well as the problem of state's total development were more important which had to face Dr. Roy at the very outset of his premiership. Throughout his fourteen and half year's tenure as Chief Minister he had been carrying all the responsibilities to solve these problems with utmost sincerity.

In explaining the policy of the new Government Dr. Roy told to the press. "The policy of my Ministry would be generally to satisfy the needs of the people of the province. The Ministry's immediate task was to tackle the food and clothing problem. The second task was to utilise the people who had come from East Bengal (nearly 1 million refugees had by then crossed the border) to West Bengal and lastly to remove

panic among the border population and, if possible, to help in the restoration of confidence among the minorities in East Bengal." (87)

"West Bengal continued to be "the problem province of India", apart from being the storm centre of disruptive forces. Besides the unsettled conditions in the state consequent on partition and the influx of refugees, there was considerable labour unrest. Almost every day there was a demonstration for this or that. To add to this, there were also well-planned underground activities in which violence was freely used. The forces of disorder and indiscipline worked unceasingly to discredit the Government and shake the stability of the administration. But Bidhan remained calm and composed with his indomitable will to conquer every ill. In the first few years after he became the Chief Minister, Dr. Roy had to face a large number of critical situations. There were demonstrations held just opposite his house in the Wellington Square almost everyday, people shouting slogans against the Government and the Congress Party. Even crowds on occasions surrounded his house and the Writers' Buildings. But all the time Bidhan went on with his work both in the office and at home without in at least showing any annoyance. As far as possible and in keeping with the dignity and status of the administration he used to meet the representatives of the demonstrators and discussed matters with them. On many occasions they went back convinced of his sincerity fully appreciating the difficulties of the Government. But not for once in those days Bidhan did succumb to threats

nor did he condone indiscipline". (88)

In the year 1948, Dr. Roy's cabinet banned the Communist Party for to keep the law and order in the State. Kiran Senkar Roy, the Home Minister of the then government, in justifying the banning of Communist Party said in the Assembly, "-----the Communist Party wanted to create a state of chaos with the object ultimately of seizing power by violent means, stirring up villagers to defy the forces of law and order, inciting labour to acts of violence against management and to sabotage all production and finally acquiring arms and making West Bengal the first base of operation". (89) This policy of banning of communist party was not supported by central cabinet and it was tremendously criticised in the Political circle of Bengal. But Dr. Roy was firm in his policy.

During the month of January, 1949, the students of the Calcutta University staged a violent demonstration as a station. Later when the two thousands students marched towards Writers Buildings violating Sec. 144 Cr.p.c., the police opened fire and as arrest four persons were died and another 15 students were injured. The students of the Calcutta University became furious and consequently 10 tram cars and 5 state buses were destroyed by students with bombs and missiles.

Dr. Roy, in reply to an adjournment motion in the Assembly on police firing by the opposition parties, said, "I do not say for a moment that in all the instances the police

fired, or to the extent they did, they were justified. This is a matter I am going to enquire into, violence is no remedy : it creates more violence and more destruction in the end". He then asked the House by posing a question, "who was it that had instigated young boys in securing petrol and kerosine to set fire to the house of labour Minister, K.P. Mukherjee? Was it not a fact that young boys were offered Rs. 5/- for each bomb they throw on cars. As a matter of fact the youngmen who had been caught in the act admitted it".
(90)

Later, Chief Minister Dr. Roy met the agitated students and gave them word to accept their demands provided the students gave a guarantee of abstaining from violent activities. Both the Government and the student community kept their promises and the situation became calm and quiet.

During communal riots in the month of February 1950, in Calcutta, Howrah and certain other parts of West Bengal following exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan due to the widespread violence and atrocities on Hindus minority by a section of Muslim at Rajshahi, Dacca, Barisal and Kulna districts of East Pakistan. Chief Minister Dr. Roy worked unceasingly to bring peace in the riot affected areas of West Bengal and its Pakistans counterpart through various measures. The West Bengal Ministry imposed curfew in Calcutta, Howrah and some of the riot affected areas of West Bengal. Dr. Roy also met A.K. Fazlul Haq in Calcutta the former

Chief Minister of United Bengal and then leader of East Pakistan and requested him to bring communal harmony in East Pakistan"

-----Dr. Roy had deftly handled all communal or other forms of uprisings by following a correct course, his popularity and that of his government was slowly gaining ground. He met leaders of certain political parties who were likely to indulge in activities leading to incitement to violence. He summoned newspaper editors and asked them not to publish reports which might create excitement. Simultaneously, instructions were issued to all newspapers not to publish reports of incidents which might lead to communal difficulties. The papers were asked to submit reports to Government for censorship for the time being". (91) Thus Dr. Roy was able to handle the communal tension in the correct way and consequently the situation was brought under the total control of the state administration.

Again when in the month of July, 1953 the Calcutta Tramway Company enhanced second class fare by one pice, the combined opposition parties vehemently opposed it and the matter soon turned into a serious crisis to the law and order situation of the states. The opposition parties started picketing and refused to pay the enhanced fare. As a result communist leader Jyoti Basu and three other M.L.A's were arrested on July 3 which turned into violent agitation like non payment of tramfare, throwing crackers and setting fire to treams. The state government arrested 588 persons in connection with the violent activi-

vities.

"The Resistance Committee took the fullest advantage of Dr. Roy's absence from the country. They declared a Hartal (Strike) on the 9th of July. The city witnessed one of the worst disturbances in recent times. Not only ~~xxxx~~ trams and buses were off the streets, holding up suburban trains and setting fire to coaches were also resorted to. The city police strengthened by contingents from the West Bengal force experienced great difficulty in maintaining order." (92)

But the ten state Government's acting Chief Minister, Profulla Sen and Police Minister, Kalipada Mukherjee, instead of creating a favourable public opinion for the Government relied more on the strength of the police force. The police minister told to the press correspondents that "Government were determined to meet force with force". As a result, the law and order situation began to deteriorate gradually. On the 17th of July when a large area of South Calcutta was under the control by a section of agitators, the police fired six rounds and the situation became beyond the control of the state administration.

Later when in connection of this movement some press reporters and photographers were assembled to cover news of a meeting, held at Calcutta Maidan disregarding the ban under section 144 p.c. the police had beaten many people as well as press reporters and photographers who had attended the meeting, Next day

all the newspapers tremendously criticised the 'barbarity' of the police and also the government. So the state government became unpopular and the law and order situation was beyond control.

Having realised the critical situation of his government in his absence. Dr. Roy returned to Calcutta from Switzerland postponing his eye operation.

"After a cabinet meeting held within 12 hours of his arrival in Calcutta Dr. Roy announced that Mr. Justice Prasanta Behari Mookherjee (he later became Chief Justice) constituting a one-man commission would go into the question of the entire tramway fare structure and the economic bearing of the proposed increase in the second class fare. He had his peculiar way of dealing with difficult situations. After getting an assessment of the situation from his cabinet colleagues he quietly sent for Suresh Chandra Majumder of "Ananda Bazar Patrika" whose two influential papers (Ananda Bazar Patrika and the Hindustan Standard) were up against the Government. No one knew of these secret meetings of the two which took place in Dr. Roy's house. Next he asked Tushar Kanti Ghosh of Amrita Bazar Patrika to see him and discussed matter with him. By so doing, he softened the heart of Majumder and Ghosh and gradually the tone of the papers of Calcutta towards Government improved."⁽⁹³⁾

Dr. Roy also met the leaders of the movement on the 2nd August, 1953 and accepted some of their demands. So the leaders of the movement decided to stop their agitation and gradually

the law and order situation of Calcutta was improving.

