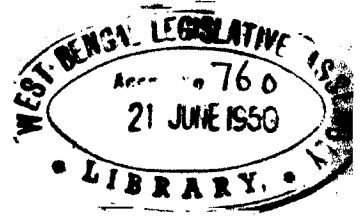




pl. XXIV



**Council Proceedings**  
**Official Report**  
**Bengal Legislative Council**  
**Twenty-fourth Session, 1927**  
**10th. 11th and 17th January. 1927**

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**GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.**

**GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.**

**His Excellency the Right Hon'ble VICTOR ALEXANDER GEORGE ROBERT  
BULWAR-LYTTON, Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.**

**MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.**

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. DONALD, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., in charge of the following portfolios:—**

1. Finance.
2. Separate Revenue.
3. Commerce and Industrial subjects.
4. Marine.
5. Education.
6. Public Works.

**The Hon'ble Maharaja KSHAUNISH CHANDRA RAY Bahadur of Nadia, in charge of the following portfolios:—**

1. Land Revenue.
2. Land Acquisition.
3. Excluded Areas.
4. Irrigation.
5. Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums and provision for medical education.
6. Local Self-Government.

The Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur SAITID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur, C.S.E., of Dhanbari, in charge of the following portfolios :—

1. Emigration.
2. Immigration.
3. Jurisdiction.
4. Haj Pilgrimage.
5. Forests.
6. Agriculture and Industries.
7. Excise.
8. Registration.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. N. MOBERLY, C.I.E., I.C.S., in charge of the following portfolios :—

1. Appointment.
2. Political, excluding Haj Pilgrimage.
3. Police.
4. Ecclesiastical.
5. Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards, subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature.
6. Jails.
7. Judicial.
8. Legislative, including the Executive Administration of the Legislative Department and elections for Indian and Provincial Legislatures, subject to rules framed under sections 64 (1) and 72 (a) of the Government of India Act.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE  
COUNCIL.

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Raja MANMATHA NATH RAY CHAUDHURI, of Santosh.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi EMADUDDIN AHMED, B.L.

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**Panel of Chairmen for the Twenty-fourth Session.**

1. Mr. W. L. TRAVERS, C.I.E., O.B.E.
2. Mr. ALTAF ALI.
3. Raja BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA Bahadur, of Nashipur.
4. Maharaj-Kuimar SRIS CHANDRA NANDY.

Secretary to the Council—J. BARTLEY, I.C.S. (*on leave*). A. DE C.  
WILLIAMS, I.C.S. (*Offg.*).

Special Officer—G. G. HOOPER, M.C., I.C.S.

Assistant Secretaries to the Council—A. M. HUTCHISON and K. N.  
MAJUMDAR.

Registrar to the Council—J. W. McKay.

# BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

### A

Acharyya Chaudhuri, Maharaja Sashi Kanta. (Dacca University.)  
Afzal, Maulvi Syed Mahamud. [Bakarganj West (Muhammadan).]  
Ahamad, Maulvi Asimuddin. [Tippera South (Muhammadan).]  
Ahamad, Maulvi Kasiruddin. [Rangpur West (Muhammadan).]  
\*Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin. [Rajshahi South (Muhammadan).]  
Ali, Maulvi Syed Nausher. [Jessore South (Muhammadan).]  
Ali, Mr. Altaf. [Bogra (Muhammadan).]  
Atiqullah, Maulvi Syed Md. [Mymensingh East (Muhammadan).]

### B

Bagchi, Babu Romes Chandra. [Malda (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Baksh, Maulvi Kader, B.L. [Dinajpur (Muhammadan).]  
Banerjee, Dr. Pramathanath. [Calcutta East (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Banerjee, Babu Promotha Nath. [Midnapore South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Banerjee, Mr. A. C. [Calcutta South Central (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Bannerjee, Babu Jitendralal. [Birbhum (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Basu, Babu Sasi Sekhar. [24-Parganas Rural South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Basu, Mr. P. C. [Burdwan South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Basu, Mr. Sarat C. [Burdwan North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Biswas, Babu Surendra Nath. [Faridpur South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Biswas, Maulvi Abdul Latif. [Dacca West Rural (Muhammadan).]  
Bose, Babu Bejoy Krishna. [Calcutta South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Bose, Babu Subhas Chandra. [Calcutta North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Bose, Mr. S. C. (Calcutta University).

### C

Chakravarti, Babu Jogindra Chandra. [Dinajpur (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Chakravarti, Mr. Byomkes. (Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.)  
Chakraburttty, Babu Jatindra Nath. [Rangpur East (Non-Muhammadan).]

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

- Chatterjee, Babu Umes Chandra. [Bankura East (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Chatterjee, Srijut Bijay Kumar. [Bankura West (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Chaudhuri, Mr. M. Ashraf Ali Khan. [Rajshahi North (Muhammadan).]  
 Chaudhuri, Rai Harendranath. [24-Parganas Rural North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Saiyid Nawab Ali, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., of Dhanbari. (Member, Executive Council.)  
 Child, Mr. R. H. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
 Choudhury, Maulvi Khorshed Alam. [Bakarganj North (Muhammadan).]  
 Cohen, Mr. D. J. (Nominated Non-official.)  
 Cooper, Mr. C. G. (Indian Jute Mills Association.)  
 Crawford, Mr. T. C. (Indian Tea Association.)

## D

- Das, Rai Bahadur Amar Nath. (Nominated Official.)  
 Das Gupta, Dr. J. M. [Calcutta Central (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Datta, Babu Akhil Chandra. [Tippera (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Datta, Babu Amulya Chandra. [Hooghly Municipal (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 De, Mr. K. C., C.I.E. (Nominated Official.)  
 Dey, Mr. G. G. (Nominated Official.)  
 Donald, the Hon'ble Mr. J., C.S.I., C.I.E. (Member, Executive Council.)  
 Drummond, Mr. J. G. (Nominated Official.)  
 Dutt, Babu Saral Kumar. [Bakarganj North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Dutt, Mr. G. S. (Nominated Official.)

## F

- Faroqui, Khan Bahadur K. G. M. [Tippera North (Muhammadan).]  
 Faulkner, Mr. A. K. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
 Forrester, Mr. J. Campbell. [Presidency and Burdwan (European).]

## G

- Ghose, Babu Amarendra Nath. [Mymensingh West (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Ghosh Maulik, Babu Satyendra Chandra. [Noakhali (Non-Muhammadan).]

**ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.**

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- Ghuznavi, Hadji Mr. A. K. Abu Ahmed Khan. [Mymensingh South-West (Muhammadan).]  
Gilechrist, Mr. R. N. (Nominated Official.)  
Goenka, Rai Bahadur Badridas. (Bengal Marwari Association.)  
Gofran, Maulvi Abdul. [Noakhali West (Muhammadan).]  
Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra. [Dacca City (Non-Muhammadan).]