In 1964 Dr. Roy's ministry had to face Higher Secondary School leaders movement for some of their economic demands. The teachers movement was guided by All Bengal Teachers Association, a teacher's forum of the communist party. During this movement when the teachers and their supporters were coming to Assembly through a procession to give their memorandum, four were killed and sixtyfive persons were severely injured by the police fire. The police also arrested fortyfour persons including Suresh Banerjee and other M.L.A's. As a result, the disturbances spreaded throughout Calcutta. Then the state government sought the army help to restore peace in the disturbed area. Ultimately, the situation was under total control of the state government with the assistance of the army. (94)

In July, 1960, a large scale violence in the wake of language agitation had broken out in certain districts of Assam and Bengalees in large numbers were forced to leave the state. The disturbances broke out in some of the towns in North Bengal after the arrival of Bangali evacuees from Assam. Chief Minister Dr. Roy took some measures needed to tackle the disturbances following Assam Holocaust.

"In Bengal the opposition parties had announced their decision to observe hartal (strike) in Calcutta on July 16. Panic spread among non-Bengalee residents of the city that there would

be an attack on their lives and property. On the 14th and 15th of July prominent members of non-Bengalee business community met the Chief Minister and urged him to arrange for safety of their lives and property. On the eve of Hartal, the Chief Minister through a statement administered a stern warning to the hooligans and anti-social elements police officials were asked to put down violence with a heavy hand." (95) The armed police and the army had been posted at strategic points to combat the strike. Fortunately no untoward incident was occurred and the panic of the non-Bengalee residents was over.

Dr. Roy had to face another terrible problem in the year 1957 following the deteriorating food situation in the state. The Rice-mill owners had hoarded large quantities of rice in their mills and as a result the state faced an artificial scarcity of rice. But at that time the state government had no legal power to requisition stocks from them. The opposition parties took this opportunity and launched campaign against the state government for their failure to tackle the food situation. The State Government immediately declared 144 Cr.p.c. in some important areas in Calcutta so that the movement might not turn into violent form. Later 726 persons were arrested of which mostly farmers for violation of section 144 cr.p.c. at the call of the Famine Resistance and Anti-Price Increase committee comprising 11 left parties. Leaders like Jyoti Basu, Dr. Surash Banerjee, Deben Sen and Momente Bose were arrested for leading procession against high prices of food and other

essential commodities. Chief Minister Dr. Roy met A.P. Jain, Union Food Minister and after that meeting the State Government was empowered under the provisions of the Essential Commodities Act to requisition stocks from rice mills to prevent hoarding. Dr. Roy after getting assurance from Union Food Minister regarding supply of large quantities of food grains from the centre and after his attack against the hoarders introduced a modified rationing system in Calcutta and thereby able to tackle the food situation as well as the opposition parties.

After the partition of 1947 large numbers of refugees came from East Pakistan and settle across the eastern borders into the southern regions of West Bengal. Thus by the influx of refugees the economic problems have been further complicated in West Bengal. "Since Hindus occupied a more prominent position in the society of East Bengal, they have generally been harder hit by communal tensions and have elected in greater numbers to come to the west. Since the bulk of the Muslims in the West occupied lower social positions and since their position in society would be relatively the same regardless of residence, they have elected to stay in the west in large numbers. With every flare-up of communal tension, the flood of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan to West Bengal therefore continues, while the number of Muslims who move east remains almost insignificant. The result has been the influx of more than four million refugees in the past seventeen years, a number which continues to grow, and an inordinately high

rate of population growth (between 1951 and 1961 the population of West Bengal rose by 33 percent, compared to the all India average increase of only 21 percent). Moreover, since the refugees speak Bengali and identify with the past traditions and cultural background of Bengali, they are reluctant to settle any where in India except in the Bengali linguistic area. And since a large number of them are members of the middle class, whose landed interests in East Bengal have been severed, they find it necessary to locate in those areas where they can secure middle-class jobs and opportunities. This means that the vast majority of the refugees settle in the urban areas, and especially in Calcutta, thus complicating and intensifying the problems of the urban areas even further. The ordinary demands made on the state and central governments for jobs, education, housing, urban amenities - have escalated in West Bengal, owing to the addition, the continuing influx of refugees serves as an irritant which keeps memories of past communal tensions alive and results in continuing tension ~~xxxxxx~~ between the commodities." (96)

The inrush of refugees from East Bengal throughout his Chief Ministership period was the most crucial problem that Dr. Roy had to face. Dr. Roy realised that it would be impossible for the state government to give shelter to all the refugees in West Bengal. Moreover this huge refugees might also jeopardise the economy as well as the law and order situation of the state. So Dr. Roy selected Andmans for the permanent settlement of a large sec-

tion of refugees. The West Bengal Government had placed a report before the Central Government for the colonisation of Bengalees in the Andamans. Dr. Roy also worked hard to settle Bengalee refugees permanently in the Dandakaranya in Madhya Pradesh. He was satisfied that Dandakaranya Project could be an ideal for the Bengalee refugees.

"The West Bengal Government was struggling with depleted finances with regard to relief and rehabilitation of 16 lakh displaced people from East Pakistan and the State Chief Minister was crying hoarse for money from the Central Government - from Prime Minister to every ministry concerned with relief and rehabilitation - when he found that his state was not getting the same deal as other states having refugees from West Pakistan and relief structure was practically crumbling down he expressed his exasperation to the Prime Minister" through a letter, "in which he summed the desperate financial position of the state." (97)

In that letter on 1st December, he wrote "Then came the exodus of 1½ millions of people who belong to upper and middle class Hindu families, who came here hungry and starved, having lost all including their hope of finding subsistence in the new place. For months, the Government for India would not recognise the existence of refugee problems from East Pakistan, and therefore, would not accept the liabilities on their account. The provincial Government had to carry on as best as they could. And for this refugees, a magnificent sum of Rs. 20 per capita has been granted by the centre in two years". (98)

"By 1957 more than three million refugees from East Pakistan had been resettled in West Bengal, a large number as a result of the rehabilitation policies of the State and Central Governments. The State and Central Governments have established refugee colonies throughout the state, they have in some cases set up whole new townships, and they have established refugee colonies outside the state as well. The State Government has advanced loans to industrialists and mill owners for establishing industries to provide jobs for refugees. The bus industry in Calcutta has been nationalized and refugees have also been favoured in the issuing of taxi permits. The State Government has continued to press the center for monetary and other assistance with which to provide both temporary and permanent rehabilitation of refugees, and the state has received a large sum of money - rupees 200 crores by 1963 - (99) from the center for this purpose."

"While the general condition was sufficiently confusing, the party situation was in a way depressing. In the Congress organisation there were many groups and sections. There were aspirants to power and position in the new set-up; but the man at the wheel displayed a strength of character, and a will inspite of disorder, opposition and party manoeuvring. Dr. Roy had the advantage that he became the Chief Minister not out of his own seeking, but at the request of the Congress Legislature Party. As such, he could stand above party, and he manifested it in the very choice of his ministers, taking into his cabinet persons who neither belonged

to the Congress party nor were members of the Legislature. The first thing he did was to apply his medical mind to the ~~xxx~~ problems that confronted him, and to analyse the ills in the body politic as also to diagnose the disease in the Congress Party. He had to act sternly, keep the party from further disintegrating into warring factions as was the case in Bengal politics for many decades in past. It was Bidhan's domineering personality, that, so to say, suppressed the group rivalry among Congressmen. Having called in the doctor for treatment, the party members realised that they had to accept his prescriptions. Dr. Roy neither favoured this or that party, but at the very outset acted like the paterfamilias. In that he was ably assisted by West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee President, Shri Atulya Ghosh, and other leading congressmen". (100)

In this initial period of Chief Ministership there were two major attempts to overthrow him from the leader of the Congress legislature party but in those two cases he got the majority Congress assembly members support. But when Atulya Ghosh became the President of WBPC in 1950 and there after Dr. Roy became the undisputed leader of the Congress Party for many years. Dr. Roy had got whole hearted support from Ghosh till his death in July 1962.