**H**

- Habibullah, Nawab Khwaja. [Dacca City (Muhammadan).]  
Haque, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Azizul. [Nadia (Muhammadan).]  
Himatsingka, Babu Prabhu Doyal. [Calcutta West (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Hoque, Kazi Emdadul. [Rangpur East (Muhammadan).]  
Hosain, Nawab Musharruf, Khan Bahadur. [Malda cum Jalpaiguri (Muhammadan).]  
Huq, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ekramul. [Murshidabad (Muhammadan).]  
Husain, Maulvi Latafat. (Nominated Non-official.)  
Husain, Maulvi Syed Maqbul. [Chittagong North (Muhammadan).]

**I**

- Ismail, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad. [Mymensingh Central (Muhammadan).]

**J**

- James, Mr. F. E., O.B.E. [Presidency and Burdwan (European).]  
Jennaway, Mr. J. H. (Indian Mining Association.)

**K**

- Karim, Maulvi Abdul. [Burdwan Division South (Muhammadan).]  
Kasem, Maulvi Abul. [Burdwan Division North (Muhammadan).]  
Khan, Babu Debendra Lal. [Midnapore North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Khan, Khan Sahib Maulvi Muazzam Ali. [Pabna (Muhammadan).]  
Khan, Maulvi Tamizuddin. [Faridpur North (Muhammadan).]  
Khan, Mr. Razaur Rahman. [Dacca East Rural (Muhammadan).]

## L

- Lahiri, Mr. Basanta Kumar. [Nadia (non-Muhammadan).]  
 Laird, Mr. R. B. (Indian Jute Mills Association.)  
 Lala, Babu Saroda Kripa. (Chittagong Landholders.)  
 Leicester, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. H., I.M.S. (Nominated Official.)  
 Liddell, Mr. H. C. (Nominated Official.)  
 Lindsay, Mr. J. H. (Nominated Official.)

## M

- Maguire, Mr. I. T. (Anglo-Indian.)  
 Maiti, Babu Mahendra Nath. [Midnapore South-East (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Marr, Mr. A., C.I.E. (Nominated Official.)  
 Mawla, Maulvi Choudhury Gholam. [Faridpur South (Muhammadan).]  
 Mazumdar, Rai Bahadur Jadunath, C.I.E. [Jessore North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 McCluskie, Mr. E. T. (Anglo-Indian.)  
 Mitter, Sir Provash Chunder, Kt., C.I.E. (Presidency Landholders.)  
 Moberly, the Hon'ble Mr. A. N., C.I.E. (Member, Executive Council.)  
 Moitra, Srijiut Jogendra Nath. [Dogra *cum* Pabna (non-Muhammadan).]  
 Morgan, Mr. G. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
 Mukerjea, Srijiut Taraknath. [Hooghly Rural (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Mukerji, Mr. S. C. (Nominated Non-official.)

## N

- Nandy, Maharaj Kumar Sris Chandra. [Murshidabad (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Nasker, Babu Hem Chandra. [24-Parganas Rural Central (Non-Muhammadan).]  
 Nazimuddin, Mr. Khwaja, C.I.E. [Bakarganj South (Muhammadan).]

## O

- Oaten, Mr. E. F. (Nominated Official.)  
 Ordish, Mr. J. E. [Dacca and Chittagong (European).]

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

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### P

- Phelps, Mr. Trevor J. (Calcutta Trades Association.)  
Philip, Mr. J. Y. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
Poddar, Mr. Ananda Mohan. (Bengal Mahajan Sabha.)  
Prentice, Mr. W. D. R. (Nominated Official.)

### R

- Rahim, Sir Abd-ur, K.C.S.I. [Calcutta North (Muhammadan).]  
Rahman, Maulvi Azizur. [Mymensingh North-West (Muhammadan).]  
Rahman, Maulvi Shamsur. [Khulna (Muhammadan).]  
Rahman, Mr. A. F. M. Abdur. [24-Parganas Rural (Muhammadan).]  
Raikat, Mr. Prasanna Deb. [Jalpaiguri (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Rauf, Maulvi Syed Abdur. [Jessore North (Muhammadan).]  
Ray, Babu Nagendra Narayan. [Rangpur West (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Ray, Babu Surendra Nath. [24-Parganas Municipal South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Ray, Dr. Kumud Sankar. [Faridpur North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Ray, Maharaja Jogindra Nath, of Nator. (Rajshahi Landholders.)  
Ray, the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Khsaunish Chandra, of Nadia.  
(Member, Executive Council.)  
Ray Chaudhuri, Mr. K. C. (Nominated Non-official.)  
\*Ray Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Raja Manmatha Nath, of Santosh. (Dacca Landholders.)  
Roy, Babu Manmatha Nath. [Howrah Rural (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Roy, Dr. Bidhan Chandra. [24-Parganas Municipal North (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Roy, Mr. D. N., Bar-at-Law. [Jessore South (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar. [Dacca Rural (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Roy, Mr. S. N. (Nominated Official.)  
Roy Choudhuri, Rai Bahadur Satyendra Nath. [Bakarganj South (Non-Muhammadan).]

### S

- Sachse, Mr. F. A. (Nominated Official.)  
Sadeque, Maulvi Mohamed. [Noakhali East (Muhammadan).]  
Sanyal, Babu Sachindra Narayan. [Rajshahi (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Sarbadhikari, Dr. Sir Deva Prosad, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E. (Nominated Non-official.)

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\* President of the Bengal Legislative Council.

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## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

- Sarker, Babu Naliniranjan. [Mymensingh East (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Sarker, Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan. (Nominated Non-official.)  
Sattar, Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdus. [Chittagong South (Muhammadan).]  
Sattar, Maulvi Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool. [Hooghly cum Howrah Municipal (Muhammadan).]  
Sen, Babu Nagendra Nath. [Khulna (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Sen, Mr. Satish Chandra. (Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.)  
Sen Gupta, Mr. J. M. [Chittagong (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Shah, Mr. Gholam Hossain. [24-Parganas Municipal (Muhammadan).]  
Sinha, Babu Charu Chandra. [Howrah Municipal (Non-Muhammadan).]  
Sinha, Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan, of Nashipur. (Burdwan Landholders.)  
Skinner, Mr. S. A. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
Solaiman, Maulvi Muhammad. [Barrackpore Municipal (Muhammadan).]  
Stuart-Williams, Mr. S. C. (Nominated Official.)  
Suhrawardy, Mr. H. S. [Calcutta South (Muhammadan).]