Having brought the discipline into the party, Dr. Roy devote himself fully to improve the general condition of the people. He wanted to establish the state in a sound economic footing.

A number of projects have been set up in the sphere of large-scale industrial development. As part of the Damodar Valley Corporation Project, West Bengal has a major thermal power station at Durgapur ; and numerous other schemes are now in progress the Jaldhaka hydro-electric project, the Bandel Thermal Power Station Project, the Durgapur Coke Oven Plant Power House extension, and the Calcutta Electric Supply Company extension (private sector). One of India's major steel plants was completed at Durgapur in 1962, and in the third plan period this plant is being expanded. The Hindusthan Cables Factory, established at Rupnarianpur, began production in 1954 and has been rapidly expanding since. The National Instruments Factory in Calcutta has been nationalised (it is now called the National Instruments Limited), and its production has also risen". (101) Chitteranjan Locomotive Works which is now manufacturing both steam and diesel locomotives, was also established in Dr. Roy's period.

"The State Government has also undertaken and supported a number of smaller projects. It has set up a milk colony at Paringhata, wood industries centres through the state; a scheme for the supply of processed clay for sanitary wares and electric goods; numerous brick and tile manufacturing units; an ice and cold storage plant; Silk reelers co-operatives; and numerous handicraft industries. It has also experimented with the development of bone china and earthenware industries and has established numerous sales emporia around the state and the country. The State

Government had constructed more than 6,000 miles of state highway by 1962, and the national highways in West Bengal had accounted for another 286.5 miles, with the result that miles of roadway in West Bengal had jumped from 1,181 miles in 1947 to over 7,700 miles by 1962".
(102)

Dr. Roy not only gave stress to industrial projects but simultaneously he gave importance to agriculture. "Because partition created serious food and crop deficits in West Bengal, a great deal of the expenditure by government has gone into the development of land and attempts to improve the efficiency of cultivation. The government has organised and supported co-operatives throughout the state and through these it has distributed fertilizers, seeds, and other necessities. Agricultural credit given through these societies amounted to 2.27 crores of rupees at the end of the second plan period, and to 7.50 crores of rupees in March 1963. Largely as a result of the Mayurakshi irrigation project, by 1963 West Bengal had irrigated more acres (630,000) than any other state except punjab (2,750,000 acres) or Uttar Pradesh (794,000). The government also initiated a project for the preservation of the port of Calcutta (the Ganga-barrage Project) which is expected to eventually irrigated large portions of land during the next eight years, as well as the Kansabati scheme (total cost 25.2 crores) which is expected to eventually irrigate over 9,00,000 acres."
(103)

On the industrial front, or rather, in the sphere of

Cottage Industries, schemes have been in operation for the revival or stimulation of the bee-keeping industry, Khadi industry, hand-made paper industry, Silk Industry, brass and belt metal industry, handloom industry etc. Bigger schemes have been in operation for the augmentation of the supply of fish and milk, -----
 The State Government has directly undertaken the task of exploration of the possibilities of Deep-Sea Fishing in the Bay of Bengal -----
 ----- . The scheme for the augmentation of milk supply in Calcutta has been linked with the scheme for the removal of Khatals from the city and in execution of the scheme the first unit of a milk the city and the execution of the scheme the first unit of a milk colony,-----has sprung up at Heringhata." (104)

Considerable improvement has been effected in the spheres of medical and public health services, in communication and transport system and in the educational field of the state. During Dr. Roy's Chief Ministership period four new universities had been established. Dr. Roy's ministry had also planned for the setting up of new townships at Kalyani and Salt lake.

"In addition, innumerable minor schemes for the economic development of the State have been in operation and are now at different stages of execution under the highly significant community Development Projects and National Extension Service." (105)

"Side by side with the perceptibly successful treatment on the surface, the foundation has been surely laid of a social revolution of profound significance and tremendous possibilities. Permanent settlement which has been hanging like a milestone round the neck of Bengal has gone and the ideal of 'the land for the tiller' has come very ~~near~~ near realisation. All intermediaries in the former scheme of land settlement between the Government and the raiyat have disappeared as from April 15, 1955. Raiyats now hold land directly under the Government." (106)

Bidhan also sanctioned schemes to promote a number of large-scale industries to open up more avenues of stable employment.

So one can see how different is the picture of West Bengal in 1962 when Bidhan died from what it was early in 1948 when Bidhan took the Chief Ministership of this 'problem state'. Dr. Roy had tried utmost to establish West Bengal on a sound economic footing.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy was successful as Chief Minister because he possess some qualities which a good administrator needed. Accordingly to K.P.Thomas.

"His knowledge of facts, practical common sense, firmness, sympathetic understanding of every situation and a thoroughly human approach enabled him to steer the 'ship of State' steadily forward without allowing it to ~~fix~~ founder in the troubled waters.

of Bengal. The most remarkable trait in him is that he has a temper that never tires, and even in the midst of depressing situations he never shows any signs of irritation or mental agitation. It may be said of Bidhan that his power lies in his formidable intelligence, depth of knowledge, his passion for precision and above all, the amazing orderliness of his mind. As a medical man he had trained himself to make quick decisions. The doctor is not to delay to give his prescription. And his surgical mind decides on speedy operation whenever it is needed.

Dr. Roy was never an agitator in the sense the world is commonly understood. He is of a constructive mould. His great advantage in his extraordinary capacity to have a clear conception of the problems confronting him as the administrative head of a state." (107) In his self-analysis Bidhan remarked, (108) "My experience as Chief Minister of West Bengal during a very trying period", says Bidhan, "has convinced me that to run a successful administration certain definite approaches to human activities have to be secured. How far these approaches could be traced as being due to one or other of the factors mentioned in the questionnaire is difficult of assessment. To run an administration one must possess a stout heart, a determination to do or die, a preparedness to sacrifice one's ambition or lust of power for the sake of the common weal, a clear vision of the future, a knowledge of human beings and of mass psychology, a readiness to take some risks for the sake of the ideal, after care-

fully considering all its implications.

"My earliest memory goes to the time when, hardly a boy of five, I was attracted to a board on the bare walls of my parents' house which said "Don't say I can't do it". This generated a deep feeling in me that I must not accept defeat, however big the stake be. To do a job it was necessary to put one's best efforts remembering the maxim of my teacher Dr. Lukis : ' It is better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all". Such efforts generate in one a great potential strength which can later on be utilised even if the immediate objective is beyond one's reach. Greatly akin to the idea was the great teaching of another master, Col. Charles, "Whatever thy hands findeth to do, do it with thy might'. Not only must we try our best, we must do it with all our might and if we fail, it is better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all. Gandhiji, following the teaching of the Gita, also taught us that 'our only right was to be able to work, the results did not matter."

"My contact with human beings in health or disease, individually and in groups, has given me a deep insight into the manner human minds work. This again is a great help to an administrator. Such knowledge of human beings was derived from my work both as a medical practitioner and as a politician. But apart from this, the necessity of placing the interests of others over those of one's own was realised by me because of my being in politics and in the profession. If we are to serve a

patient we must not consider our own comfort or interest. If we are to serve the people, the interests of the masses should be paramount and much greater than one's own personal interests or ambition. One has to merge oneself willingly, consciously and voluntarily into the 'Many' if one wants to be a good administrator.

"Early in my political life, Deshbandhu told me that 'power is a goodness, do not attempt to woo or pursue her, she will elude you. Kick at her and she will follow you'. This was the great secret of Deshbandhu's success as a politician. This again made a great impression on my mind when I took up the work of administrator.

"Socrates once said that the great ideal of a man should be "know thyself". Knowledge of men and things is an essential attribute of an administrator. But in ~~order~~ order to understand others, one must understand one's ownself. My connection with educational affairs and justifications gave me the key to this knowledge. I am never satisfied with what I know. I try to seek knowledge from all sources and from all the four winds of Heaven.

"But the administrator, especially one has to deal with a developing state, has to take risks - careful risks if you like - in order that he might succeed in developing the state. West Bengal, in common with the rest of India, had been for two centu-

ries under the tutelage of a system of administration devised by the British, wherein state ~~xxx~~ enterprises or state trading were un-known. In the state hegemony established by the British, the administration was done by the British administrators, the trading was in the hands of their cousins - the industrialists. The new system of administration based on the will of the people expressed during a general election must be in the closest touch with the needs, desires and the outlook of the masses - who are the voters. They need food, they need clothes, they need shelter, they require more education, higher economic status, better health. All these require careful planning by the state. The psychology of the members of the services has to be turned to these new demand. Ordinarily an official plays for safety. If he can avoid taking any step which involves risks, he does so. An administrator has therefore not merely to devise plans of development, but has to secure the proper machinery for giving effect to them. This makes the work much more complex than we can imagine. If a scheme involving expenditure of large sums of money is undertaken, the efforts for all should be to get the earliest consummation of the scheme, so that not only the people get the benefits early, but in the long run the scheme becomes less costly. This is a point of view which is ever present in the minds of all producers. The Government which undertakes trading has to follow the methods of the industrialists. I have in my humble way planned and executed many such schemes - though mostly small. They served to impress upon me not only the necessity

of careful planning of all the stages of any scheme but the imperative need of reaching the ~~xxx~~ goal 'full steam ahead'. Often I have witnessed the failure of well planned useful schemes because those in charge did not realise the truth of the approach mentioned above.

"It is said that the family is the smallest unit of administration ; then comes the corporation and then the state. My experience in civic affairs not only made me more cognisant of the daily needs of the common man, but also gave me the clue to success in a sphere where the smallest needs of one small man in the city have to be adjusted to those of others. It taught me how to satisfy the discordant claims of rival groups of rate payers in a locality. I learnt then the principles of raising funds by taxation in order to meet the needs of the people, without making it a burden on the people and now a city with all its problems of maintenance of health, provision for drainage have to be administered. Small things give the clues to big ones. State administration has to be fashioned after city governments."

On July 1, 1962, when Dr. Roy died, 'The Statesman' in its editorial column on July 2, 1962 wrote:

"With the passing of Dr. Birhan Chandra Roy the Indian science loses a dimension, not merely an outstanding personality or a great leader or a brilliant physician. He was all three and much more; to West Bengal he was the biggest single asset. One

by one the great leaders are departing; and the ~~maxx~~ vacuum each leaves is simply not being filled. The void left by Dr. Roy is not only in political leadership. There is not an area of life in West Bengal (apart from all India Service on the Congress Working Committee) where he did not function at one time or another in his long life, often simultaneously. -----

----- . As Chief Minister, with governmental authority extending daily to almost every department of collective existence, Dr. Roy's impress was to be found every where. It was sometimes said that he attempted too much, that his influence was so dominant in everything that his colleagues had little to do. His comprehensive intelligence and virtually inexhaustible energy seemed able to tackle all the came his way." (109)

The Relation with the Opposition Parties.

Throughout his Chief Ministership period, i.e., from 1948 to 1962, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy had to face various obstacles from the opposition parties. The Communist Party of India was the main opposition party at his time. The Communist Party launched various agitations and movements in the issues like refugee problem, food problem etc. thereby create an atmosphere of chaos and disorder in the state.

So Dr. Roy's ministry banned the Communist Party in the year 1948 for the reason "that the Communist Party wanted to create a state of chaos with the object ultimately of seizing power by

violent means, stirring up villagers to defy the forces of law and order, inciting labour to acts of violence against management and to sabotage all production and finally acquiring arms and making West Bengal as the first base of operation". (110) Though later this ban was lifted away but for the temporary period of the then time Dr. Roy was able to keep law and order situation in the state.

Despite Communist Party, there were other opposition parties in West Bengal like Forward Block, R.S.P.I., and KPMP, a party which was mainly composed of ex-congress leaders like Ex-Chief Minister P.C.Ghosh, Dr. Suresh Banerjee and other important leaders. Sometimes the opposition parties jointly launched movements regarding refugee problem, food problem and various others problems and sometimes the parties fought separately and their main motto was to disturb Dr. Roy's administration.

In a letter to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 17th April, 1951, Dr. Roy confessed that the State Government faced

"-----the problem of the Communists and the Forward Bloc, both of whom are very active at the present moment-----" (111)"

The opposition parties always attacked the State Governments policies. During the Bengal - Bihar merger issue in the year 1956, the leftists and the Communists vehemently opposed the move and for that very reason they even called a Bandh in the state.

The opposition parties always attacked the State Governments policies. During the Bengal - Bihar merger issue in the year 1956, the leftists and the Communists vehemently opposed the move and for that very reason they even called a Bandh in the state. Again in 1953 when the Calcutta Tramway Company had made an upward revision of the Second Class Fare by one pice, the opposition parties, leaded by the Communist Party "restorted to picketing and refused to pay the enhanced fare. Four M.L.A's including Jyoti Basu were arrested in the early hours of July 3. Soon the agitation took a violent turn and in all 588 arrests were made in connection with the day's incidents for picketing, inciting people to acts of violence, non-payment of tram fare, for throwing crackers and for setting fire to frams." (112)

So, in every such important issues, the opposition parties tried to heckle Dr. Roy and his ministry. The relationship between Dr. Roy and the opposition parties was never good, except in certain circumstances, for example in 1961 when Dr. Roy's Government accepted Bengali language for the official purposes of the state, opposition leader, Jyoti Basu expressed his agreement with the government's views.

In an interview Jyoti Basu recalled that in certain circumstances he even supported Dr. Roy in the interest of the state and in need he also demanded to the Central Government along with Dr. Roy". (113)

Dr. Roy was very democratic in mind. In spite of stiff opposition from the opposition parties, he even consulted with the leaders of the opposition parties with a liberal outlook to solve any particular crisis which the state was facing. He also tried to implement the advises of the opposition leaders, if otherwise possible.

"There was a deep attachment between Dr. Roy and Basu -----" (114) . And though both Dr. Roy and Jyoti Basu had attacked each other in the Assembly and in the political field but inspite of that they had a good private relationship.

Profulla Chandra Sen.