### T

- Travers, Mr. W. L., C.I.E., O.B.E. [Rajshahi (European).]

### W

- Wilson, Mr. R. B., C.I.E. (Bengal Chamber of Commerce.)  
Woodhead, Mr. J.A. (Nominated Official.)  
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C. [Presidency and Burdwan (European).]

# **THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS.**

**(Official Report of the Twenty-fourth Session.)**

**VOLUME XXIV.**

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the  
provisions of the Government of India Act.**

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall,  
Calcutta, on Monday, the 10th January, 1927, at 3 P.M.

## **Present:**

The Chairman (Mr. K. C. De, C.I.E., I.C.S.), in the Chair, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Donald, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Hon'ble Maharaja Kshaunsh Chandra Ray Bahadur, of Nadia, the Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly, C.I.E., and 128 nominated and elected members.

## **Oaths or affirmations.**

One hundred and twenty-nine nominated and elected members made an oath or affirmation of their allegiance to the Crown.

## **Adjournment.**

The Council was then adjourned till 3 P.M. on Tuesday, the 11th January, 1927, at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.**

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 11th January, 1927, at 3 P.M.

**Present:**

The Chairman (Mr. K. C. DE, C.I.E.) in the Chair, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Donald, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Hon'ble Maharaja Kshaunish Chandra Ray Bahadur, of Nadia, the Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly, C.I.E., and 127 nominated and elected members.

**Affirmation.**

The following member made an affirmation of his allegiance to the Crown:—

Babu BEJOY KRISHNA BOSE.

\* At 3-10 P.M. the Registrar to the Council announced to the Chairman that His Excellency the Governor was without.

The Chairman then left his seat on the *dais* and met His Excellency at the head of the staircase. His Excellency then entered the Council Chamber with the Chairman, and, at the request of the Chairman, took his seat in the Presidential Chair, the Chairman being seated on His Excellency's right.

**His Excellency the Governor's address.**

**HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR of BENGAL (the Earl of Lytton):** GENTLEMEN,—The Council which is opening to-day its first session is the third Council which has been elected under the Constitution of 1919, and it is, perhaps, the most important of the three because it meets with the accumulated experience of its two predecessors to guide it, and with the knowledge that, so far as Bengal is concerned, its labours will constitute the latest material upon which the Parliamentary Commission, which must be appointed before it closes, will base its recommendations for the future.

I have come in person to open the session in order to wish you all success in your deliberations and to assure you of my desire to assist you to the best of my ability in promoting the welfare of the people of Bengal whom you have been elected to represent and whose interests

have occupied my mind now for nearly five years. I can only be associated with you for a period of little more than two months, but that period will cover the whole of your first session and the consideration of the budget by which you will make provision for the various departments of Government during your first year. The time, though short, is therefore critical, and will necessitate the taking of decisions which will not only have a profound effect upon the lifetime of this Council, but will largely determine the influence of Bengal upon the future development of the Indian Constitution.

The first decision you will be called upon to take is whether or not you desire to have included in the Executive men to represent you as Ministers, and to take charge of those departments of Government which have been placed by the Constitution under popular control. The revocation of the transfer of subjects, which was made by the Secretary of State during the lifetime of the last Council, will come to an end on January 21st, and it will be for you to decide whether you wish that revocation to continue, or whether you wish to resume control of the transferred subjects through the medium of Ministers, who will be answerable to you for their administration. It will be for me to interpret such action as you may take, and I propose, therefore, to devote the few remarks I shall make to you to-day to explaining what are the opportunities afforded to you by the Constitution for expressing your wishes on the subject, and the way in which I shall interpret the use you may make of them.

At the present time no funds are available for the payment of Ministers, as no provision for their salaries was made in this year's Budget. In order to give the Council the earliest opportunity of expressing its wishes on this matter a demand for a supplementary grant for the salary of two Ministers will be submitted to you on January 17th. This will enable the Council to indicate whether or not it wants any Ministers to be appointed and, if so, what rate of salary it is prepared to vote for their remuneration. If the demand is rejected, I shall accept that decision as indicating the desire of the Council to see the revocation of transfer continued, and I shall inform the Secretary of State accordingly. If the demand is accepted, I shall interpret this as an indication of the desire of the Council to have a Ministry appointed, and I shall thereupon do my best to select such persons as appear to have the confidence of those who recorded such a decision.

Before I deal with the opportunities which the Council will subsequently have of approving or disapproving the selection I may make, let me say one word about the amount of the demand which will be submitted on January 17th. The Council will remember that, during the period from January 1921 to December 1923, there were three Ministers in Bengal, of whom two were Hindus and one was a Muhammadan. After the General Election of 1923, the composition of the Council was changed

and the Ministers; who had been appointed in 1921, no longer appeared to me to represent the majority of the new Council: I accordingly invited the leader of the party, which had secured a majority of the elected seats, to become a Minister, to choose his colleagues and to advise me regarding the filling of the nominated seats. The invitation you remember was declined—courteously declined, and for reasons which I have no doubt were fully weighed—and I was obliged therefore to seek for Ministers among the remaining groups.

I appointed three, of whom two were Muhammadans and one was a Hindu. This combination appeared to me to be justified by the relative numbers of their Hindu and Muhammadan supporters in the Council. The Hindu Minister was unseated as the result of an election petition and resigned. Before I was able to replace him by another Hindu the demand for Ministers' salaries was rejected and no other appointment was possible. As the motion for the rejection of salaries was only carried by a majority of one vote and there was considerable doubt whether the issue involved was clearly appreciated by the Council, the two Muhammadan Ministers remained in office temporarily, but it was impossible for me to give them a Hindu colleague in addition.

The decision of March 1924 was reaffirmed in the following August, this time by a majority of two votes. The Ministers then resigned and for the remainder of the lifetime of the last Council the transferred departments have been administered by the Governor-in-Council. Another General Election has since been held and the attitude of the present Council towards this question has now to be tested. If the precedent of previous years were to be followed, the appointment of three Ministers would necessitate an unequal distribution of the offices between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. In view of the regrettable riots which have recently taken place between these two communities and which for the time being have so embittered the relations between them, such a course appears to be undesirable. In the present state of communal feeling in the province I am reluctant to appear to favour either community at the expense of the other in exercising the prerogative of appointing Ministers.

I had, therefore, to consider the alternatives of appointing a European as the third Minister, increasing the number of Ministers to four or reducing it to two. Of these alternatives, in the absence of any indication of the wishes of the Council, I have chosen the last. The demand therefore which will be submitted to you on January 17th will be for a sum which will provide salaries for two Ministers at the maximum rate allowed by the Act, and voted by two previous Councils. If the demand is accepted, two Ministers will be appointed, but it will still be open to the Council to indicate its preference for either of the other alternatives I have mentioned. Whether this can best be done by moving the

adjournment of the Council, or by passing a resolution in the ordinary way, is a matter which you must decide, subject to the approval of the President.

I now turn to the opportunities which the Council will have of expressing its confidence or want of confidence in the Ministers whom I may appoint and the procedure available under the Constitution for this purpose. The main principle which characterises a system of responsible representative government is that the Executive should be selected from that group or party which comprises a majority of the legislature and that it should resign, if and when the majority of the legislature refuses to support it. This principle was intended by Parliament to operate here so far as the administration of transferred subjects was concerned. A Governor is expected to select Ministers who can obtain the support of a majority of the members of the Legislative Council, but, should he fail to do so, the Council has the remedy in its own hands and can compel the resignation of the Ministers.

The existence of many separate groups, none of which by itself can command a majority in the Council, renders the selection of Ministers who may be acceptable to the Council exceedingly difficult. At present there are many opinions, but there is no reliable evidence of which groups are likely to combine to form a majority; but unless some combination is effected government on the parliamentary model cannot be established, since only such Ministers as can secure the support of the Council can remain in office.

If the demand for the grant of salaries is carried on January 17th, two Ministers will be appointed to take office after January 21st. When the Council resumes for the consideration of the Budget, an opportunity will be afforded to it of expressing its confidence or want of confidence in the Ministers who will have been appointed. In order that the Council may express its opinion of each Minister individually, the Government will this year show separately the salary of each Minister in the estimate under the heading "General Administration" and any member will have an opportunity of expressing his want of confidence in either of the Ministers whom I have selected by moving a token reduction of one rupee in the salary demanded. If such a motion is carried the Minister will resign. It will, however, be open to the Ministers themselves to decide whether or not they will stand or fall together.

At present the tradition of joint Ministerial responsibility has not been established, but the Ministers can elect to establish it if they so desire. If such a motion is carried and the Ministers resign, I shall select others and a further opportunity will be afforded to the Council of expressing its acceptance or otherwise of them, when the demands for grants for the transferred subjects are reached. If a token reduction

of one rupee in the demand for the first grant asked for by the new Minister for the department of which he is in charge is moved and carried, that will again be interpreted as a vote of no confidence and will be followed by the resignation of the Minister. Such a motion would be free from ambiguity at the time of a Minister's appointment and before he has formulated any policy, but in subsequent years a similar procedure might be adopted as a means of criticising some detail of his policy without necessarily requiring his resignation.

In this way the Council can retain the power to confirm or reject the individual Ministers whom I may select even after they have passed the grant for their salaries. If, however, the demand for salaries is totally rejected no other Ministers can be appointed and such a decision can only be interpreted as a refusal to work the Constitution at all.

Gentlemen, I have dwelt on this question of procedure at some length, as I am anxious that the Council should clearly understand what its powers are and how they should be used. In the exercise of this prerogative my individual preference is not the deciding factor. I have no wish and I have no power, if I had the wish, to appoint Ministers that are unacceptable to the Council, but it will, I hope, be equally obvious that the personal likes or dislikes of individual members can also not be a deciding factor and my task would be greatly facilitated if before any appointment is made the groups who have a common political policy would elect their own leader to carry it out.

You are in a sense the trustees of the Constitution and your action will to a large extent determine its future developments. Parliament looks to you for a practical demonstration of the working of a representative system of Government in this country and your countrymen will have reason to thank you, if, in addition to drawing attention to the defects of the present Constitution, you can give practical proof of the adaptability to Indian conditions of a system of Government which in theory I believe you all desire to establish.

In a few weeks' time I shall be returning to England and my countrymen will be sure to ask me how far my five years' experience has strengthened or diminished my faith in the applicability to Indian conditions of a system of responsible representative Government which they, equally with yourselves, desire to see established here as soon and as completely as possible. Of the defects of the present Constitution I have been provided with plenty of evidence. Of the lines on which it can be improved opinion is far less unanimous, and of the success of the experiment already made evidence is more difficult to produce. I trust that in the lifetime of this Council, of which you are members, you will subordinate all personal and communal considerations to the necessity of proving beyond any doubt that Parliamentary Government

can be made to bring to the people of India the same advantages which it has brought to the peoples who live in the other parts of the King's Dominions.

His Excellency the Governor then left the Council, preceded by the Chairman.

[On the return of the Chairman.]

### Election of President.

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** Election of the President of this Council.

The following candidates have been nominated for the post of President of this Council:—

- (1) Khan Bahadur Maulvi EMADUDDIN AHMED—proposed by Khan Bahadur K. G. M. Faroqui and seconded by Maulvi Mohamed Sadeque.
- (2) Mr. ALTAF ALI—proposed by Mr. M. Ashraf Ali Khan Chaudhuri, and seconded by Maulvi Abul Kasem.
- (3) DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA—proposed by Babu Akhil Chandra Datta, and seconded by Babu Jogindra Chandra Chakravarti.
- (4) Raja MANMATHA NATH RAY CHAUDHURI of Santosh—proposed by Mr. R. B. Wilson, C.I.E., and seconded by Mr. C. G. Cooper.
- (5) Nawab KHWAJA HABIBULLAH—proposed by Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, C.I.E., and seconded by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy.
- (6) Khan Bahadur Maulvi EKRAMUL HUQ—proposed by Maulvi Syed Nausher Ali, and seconded by Maulvi Shamsur Rahman. Also proposed by Maulvi Syed Mahamud Afzal, and seconded by Mr. K. C. Ray Chaudhuri.
- (7) Maulvi ABUL KASEM—proposed by Maulvi Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool Sattar, and seconded by Mr. Altaf Ali and Nawab Musharruf Hossain, Khan Bahadur.
- (8) Rai JADUNATH MAZUMDAR Bahadur, C.I.E.—Proposed by Maharaja Jogindra Nath Ray of Nator, and seconded by Babu Satyendra Chandra Ghosh Maulik.
- (9) Mr. KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN, C.I.E.—proposed by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed, and seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdur-Rahman.
- (10) Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY—proposed by Maulvi Syed Abdur Rauf, and seconded by Nawab Khwaja Habibullah.

Since then I have received the following withdrawals:—

- (1) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed;
- (2) Mr. Altaf Ali;
- (3) Nawab Khwaja Habibullah;
- (4) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ekramul Huq;
- (5) Maulvi Abul Kasem;
- (6) Rai Jadunath Mazumdar Bahadur;
- (7) Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin; and
- (8) Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy.