A man of Gandhian conviction, Profulla Chandra Sen was one of the most influential leader both in the Congress Party as well as in the state of West Bengal. In this initial political career Profulla Chandra Sen was a great freedom fighter as a Congress man and in the post-independence period he became one of the pillar of the decision making process in the state administration and also in the state unit of the congress ~~xxxxx~~ party. He is the man who earned some detracting nicknames than any other Chief Minister for his rigidity in some particular cases. It was he who had face the most crushing of all Marxist onslaughts.

"Throughout his long career either as an administrator of politician he was neither a petulant nor a limelight basker, a rare quality which many of our post-independent careeriest poli-

(115)
ticians lack".

Family Background:

Profulla Chandra Sen was borny in 1897. His an-
cestral home was Sanhati Village of Khulna district of ^{the} present
'Bangladesh'. But he had never any connection with Khulna be-
cause his father lived at Sasaram of Bihar. Sasaram was a sub-
division of Sahabad district. Profulla Sen lived with his parents
at Sasaram and later at Buxar district of Bihar when his father
was transferred from Sasaram. (116)

Educational Background:

Profulla Sen started his educational career at
first at Sasaram High School, Bihar and when his father was
transferred from Sasaram to Buxar district of Bihar he had to
take admission at the local school. During his stay at Sasaram
and Buxar school he had no opportunity to know Bengali language
because both the schools were situated in Bihar and number of
Bengali students of these schools were very poor.

Profulla Sen's uncle was Civil Surgeon. After his
retirement from his Service he started Private Practice at Deo-
ghar, Bihar and for the initiative of this uncle Profulla Chandra
admitted to a school at Deoghar in the second class (class nine).
There along with other subjects Profulla Chandra was very eager to
be well acquainted with the Bengali language. (117)

Having completed the Entrance examination from Bihar,
he took admission in the Scottish Church College, Calcutta."After

graduating in 1921 with honours in Physics he was admitted to M.Sc. course but subsequently left studies in order to join the freedom movement." (118)

Atulya Ghosh remarked that Profulla Chandra having completed B.Sc., took the job of 'Article' in an auditors office to be a chartered accountant. He was ready to start for England for to get training of the Chartered Accountant course. In the meantime non-co-operation movement was started and Profulla Sen spontaneously joined in the freedom movement leaving his future academic career. (119)

Economic Background:

Profulla Chandra Sen was a son of government servant. In his early childhood and boyhood period he lived with his parents, in a middle class family.

Later, after completion of B.Sc., Degree from the Calcutta University, he took the job of 'Article' in an audit firm. But leaving his future career he joined in the Non-co-operation movement and thereafter throughout his life he led the freedom-movements in the Arambagh sub-division of the Hooghly district. At that time he passed his daily livelihood with the help of the local people. As a follower of Mahatma Gandhi he devoted himself completely for the cause of Motherland, instead of establishing himself economically.

Cultural Background:

In explaining P. C. Sen's life Atulya Ghosh, Sen's political disciple, wrote, "The flame of patriotism burning in him, Profulla Chandra came in close contact with revolutionaries while a student of the Scottish Church College He became a teacher in the Hooghly Vidya Mandir, utilizing his leisure ~~xxx~~ for constructive work in different regions Life was extremely austere _____ Shri Sen and his associates, about 18/20 in number _____ being provided with an anna worth of 'dal' daily to make their rice dish edible nothing but the cause of Mother India did matter then. He made himself one of the villagers sharing all the hardships of a rural life. He never grudged the insanitary and stinking environment. Profulla Chandra was not an average man. He breathes and lives in(his friend's) midst, his dynamic personality providing the beacon light for their onward march".

(120)

As a Leader of the Mass.

Profulla Chandra Sen was out and out a mass-leader. He started his political career as a freedom fighter and worked initially from the grass-root level. He had the capability to influence the masses and entangled them in the freedom movements. This was possible because Sen had devoted himself also in various social activities which served the interests of the common people.

So he was popularly called as 'Gandhi of Arambagh', in his political base.

After graduating from Scottish Church College, Calcutta, P.C.Sen joined in the Non-co-operation movement. Sen started his political career in the district of Hooghly, the adjacent district of Calcutta and he joined in the Congress party in the year 1920.

"Sen was in the forefront during all three phases of the Civil Disobedience movement and was known in his hometown, Arambagh, as the 'Arambagh Gandhi'. He had paid a painful price for it and was clapped in British prison during the greater part of his younger days. Not only that, he went underground and successfully eluded the vigilant eyes of criminal intelligence men. From his ~~unxxxxy~~ underground den he had directed the nationalist movement but his sufferings and sacrifice were unknown to many, as he worked silently, behind the scene".

(121)

In the flood of 1923 seven men were expired in the Baradangal village of Arambagh sub-division of the Hooghly district. Profulla Chandra had gone to Baradangal for relief work. There he permanently settled till January, 1948.

(122)

The village Baradangal was eight miles away from Arambagh town. There Profulla Sen along with other Congress workers organised meetings, group discussions and speeches with Magic Lantern for to acquaint the people regarding

the activities of the Congress. Profulla Chandra Sen was loved by the local people as well as by the Congress men for his simplicity and his ability to mix with the man of all walks of life.

As a Leader of the Party.

At the very outset of his political career, Profulla Chandra Sen lived in the 'Forbes Mansion' of the Wellington Square in Calcutta along with other Congress men. From there he went to Hooghly with Rabi Palit, his friend who was at that time Secretary of Hooghly District Congress Committee. There Profulla Chandra started his political career as a Congress man. Soon Sen became very much popular in his locality by starting various social and constructive works. During his joining in Hooghly Vidya Mandir, an institution led by the Congress men, he had the opportunity of mixing with the personality like the Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Bhupati Mazumdar, Nagen-dranath Mukherjee, Gour hari Som, Binoy Krishna Modak and famous revolutionary-poet Kazi Nazrul Islam.

Later Profulla Chandra shifted his centre to Baradongol, eight miles away from Arambagh, the district town of Hooghly. From Borodongal he led all the freedom movements throughout the district and thus for Sen's able leadership Borodongal became the head office of the Hooghly district Congress during the civil disobedience movements.

In the second Civil disobedience movement (1932-34) Bengal Provincial Congress Committee initially did

not take the movement seriously. So leaders like Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, Dr. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Satish Dasgupta and other Congress leaders formed 'Bengal Civil Disobedience Council' to strengthen the Civil Disobedience movement in Bengal. Profulla Chandra Sen was given the charge of the Central Office of the 'Bengal Civil Disobedience Council'. Thereafter under the effective leadership of this Council Bengal also joined in the movement. "In Bengal, the March 1932 A.I.C.C. Bulletin reported revival of Salt Satyagraha in Coastal areas, non-payment of Chaukidary taxes and Union Board boycott in many districts and non-rent in Arambagh sub-division of Hooghly and parts of Tippera, Sylhet and Jalpaiguri".
(123)

Not only in freedom movement but also in his locality he participated and led various social activities. He left no stone unturned for the cause of villagers and so he was once elected as President of Salepur Union Board of Arambagh sub-division. During his tenure Salepur Union Board got the first prize in the Burdwan division.

Sen actively participated in the non-co-operation movement in 1930, 1932 and 1942 and courted arrest several times.

In the post-independence period Profulla Chandra took active role in the Provincial Congress Politics. Profulla Chandra and his political disciple Atulya Ghosh led the Arambagh - Hooghly group of congress party. When Dr. P.C. Ghosh resigned from

the Chief Ministership, Profulla Chandra Sen and Atulya Ghosh took an important role to install Dr. B.C.Roy as the next Chief Minister of the state. Thereafter Profulla Chandra was an important Pillar of the Ministerialist group led by Dr. Roy. He was one of the minister of Dr. Roy's cabinet. When Atulya Ghosh became the President of W.B.P.C.C., Profulla Chandra Sen whole heartedly supported Ghosh in carrying out the organisational activities.