In the case of the balloting for the President, the following procedure will be adopted, viz:—

- (1) Two ballot boxes have been provided—one in each of the lobbies, and so placed as to enable a member to record his vote screened from observation.
- (2) Each member will be given his ballot paper as he enters the screened enclosure.
- (3) Members in the West Block are requested to enter the “Aye lobby by the door near the Western Gallery, record their votes in the screened enclosure provided and re-enter the Chamber by the door at the opposite end.
- (4) Members in the North and East Blocks should proceed through the door at the lower end of the “No” lobby near the Eastern Gallery, similarly record their votes and enter the Chamber by the door at the upper end near the Western Gallery.
- (5) Members are requested to indicate their preference on the ballot paper by marking a X against the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. They should not sign or initial the ballot paper.

This leaves only two candidates, viz., Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee and Raja Manmatha Nath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh.

The House will now proceed to ballot.

After the balloting was concluded, the Chairman directed the ballot boxes to be opened and the votes counted.

At this stage Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy rose to a point of order.

**Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY:** Sir, may I rise to a point of order? I want to draw attention to the fact that the ballot papers contain the names of some gentlemen who are not candidates, and in that case the election would appear to be illegal.

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** I see that there are no names except of those who have been nominated.

**Mr. A. C. BANERJEE:** May I rise to a point of order and mention one fact? Some of those who were nominated have withdrawn, and having withdrawn they are no longer candidates: in that case should their names still remain in the ballot paper without being scratched out?

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** May I rise to the same point of order? When candidates withdraw their candidature, is it your ruling that they still remain properly nominated candidates?

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** They are properly nominated candidates, but their withdrawals were announced by me to the House before the House went out to ballot.

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** The result of the ballot is as follows:—

- (1) Raja Manmatha Nath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh (77 votes).
- (2) Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea (50 votes).

Two ballot papers have been rejected.

I declare Raja Manmatha Nath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh duly elected as President.

The name of the Raja will be submitted to His Excellency the Governor for approval.

[At this stage the Council was adjourned for half an hour.]

[After the adjournment].

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** I would ask the members kindly to rise in their places to receive a message from His Excellency the Governor.

The following message was then read out by the Chairman:—

“In exercise of the discretion vested in me by sub-section (1) of section 72C of the Government of India Act, I approve of the election of Raja Manmatha Nath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh as President of the Bengal Legislative Council.

(Sd.) LYTTON,

*Governor of Bengal.*”

*January 11, 1927.*

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** I would now ask the Secretary to bring in the newly elected President.

The Hon'ble Raja Manmatha Nath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh then entered the Council Chamber in procession and was received by the Chairman at the presidential *dais*. The Chairman then inducted the President in the presidential chair.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. DONALD:** Sir, I wish to congratulate you most heartily on behalf of Government on your election as President of this Council. I have no doubt that in your hands the traditions of this House will be fully maintained and that in the discharge of your duties you will give satisfaction to all parties in this House.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** Sir, may I on behalf of the members on this side of the House offer our congratulations to you on your election to the Chair in this House. At this stage let me only express the hope that you as President and we as members of the House will get on much better than we did in the previous Council.

**Mr. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI:** Sir, I offer you my heartiest congratulations on the election of yourself to the high office of President of this Council. I have no doubt, Sir, knowing what I do of your temperament, that you have ceased to be a member of any party: you belong to no party: you belong to the House, and I am sure you will maintain the dignity of the House—the order of the House—and that you will deal between member and member with even justice. You have ceased to be a member of any particular party and you now belong to the House, and your duty is to the House and to maintain the dignity and honour of the House.

**Mr. R. B. WILSON:** Sir, on behalf of the European group of this Council I wish to congratulate you on your assuming the chair of President. I am glad you have been elected by a substantial majority, and I am sure your experience will be invaluable to us in discharging the responsibilities of this House. I wish you a successful tenure of office.

**Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM:** Sir, allow me to offer you hearty congratulations on behalf of the Bengal Moslem Party on your election as President. We have known you for some time in this House and I have no hesitation in saying that by your conduct in the chair you will secure the confidence of every section of the House. I wish you every success in the discharge of the duties of the great office, the responsibilities of which you have undertaken.

**Hadji Mr. A. K. ABU AHMED KHAN CHUZNAVI:** Sir, on behalf of the Central Moslem Council Party I beg to offer you our sincere felicitations on your elevation to the chair. I am sure, Sir, you will maintain the lofty traditions established by your distinguished predecessors, and so ably upheld by your immediate predecessor—the first elected President of this Council. I wish you all success.

**Sir PROVASH CHUNDER MITTER:** Sir, on behalf of the Liberal group in this Council, I join in the chorus of congratulations on your election, I purposely rise to speak, because, Sir, you belong to our party.

I am sorry to lose you as a member of the party, but I am sure, Sir, from to-day you will cease to be a party man, and will act as a non-party man and deal even-handed justice as occasion arises. I am sure, Sir, that under your presidency the business of the House will be conducted with dignity.

**Mr. S. C. MUKERJI:** Sir, on behalf of the Indian Christian community, I also offer you hearty congratulations. It gives me great pleasure to see you occupying the Chair of the President of the Bengal Legislative Council. For six years from the very beginning of this reformed Council we have worked together, and I have learnt to know you, and I have full confidence that your courteous manners will command the respect and the confidence of every section of this House. It is a great pleasure to offer you my hearty congratulations, and I also congratulate you on behalf of the community which I have had the honour to represent in this Council from the very beginning.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL, I am deeply touched by your overwhelming kindness towards me and I can assure you that although you have called me to an office which imposes upon me responsibilities which I know it is very difficult to discharge, yet it shall always be my honest endeavour to uphold the traditions which my predecessors in office have created. You Sir, (referring to Sir P. C. Mitter) have referred to my connection with the Liberal Party and it is undoubtedly my regret that I have to sever my connection with that party, and it is true—very true indeed—that I cease to be a party man from to-night, but all the same I can assure you that the interests of all the parties that are represented in this Council will be safe in my hands. I believe I enjoy your confidence and hope that I shall be able to secure your help to discharge the duties of my office.

The ordeal has ended rather very quickly; I did not know that I should be called upon to preside to-night, but as the ordeal has ended quickly I would not inflict upon you a speech so that it may not prove to be another ordeal to you. I will resume my seat by thanking you once again for your overwhelming kindness and I hope I shall be able to justify your selection and prove worthy of your choice.

#### **Adjournment.**

The Council was then adjourned till 3 P.M., on Monday, the 17th January, 1927, at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

**Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.**

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Monday, the 17th January, 1927, at 3 P.M.

**Present:**

The Hon'ble the President (Raja MANMATHA NATH RAY CHAUDHURI, of Santosh) in the Chair, the four Hon'ble Members of the Executive Council and 130 nominated and elected members.

**Oath.**

The following member made an oath of his allegiance to the Crown:—

Mr. F. F. OATEN.

**Panel of Chairmen.**

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Order, order. Gentlemen of the Council, I nominate Mr. W. L. Travers to the panel of Chairmen. The remaining names will be announced after the election of the Deputy President.

**Election of the Deputy President.**

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Election of Deputy President.

I invite attention to the provisions of section 4 (2) of the Bengal Legislative Council Rules and Standing Orders, which run as follows:—

“ 4 (2) Every member who wishes to propose a member for election must—

- (i) ascertain previously that the member is willing to serve if elected; and
- (ii) hand to President a notice containing the name of the member whom he desires to propose, signed by himself and some other member as seconder.”

Will any member who desires to make a nomination kindly hand in his notice?

(Notices were then collected.)

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Order, order! I have received two nominations:

- (1) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed, proposed by Nawab Khwaja Babibullah and seconded by Khan Bahadur K.G.M. Faroqui.
- (2) Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ekramul Huq, proposed by Khan Sahib Maulvi Muazzam Ali Khan and seconded by Maulvi Abul Kasem.

Also proposed by Maulvi Abdul Karim and seconded by Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan.

Also proposed by Nawab Musharruf Hosain, Khan Bahadur, and seconded by Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, C.I.E.

The ballot will be taken as follows: Four ballot boxes have been provided, two in the "No" lobby and two in the "Aye" lobby. Members in the west and north-west blocks are requested to enter the "Aye" lobby by the door near the western gallery, record their votes in the screened enclosures provided and re-enter the Chamber by the door at the opposite end. Members in the north, north-east and east blocks are requested to proceed through the door at the lower end of the "No" lobby, similarly record their votes in the screened enclosures provided and re-enter the Chamber through the door at the upper end near the western gallery.

The Secretary and his assistants will now proceed to give a ballot paper to each member present.

[Ballot papers were then distributed.]

Gentlemen, you will now proceed to ballot.

[After the ballot.]

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** The ballot papers have been counted with the following result:—

For Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed (69 votes).

For Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ekramul Huq (59 votes).

I declare Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed duly elected. The name of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin Ahmed will be submitted to His Excellency the Governor for his approval.

#### Panel of Chairmen.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** In accordance with the provisions of Rule 3 of the Bengal Legislative Council Rules, 1920, I nominate the following members of the Council to form a panel of four Chairmen for the ensuing session, viz:—

- (1) Mr. W. L. TRAVERS.
- (2) Mr. ALTAf ALI.
- (3) Raja BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA Bahadur, of Nashipur.
- (4) Maharaj Kumar SRI CHANDRA NANDY.

Unless otherwise arranged, the senior member among them present in the above order named will preside over the deliberations of this Council in my absence and in the absence of the Deputy President.

### Government Business.

#### Demand for Ministers' salaries.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** His Excellency the Governor has allotted three hours for the discussion of the demand for Ministers' salaries.

**Babu MANMATHA NATH ROY:** May I rise to a point of order, Sir? The Ministers not having been appointed, whether we can vote upon this demand.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I think that question does not arise. I ask Mr. Moberly to move his motion.

**Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY:** Sir, it is a point of order and might we not have your decision whether such a demand can be made?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I think the demand is perfectly in order.

**Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI:** May I not rise to a point of order, Sir?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Are you repeating the same thing or have you got anything new to say? If so, please try to put your point of order as precisely as you can.

**Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI:** So long as the transferred subjects stand revoked under the Notification of 13th June, 1925, such a motion cannot be placed before the Council, for a supplementary demand only contemplates certain new services authorised by the Act but so long as there is no transferred subjects for the Ministers to administer, such a demand cannot be brought before the Council.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** To what Rule are you referring?

**RAI HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI:** Rule 6 of the Devolution Rules and sub-section (1) of section 52.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I think it is not necessary for me to interpret the rule made by the Government of India. I think Mr. Moberly will be perfectly right in moving his motion.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** But I rise to a point of order, Sir.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Mr. Moberly, you can go on.

1927.]

## MINISTERS' SALARIES



**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** Is it your ruling that rise to a point of order?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** You ought to have raised it earlier.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** But I asked, Sir, if it is your ruling that so far as the rules made by the Government are concerned, you have, as President of the Council, got no power to interpret them.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I think so far as the present case is concerned the rules as stated by Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri need not be interpreted by me on this occasion for the simple reason that I find in the Agenda that the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly is moving a demand for grant and I think he is perfectly entitled to do so. So I consider you are out of order and I call upon Mr. Moberly to move his motion.

**MEMBER in charge of APPOINTMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly):** I move that a sum of Rs. 24,775 be granted under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of two Ministers with effect from the 22nd January, 1927.

Sir, as the Council are aware no provision for the salaries of Ministers was made in this year's budget and in the absence of funds for this purpose, no Ministers can be appointed to take charge of the transferred subjects when the period of revocation comes to an end on the 31st of January. His Excellency explained in his speech on the 11th of January that if the demand, which I am now making, is rejected he will regard that decision as indicating the desire of the Council to see the revocation continued. If the demand is passed, he will interpret this as an indication of the desire of the Council to have a Ministry appointed. The issue is, therefore, perfectly clear; the acceptance of the demand means that there will again be Ministers; its rejection means that there will be none. I have nothing further to say on this motion at present.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Order, order. Motions Nos. 7 to 14 are analogous to the motion which Babu Naliniranjan Sarker is to move and I therefore think that they should be deemed to be withdrawn, and I call upon Babu Naliniranjan Sarker to move his amendment.

**Mr. A. C. BANERJEE:** May I rise to a point of order? I cannot understand why the other motions should be deemed to be withdrawn—I cannot follow your ruling.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** For the simple reason that I consider them to be analogous to Babu Naliniranjan Sarker's motion.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** On a point of order, Sir. In case Babu Naliniranjan Sarker does not move his motion are we to take it that all the members who have given notice of similar motions will lose their right to move them?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** That is a question that does not arise. Babu Naliniranjan Sarker is here.

**Babu MANMATHA NATH ROY:** On a point of order, Sir. May not the other members who have sent notices of similar motions have the right to speak on the motion in the order in which their names appear in the Agenda?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** You may leave that to my discretion.

**Babu NALINIRANJAN SARKER:** I beg to move that the demand for Rs. 24,775 under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of two Ministers be refused.