Though he was defeated in the 1952 Assembly election, but thereafter from 1957 - 1966 he was a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. In 1952 he was elected as a member of the ~~xxxxxx~~ Legislative Council. He was a Minister in Dr. Roy's Cabinet from 1948 to 1962 and after Dr. Bidhan Roy's demise he became the third Chief Minister of West Bengal. As a minister in Dr. Roy's cabinet Sen was a staunch supporter of his leader. Sometimes he became the Chief Minister-in-Charge during Dr. Roy's temporary absence.

As Chief Minister.

After the death of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on 1st July, 1962, Profulla Chandra Sen was asked to take temporary charge as Chief Minister on 2nd July by the Governor of West Bengal. Profulla Chandra Sen took the temporary charge as head of the state. But after a couple of days on 8th July, Profulla Chandra Sen was unanimously elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party. In the meeting attended by Congress MLA's and MLC's the name of Sen was moved by the State Congress President Atulya Ghosh & was seconded by

Kalipada Mukherjee, Home Minister.

Profulla Sen assured the people of West Bengal that the new Government would be carried on the unfinished tasks undertaken by his predecessor Dr. Roy.

Mr. Sen faced three major crises during his tenure as Chief Minister _____ the first one being the Chinese aggression (1962) and its Political impact in the State, the Pakistani offensive (1965) and the food problem (1966).

P. C. Sen assumed the post of state's head of administration in the month of July and due to the chinese attack on September, 1962 Mr. Sen became busy with this particular national danger.

On September Chinese soldiers attacked the Indian Post near Dhola in Thag-la-Pass. And the situation both in Ladakh and North-east frontier was serious, though with the suddenness of attack Indian soldiers were bewildered primarily but with limited resources both in arms and in other war materials Indian soldiers fought bravely.

To Combat with external aggression National Defence Fund Committee and National Defence Council were formed in the month of November, 1962. West Bengal Chief Minister was included in these two important bodies and thereby devoted himself fully to procure from Calcutta market as much quantities of warm clothings, woolen Jersies, boots etc. for the Jawans in the NEFA.

In the last week of November in a countrywide operation many members of the Communist Party including some of the important leaders of the Party were arrested for their Pro-Chinese attitude. "The leader of the opposition in West Bengal Assembly, Jyoti Basu, the Chief Whip of the communist party in the Assembly, Ganesh Ghosh, the State C.P.I. Secretary, Promode Dasgupta and Harekrishna Konar, Mr. Mazaffer Ahmed and the Editor of the Communist organ 'Swadhinnata' were amongst those arrested. Secret office reports suggested that most of the arrested persons belonged to the Pro-chinese wing of the C.P.I. in West Bengal. The charges against them were activities pre-judicial to the Defence of India and public order. At the same time 600 chinese residents of five border districts of West Bengal were interned." (124)

So, throughout the year, 1962 P.C.Sen became very much busy in the Sino-India conflict and tried utmost to help the Central Government.

Another major crisis that P.C. Sen had to face was in 1965 during indo-pak border tension and war. Later both India and Pakistan agreed to cease-fire on March 22, In this border conflict the state of West Bengal was suffered a heavy loss in the eastern border and Chief Minister P.C.Sen informed the Central Government of the damage done by the Pakistani armies and urging compensation from Pakistan Government.

The Indo-Pakistan border areas frequently witnessing exchange of Shelling between Indian troops and Pakistani for-

ces in the Western Sector of India. Later Indo-pak war was formally started and both the states were engaged in 22 days war in the month of September, 1965. On September 23, a cease-fire between India and Pakistan came into force. In this war many muslims were arrested, who were suspected as the spy of Pakistan in the state.

Of all the problems which faced West Bengal government in the P.C. Sen's tenure as Chief Minister, the food problem was the most crucial one.

The first food movement was launched in the state by the opposition parties in the year 1952 when Dr. Roy was Chief Minister. It is interesting to mention here that P.C. Sen was Food Minister at that time. He was the centre of attack by the opposition parties. But the then Chief Minister Dr. Roy stoutly defended his Food Minister. Dr. Roy as Chief Minister, also had to combat with various food movements launched by the opposition parties during his Chief ministership period.

The food problem became a political weapon of the opposition forces of the state and this weapon had also been used when P.C. Sen chaired the head of the state administration.

In the year 1964 Intelligence Branch through the Home Secretary gave a note to the State Government regarding the agitation of food. The note stated, "The consideration is really political and not economic, as the organisers loudly proclaim. Shortage

due to occasional crop failure and the natural rise in the price of rice and other foodstuff in September - October every year are exploited by the leftist political parties to work up a movement and to turn the people against the government with vain hope of dislodging the congress from power. Attempts are made to capture the sentiments of the people by stories of deaths due to starvation (unreal). The Food Minister (P.C.Sen) has sometimes been personally the target of attacks (Particularly in 1959) as the political parties feel that he is the live-wire of the congress organisation in this state and his removal from the ministry may hasten the fall of the government. The real motive behind the agitation during all these years has been to make futile attempts to overthrow the government rather than to help the people by suggesting measures to improve the economy of the State. (125)

In 1963 the opposition parties launched various food movements at different times. According to the report of the Intelligence Branch, "The people in general throughout the state responded to the call of dehoarding campaign issued by Tax increase and price Resistance Committee and compelled the rice dealers at many places to sell rice at reasonable price.
 The leftists claimed that the movement compelled the governments to re-orient the food policy for the benefit of the people and that the dealers in rice and fish had to yield to the demands of the people". (126) In the year 1966, the opposition parties launched food-movement which endangered the law and order

strong measures to procure rice from big landlords and it was they who doled out huge sums of money for defeating me. An M.L.A. of our party also backbite me. But the last factor was really fatal. Humayn Kabir, whom I had sent to campaign in favour of me among the Muslims spoke against me and sought to prove that I was anti-muslim as I had arrested a few muslims during the Indo-Pak war in 1965." (128)

From January 1964, in consequence of communal riot in East Pakistan, the Hindus began to cross the border of Pakistan for to settle permanently in India. This caused another serious problem to the State administration of West Bengal. Chief Minister tried hard to solve the refugee problem.