The demand of the Hon'ble Member has not come to us as a surprise. We have been accustomed to it since the general election of 1923. During the last term of the Council thrice did the Government attempt to foist upon us this repugnant dyarchy and thrice did they fail in their attempt. We were able to throw out the demand each time. After the last defeat in 1925 the Government remained silent and were only hiding their time during the last two years. They were waiting for the opportunity which the new elections, they hoped, would open out to them.

Sir, we threw out the demand in the last Council not for indulging in obstruction for obstruction's sake as persons in authority are wont to construe it, but because we were convinced that this constitution was more a hindrance than a step even to the progressive realisation of responsible government. The same old and stale question has been put before us to-day for the fourth time and we are asked if we are prepared to allow the Government to exhume the carcass of dyarchy buried two years ago and to give it a fresh lease of life.

It is not a request, Sir, indicating a change of heart or an invitation to co-operate on honourable terms, but it is a demand for unconditional subservience to the Government in their unreasonable insistence that their own idea of the value of this constitution must be anyhow upheld, irrespective of the real interests of the people as we understand it. It is, therefore, a test as to whether they have succeeded in breaking the spirit of resistance that has grown in us and can compel us to surrender to their dictation. The regime of organised resistance in the legislatures initiated by Deshbandhu has unnerved the Bureaucracy and the British public and they can know no peace of mind until they have crushed it.

Without going into the details of dyarchical history in Bengal, may I remind you, Sir, of the circumstances that led the preceding Council to oppose and throw out the ministry? We then demanded a constitution that would entrust the representatives of the people with some real responsibility and power. We wanted for our ministers

such constitutional authority and financial support as would leave them free to tackle in their own way the innumerable moral and material problems of which the failure or delay to arrive at a solution can not but bring the nation nearer to the verge of ruin. We found that the only ministry which could possibly be formed under the present constitution was not to be a free agent of a free people but a mere tool in the hands of the bureaucracy; we found that any well-meaning minister could at best remain in name the head of his department, but as for its conduct that would be not at the instance of the minister concerned but according to the will or whims of the heaven-born services. Nor was any foundation discoverable in the system on which could be built the hope of the progressive realisation of responsible government within a measurable time.

I understand, Sir, some of our friends who under the then circumstances accompanied us to the same division lobby have now become agreeable to work the Reforms under the present circumstances. May I know from them what change in the circumstances—if not a change for the worse—has been brought about? Do they not realise that not only has nothing been done, not only has no change been effected to ease the situation, but the Government have meanwhile heaped on us fresh injuries.

They have clapped into prison without trial more than a hundred of our young men, our most valuable public workers, of whose public spirit and sacrifice the government of any other country would have been proud. They have subjected them to inhuman treatment, oblivious of the ordinary demands of their habitual way of life, and callous to the physical suffering thereby entailed, to say nothing of the agonies of grief inflicted on their near and dear ones. The demand has gone forth again and again from this chamber and other legislatures, from the press and from hundreds of platforms, for their immediate release or open trial. Have the Government shown any the least respect for the feelings of the people thus amply evidenced? Has the clamouring of the entire public opinion in India for the repeal of the many repressive laws that disfigure the Indian statute book been heeded? No, Sir. All that we see is the forging of fresh fetters by way of answer.

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das in his last days held out the olive branch of peace, and suggested honourable terms for a settlement, but the proffered hand of fellowship was not accepted.

Lastly, Sir, may I ask Mr. Chakravarti, the leader of the Responsivists, whether he has received any response to the very simple and elementary conditions which he originally laid down as a basis for his acceptance of Ministry? He can surely give only one reply.

These, Sir, are briefly the present circumstances under which our friends now want to work the constitution. It would appear now

that they have crossed the floor that their wistful eyes are fixed on the treasury bench, seeking an excuse for working the constitution for whatever it is worth.

It is not incumbent on them to tell us plainly what that "worth" is? I imagine this House would like to hear definitely from them what specifics they can prescribe as responsible operators of diarchy for the numberless ills they once complained of. For myself, Sir, I cannot but feel that, in the atmosphere which the Government have deliberately brought about by their recent series of outrages against public conscience and the spirit in which the transferred departments have been worked during the first term of the Reformed Council when we, the Swarajists, were out of it, this constitution cannot be worked at all to any purpose.

Let me, Sir, even at the risk of repeating old arguments, attempt to analyse the position of the ministers which my friends are on the run to occupy. They have given vent to the idea that once they come to occupy the ministerial *gadi*, they can inaugurate measures to feed the hungry, give good water to the thirsty and provide sanitation and medicaments for the diseased. My friends, however, cannot afford to forget that to make such provisions is not the privilege of the dyarchical ministers. In the words of Deshbandhu, it will be their lot to remain "dumb spectators of the struggle between the people and the Government". The masters who are to keep them in their leading strings are inexorable and know their business. The Finance Department that nullified the best of schemes of our Moderate and Liberal ministers is still there in all its glory ready to impede every step of their responsivist and communal successors.

Are we not still in a position to assert that the widely advertised responsibility of the minister does not govern so much his relations with the Council as with the Governor? The Governor is the Chief, nay the dictator. Without his consent, our friends, the would-be ministers, will not be able to move a single step. Even the other day the ex-Minister, Mr. Chintamani, very cogently pointed out that there must be a revision in the position of the Governor before the minister can even think of a free hand. And on the question of responsible government he said, "One need not labour the proposition that responsible government is utterly incompatible with the existence in the legislatures of members whose only constituency is Government House".

Then, again, is it not reasonable that as respectable and responsible gentlemen they must be sure before they take office that at least their subordinates will be loyal and faithful to them? On this point we have the most drastic of opinions expressed by the ex-Ministers. The people that should have served loyally the ministers as a matter of course were allowed by the constitution to question the authority

of their chiefs. Are we ready again to witness the sorry spectacle of a secretary canvassing against the proposal of the minister? I repeat, I really cannot appreciate the mentality and outlook that prompt some of our friends to submit to be dictated to by people whose duty under every other constitution of the world is to implicitly carry out their commands whatever they may be. All this has been the bitter experience of the gentlemen who loyally tried their best to run dyarchy during the first few years, and all this again is certainly in store for the gentlemen who are now anxious to repeat the experiment.

It has been repeatedly suggested in high quarters that the Congressmen, by their attitude towards the dyarchy, are only shirking responsibility. But how, I ask, can we shirk responsibility where none has been conferred? I do not know what responsibility can attach to a minister who cannot move an inch without the consent of the Governor, the Finance Department or even the Secretary of the department over which he is called upon to preside. Responsibility without power is a new term in English political language. Did any minister ever find it in his power to give effect to recommendations made by the non-official members of the Council even in regard to transferred departments? Is it not a fact that scores of recommendations made by them have not been given effect to?