This vast influx of refugees created economic and social danger in the state of West Bengal because it was impossible for the State Government to rehabilitate all those refugees. Though the state government tried to rehabilitate the refugees. "... .. rehabilitation has eluded the refugees from East Bengal. A vast majority of them are assailed by problems of sheer existence. They have totally lost their economic, social and cultural moorings, gone back in the scale of civilisation, heavily inflated the ranks of the unemployed, put unbearable strains on the economy of West Bengal and Tripura, and gravely intensified the problems of these two states. If West Bengal has come to the brink of a precipice, the unresolved refugee problem is a potent cause of this". (129)

Realising this situation P.C.Sen wrote an important letter to Prime Minister Shastri on 16. Excerpts of this letter are given below:

"As you know, up to January, 1962, about 3.2 millions of refugees have come for resettlement in West Bengal. Of them about 2.4 millions had got some kind of rehabilitation assistance from the government and they had fought for a footing in the economic life of the state on their own. Of the people who got some kind of rehabilitation benefit, as a result of a rough survey undertaken by the government we came to find that more than 50% were bit properly rehabilitated. The reason for that was also quite obvious. Since independence, within 5 years more than 2.5 millions of refugees had poured into this state. To find shelter for them and to give them some sort of employment through which they could earn a living was certainly a colossal task". (130)

For the better treatment of the refugees by the Central Government P.C.Sen in that letter, requested Shastri, "We only hope that as a result of your personal intervention once again through a healthy climate of friendly discussions and understanding, a serious attempt will be made to continue assistance on old terms as per old commitments and understanding for the solution of the pressing problems of the partially rehabilitated refugees. West Bengal as a state is particularly sensitive with regard to refugees matters, as here live by now not only about 4

millions of refugees who had come over and resettled since Independence, but also an equal number, if not more, of persons who had come earlier and had settled themselves here for a living from before the ~~partixixkion~~ partition. Educationally quite advanced, when distinctly strong political views, the East Bengal people now in West Bengal exert very great influence on the press and the platform and on every sphere of life. Hence, any decision of the government of India which stands in the way of proper rehabilitation of the displaced persons from East Pakistan who had lost everything there created a climate of bitter hostility against the governments and the party in power. This often makes smooth administration in this problem State extremely difficult". (131)

Chief Minister P.C. Sen had also tried to consolidate the state economically and thereby followed the policies taken by his Predecessor Dr. Roy. "Roy knocked his head in vain at the doors of the central government for several years. After many efforts he persuaded the Planning Commission to earmark some funds for the purpose. P.C.Sen, after him, tried as much as he could to increase the allotment
 But the Government of India was adamant". (132)

Chief Minister Sen wrote a letter to T.T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Minister, on 17th September, 1965 to apprise the financial problem of West Bengal. In that letter Sen

concluded "It is only meet and proper that the centre should come forward to help this state in its present financial situation for which I have stated any case in the foregoing paragraphs. I hope you will consider our case sympathetically and kindly give us the money we have asked for in order to perform our task of defence and development adequately and satisfactorily". (133)

Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, when came to Calcutta on March 20, 1964, to make a first-hand assessment of development Projects, at that time "The Chief Minister pressed the Deputy Chairman for doubling the fourth Plan budget in order to give top priority to agriculture and small industries. Mehta admitted that after Dr. Roy's death the performance of the state government in respect of third Plan was satisfactory." (134)

But "he has been having trouble with the West Bengal Government on the size of the State's fourth plan. Three rounds of meetings between him and the state's representatives have failed to resolve the differences. His last meeting with P. C. Sen, the State's Congress Chief Minister, in Calcutta was not exactly a pleasant one." (135) "Mehta's talks in Calcutta had failed principally because he was not in a position to promise West Bengal aid of more than 200 crores or to sanction a plan of 520 crores." (136)

In the National Development Council meeting on October, 1964 "the West Bengal Chief Minister in a firm speech urged that the centre instead of trying to straight Jacket the states

should encourage autonomy in their respective spheres. He also suggested that apart from agriculture, which should receive the greatest emphasis, the question of priorities for other sectors should be left to the states to decide." (137)

Though the Central Government was fully aware of West Bengal's economic problems and in spite of various requests of Chief Minister Sen and memoranda submitted by him in 1965 to the Finance Commission, West Bengal was being deprived from her legitimate demand by the Central Government.

As an administrator, P.C. Sen was severely criticised. Babulal Fadea remarked, "After B.C. Roy's demise in 1962, P.C. Sen succeeded him. The later's image had been undermined by a ~~vicious~~ vicious character assassination campaign which had projected him as corrupt. Besides, he did not have Roy's stature or his administrative ability. The administration was growing lax as witness its ability to nip the communal riots of 1964 in the bud". (138)

Dilip Hiro commented, "The death of B.C. Roy in 1962 robbed the Congress of a leader who had some Charisma and administrative ability. P.C. Sen, his successor, proved inept; and for all practical purposes, political administrative power passed into the hands of Atulya Ghosh, the Party Boss, who was even closer to the business community ~~xxx~~ than Roy. Administrative efficiency suffered as corruption became more rampant than

before". (139)

When P. C. Sen took charge of Chief Minister, "In the beginning of July, an inner Cabinet was formed with Sen, (140) Atulya Ghosh and Kalipada Mukherjee". According to some political observers Chief Minister P.C. Sen was totally guided by State Congress Party boss Atulya Ghosh.

Pran Chopra, an Indian Journalist wrote, "There were few examples in India of such a wicked combination of the corrupt politicians and still more corrupt man of business, each concerned only with the immediate profit and each devoid of (141) any commitment to the future of West Bengal."

Relationship with the Opposition Parties:

The relationship between Chief Minister P.C.Sen and the opposition Parties particularly the Communist were never good. Sen was disliked by the opposition Parties not only during his Chief Ministership period but also throughout his tenure as Minister. Sen was one of the principal target of the opposition parties. In an interview P.C.Sen showed the cause of the dislikes of the opposition parties. "One should pity my luck as, before becoming the Chief Minister, I held a Portfolio that was disliked and abused by all and sundry food and supplies," he (142) reminisces.

The opposition parties, particularly the communists,

had various times demanded Sen's resignation from Dr. Roy's Cabinet as according to Communists Sen was not handling properly the department of Food and supplies. During Dr. Roy's Chief Ministership period the target of the Communists "... .." was not so much the Chief Minister, but Profulla Chandra Sen, Food Minister, who was next to him in the Cabinet and held the string of the Party apparatus in combination with Atulya Ghosh. Once he is removed, the opposition thought, not only the Party (143) but the Cabinet would be rudely shaken".

"These Communists burnt as many as 21 trams in protest against my decision to hike fares by only one paise", Mr. Sen remembers with exasperation. (144)

The Communists (Pro-China group) also tremendously criticised Chief Minister P.C. Sen for the bad-treatment they had to face in the jail during the Chinese aggression period in 1962.

The opposition parties, mainly the communists, launched various food ~~xxxxx~~ movements during P.C. Sen's Chief Ministership period and thereby jeopardised the law and order situation of the State. In reply Sen also arrested all the leaders of the food movements in 1966. After Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's intervention the State Government released the leaders from the Jail. So, P.C. Sen and the leaders of the oppositions were at daggers drawn to each other.

According to Saroj Chakraborty, "To me, Sen

appeared to be inelastic in his attitude towards" the Communist Party, "and their leader while Dr. Roy was not. There was deep attachment between Dr. Roy and Basu". Jyoti Basu, the leader of the Communist Party, "while in those days was missing in the case of Sen".
(145)

Notes and References:

1. Dictionary of National Biography - editor S. P. Sen - Institute of Historical Studies - Calcutta, 1973, p. 53.
2. Ibid., p. 53.
3. Saroj Chakraborty - with Dr. B. C. Roy and other Chief Ministers - Rajat Chakraborty, 508 Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta-29, 1974, p. 48.
4. Dictionary of National Biography - Editor S. P. Sen - Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 53-54.
5. Ibid., p. 54.
6. Ibid., p. 54.
7. Babulal Datta, State Politics in India (Vol.-2) Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1984, p. 270.
8. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 222.
9. See Atulya Ghosh, Kastakalpita (Bengali edition), 1984, pp.20-21.
10. Saroj Chakraborty, with Dr. B.C.Roy and other Chief Ministers, Rajat Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1974, p. 64.
11. Ibid., p. 66.
12. Ibid., pp. 67-68.
13. Ibid., p. 69.
14. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 223-224.
15. Saroj Chakraborty, with Dr. B.C.Roy and other Chief Ministers, Rajat Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1974, p. 65.
16. The Statesman (An Anthology), the Statesman Limited, Calcutta, 1975, p. 513.
17. Dilip Hiro, Inside India to-day, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London and Henley, 1976, p. 128.
18. Ibid., p. 128.

19. Saroj Chakraborty, with Dr. B.C.Roy and other Chief Ministers, Rajat Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1974, p. 62.
20. Ibid., p. 67
21. Ibid., p. 69.
22. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 26.
23. Ibid., p. 24.
24. Ibid., p. 26.
25. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
26. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Doctor Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition), Orient Book company, College, St. Market, Calcutta, 1982, p. 43.
27. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 38.
28. Ibid., p. 41.
29. Ibid., pp. 43-44.
30. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition), Orient Book Company, College Street Market, Calcutta, 1982, p. 44.
31. K.P.Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 43.
32. Ibid., p. 46.
33. Ibid., p. 47.
34. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition) Orient Book Company, College Street Market -Calcutta, 1982, p. 50.
35. K.P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 49.
36. Ibid., p. 62.
37. Ibid., pp. 38-39.
38. Ibid., p. 39.

39. Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition,) Orient Book Company, College Street Market, Calcutta, 1982, p. 51.
40. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 86.
41. Ibid., p. 87.
42. Ibid., p. 111.
43. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Ex Charit (Bengali edition), Orient Book Company, College Street Market Calcutta, 1982, p. 131.
44. See Ibid. p. 139.
45. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee Calcutta, 1955, pp. 39-40.
46. Ibid., p. 46.
47. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
48. Ibid., p- 48.
49. Ibid., p. 71.
50. Saroj Chakraborty, My years with Dr. B.C.Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 10.
51. K. P. Thomas Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 91.
52. Saroj Chakraborty, my years with Dr. B.C. Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 2.
53. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 90.
54. Saroj Chakraborty, my yaars with Dr. B.C.Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 3.
55. Ibid., p. 94.
56. Ibid., p. 100.
57. Ibid., p. 105.
58. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 234.

59. Ibid., pp. 142-143.
60. Ibid., pp. 143-144.
61. Ibid., p. 144.
62. Ibid., p. 145.
63. Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition) Orient Book Company, College Street, Market Calcutta, 1982, p. 156.
64. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 145.
65. Ibid., p. 146.
66. See Ibid., pp. 146-147.
67. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition) Orient Book Company, College Street Market, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 160-161.
68. Ibid., p. 162.
69. Ibid., p. 174.
70. Ibid., p. 174.
71. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 180.
72. Ibid., pp. 182-183.
73. Ibid., p. 183.
74. Ibid., p. 183-184.
75. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition), Orient Book Company, College Street Market, Calcutta, 1982, p. 197.
76. K.P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 187.
77. Ibid., pp. 187-188.
78. Ibid., p. 191.
79. Ibid., pp. 191-192.

80. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition), Orient Book Company, College Street Market, Calcutta, 1982, p. 200.
81. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 192.
82. Ibid., p. 193.
83. Ibid., p. 193.
84. Ibid., p. 224-225.
85. Ibid., p. 236.
86. Ibid., p. 225.
87. Saroj Chakraborty - my years with Dr. B.C.Roy - Saroj Chakraborty, 50E Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 9.
88. K. P. Thomas - Dr. B.C.Roy, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee Calcutta, 1955, pp. 227-228.
89. Saroj Chakraborty - my years with Dr. B.C.Roy - Saroj Chakraborty 50E Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 19.
90. Ibid., p. 36.
91. Ibid., p. 72.
92. Ibid., p. 132.
93. Ibid., pp. 134-135.
94. See Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy - Dr. Bidhan Royer Jiban Charit (Bengali edition) - Orient Book Company, College Street, Calcutta-7, 1982, pp. 56-57.
95. Saroj Chakraborty - my years with Dr. B.C.Roy - Saroj Chakraborty, C 1-29, 1982, ~~pp. 56-57.~~ P - 306
96. Marcus F. Franda - Political Development and Political Decay in Bengal - Firma K. L. Mukherjee, Calcutta-12, 1971, pp.66-67.
97. Saroj Chakraborty - my years with Dr. B.C.Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 56.
98. Ibid., p. 58.
99. Marcus F. Franda, Political Development and Political Decay in Bengal, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta 1971, pp. 81-82.

100. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, p. 227.
101. Marcus F. Franda, Political Development and political decay in Bengal, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1971, p.82.
102. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
103. Ibid., p. 83.
104. K. P. Thomas, Dr. B.C.Roy, Atulya Ghosh - West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 238-239.
105. Ibid., p. 241.
106. Ibid., p. 242.
107. Ibid., pp. 228-229.
108. Ibid., pp. 229-232.
109. The Statesman (An Anthology), C. Srinivasan, The Statesman Press, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 576-577.
110. Saroj Chakraborty, My years with Dr. B.C.Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 19.
111. Ibid., p. 93.
112. Ibid., p. 133.
113. Bartaman Dinkal (Bengali Magazine) (1-15 July), Jupiters Associates, 79 B Hemchandra Naskar Road, Calcutta, 1984, p. 12.
114. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta, 1978, p. 6.
115. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p. 3.
116. Seen Dosh (Bengali Magazine), Ananda Bazar Patrika Limited, Calcutta, 28th June, 1980, p. 36.
117. See Ibid., p. 36.
118. The Telegraph, Calcutta, 12 October, 1985, p. 13.
119. See Atulya Ghosh, Kastakalpita, Ananda Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1984, pp. 12-13.

120. Atulya Ghosh, P. C. Sen, A Life Career Sketch, Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), April, 10, 1964.
121. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p.3.
122. See Atulya Ghosh, Kastakalpita (Bengali edition), Ananda Publishers Private Limited, Calcutta, 1984, p. 13.
123. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India (1885-1947) Macmillan India Limited Delhi, 1983, p. 323.
124. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p. 34.
125. Ibid., p. 82.
126. Ibid., p. 84.
127. Sankar Ghosh, The Disinherited State, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1971, pp.61-62.
128. The Telegraph, an interview in the "Then and Now" Column, 12th October, 1985, Calcutta, p. 13.
129. Ranajit Roy, The Agony of West Bengal, New Age Publishers Private Limited, Calcutta-12, 1973, p. 166.
130. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 135-136.
131. Ibid., p. 137.
132. Ranajit Roy, The Agony of West Bengal, New Age Publishers Private Limited, Calcutta 12, 1973, p. 43.
133. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p. 63.
134. Ibid., p. 81.
135. Ranajit Roy, The Agony of West Bengal, New Age Publishers Private Limited, Calcutta-12, 1973, pp. 70-71.
136. Ibid., p. 72.
137. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p. 110.
138. Babulal Padia, State Politics in India (Vol.2) Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1984, p. 272.

139. Dilip Hiro, Inside India To-day, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London and Henley, 1976, p. 167.
140. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p.8.
141. Dilip Hiro, Inside India To-day, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London & Henley, 1976, p. 167.
142. The Telegraph, Calcutta, 12 October, 1985, p. 13.
143. Saroj Chakraborty, My Years with Dr. B. C. Roy, Saroj Chakraborty, Calcutta-29, 1982, p. 276.
144. The telegraph, Calcutta, 12 October, 1985, p. 13.
145. Saroj Chakraborty, with West Bengal Chief Ministers, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1978, p. 6.