Sir, we are fully prepared to shoulder responsibility, be it great or small, if only it be real. It was in this spirit that Deshbandhu asked for a loan to be used by national trustees for nation building purposes without let or hindrance from Government. But even this was refused. Yet the same old cry is repeated *ad nauseam* that it is responsibility that we shirk. We demanded bread, they gave us stones, and then blamed us that we could not swallow them. The latest variant of this attitude is even more ridiculous. The powers that be refuse to allow us anything more palatable and digestible until we have qualified ourselves by having actually swallowed the proffered stones. That is in fact the position taken up by Lord Birkenhead in regard to a change of this unworkable system. His Lordship will not condescend to tell how far he can meet our idea of responsible government, until we have performed the impossible feat of working the unworkable constitution that has been foisted on us.

We know, and the Secretary of State knows, that diarchy has failed; still, at the point of the bayonet he would compel us to work it. As the representatives of a self-respecting people, we cannot but protest against and oppose this attitude. If, Sir, I have made it sufficiently clear that the formation of a ministry would not be helpful in the least to constructive work, the acceptance of office, in the present circumstances, by our popular leaders of any party, can only strengthen the position of the Government by choking all opposition.

in the Council. Looking at the question from whatever point of view, the adoption of this motion bodes no good to the country.

The refusal to accept office may or may not lead to any definite result in the immediate future; but it must not be forgotten that at the present stage of our national struggle the mentality is far more important than any positive result to be expected. Non-acceptance of office keeps an ideal before the people, and promotes a mentality the lack of which may mean death to national aspirations. A habit of acquiescence in foreign rule and a mentality of utilitarian tolerance do not lead to the temple of freedom. The constant readiness to offer necessary resistance keeps alive hope and confidence, the only keys to the door of that temple. I, therefore, appeal to the members of this Council to present a united front to the Government and reject it.

To the Government I wish to say that even if by taking advantage of our disunited front they may be successful in outwardly gaining their object this time, the spirit of resistance in this country cannot and will not be broken, and will go on gathering strength under the stimulus of their stubbornness, till sooner or later, it can compel justice and fair play to be rendered to the people.

**Maulvi ABUL KASEM:** May I rise to a point of order, and ask what you propose to do, whether to put the motions one by one or allow a discussion as a whole and then put the motions?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I have already given a ruling on this.

**Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI:** I rise to support the motion that has been moved by my friend Babu Naliniranjan Sarker.

Sir, this is the only reply that the Congress party in this Council can give to the call for surrender whether it is made by Lord Birkenhead or by any of his Indian subordinates. This is the only reply that can be given by those who thrice rejected such a proposal during the lifetime of the last Council. This is, I submit, the one reply that can be given by those who cherish Dashabandhu's memory and achievements and stand by the declaration contained in his Faridpur speech. It is again, I submit, the only answer that can be given by men who are honestly convinced that the Act of 1919 offers a camouflage constitution, the very first line of which denies to the children of the soil the right of self-determination. This is the only reply that can be given by men who honestly believe that dyarchy is unworkable, and hence refuse to accept the responsibility of working the Act. It is the only reply that can be given by those who are convinced that the Act of 1919 has set up in the Ministry an institution which is a mere puppet show controlled firstly by the Governor, secondly, by the Finance Member, and thirdly by the so-called subordinates of the order of the steel frame.

The Ministry, we all know from the evidence of those who have worked it, is a sham institution charged with nation-building without any adequate purse, and made responsible for certain duties which it has not got adequate power and initiative to discharge. In these circumstances, the only answer that can be given by honest men is that we refuse to work this sham institution, we refuse to work this constitutional fraud so long as the Act is not amended and so long as real power is not given to the people of this country. It is stated by our critics, Sir, that ours is a do-nothing policy; it may be so, it may be a do-nothing policy in the present circumstances of the country, in the disunited and divided state of the nation, but I submit that it is certainly a better policy than a policy of surrender or the policy of selling one's birth-right for a mess of pottage even though the mess of pottage may be worth Rs. 64,000 a year.

**Mr. W. L. TRAVERS:** We had during the last Council, debate after debate, vote after vote upon the two great questions which are involved in the motion before the House to-day. These two questions are, first, "Are there to be Ministers in Bengal?" and secondly, "Is the constitution under the Act of 1919 to function in this province?" Now Sir, I want in as few words as possible, once more to reiterate the views of the British members of the Council. First of all, and principally, we are supporters of the present constitution. We support that constitution because it is the law, the law enacted by the British Parliament at the will of the British people in the Act of 1919. The preamble of the Act says quite clearly without any equivocation, that this constitution is the first stage upon the road to self-government in this country, and as loyal Britishers we conceive it our duty to do our best in our humble way that the policy evolved by the British people may progress in this country. We shall, therefore, vote solidly for the motion before the Council. To say a word or two more, to repeat what we said so often in the last Council upon the question of dyarchy itself, we confess that we do not like the system of dyarchy with its cumbrous procedure and divided responsibility, but at the same time in our opinion, it has been proved again and again in many provinces in India that the system of dyarchy does give Indian ministers an opportunity of framing a policy for the departments under their charge. Moreover, it has given them the opportunity, and they have been able to carry out that policy as far as finances permit (Question, question). In this province surely there is an enormous field for social reform. I come from up-country, and it pains me to see that so little has been done for the improvement of water-supply and health, and for the progress of agriculture in the pufassal of Bengal, and I want to see Indian Ministers doing their best to further, to uplift the condition of the people of Bengal. There is, however, more than only this question as it refers to the province of Bengal itself. It is important enough as

to whether there are to be Ministers here or not, but the decision which is to be taken by the Council to-day will have a wider issue, for the decision to-day will be a message from the province of Bengal to the British people. What has been said by the Secretary of State, what has been repeated by the last Viceroy and the present Viceroy is simply and solely the desire of the British people, that there should be co-operation between the Indian people and the British people, that the policy, outlined in the Act of 1919, of steady advance towards self-government may continue. Therefore, the message to-day from this Council, the vote of this Council should be and will be, more than just—are there to be Ministers or not; it will tell the British people whether Bengal is prepared to co-operate and hasten forward to the second stage upon the road to self-government which will be decided by the Royal Commission.

I would just, Sir, say one word as to what is the alternative. The alternative is obstruction. I do not know whether there are any members of this Council who still believe that the policy of obstruction may lead to anything real. To my mind it is a barren policy. If there is any member of this Council who believes that the policy of obstruction will wrest further concessions on the road to self-government from the British people, they are profoundly mistaken. By a series of historical events the British people and the British Parliament have been responsible for the Government of this country for many decades. It has now been decided that there shall be a move forward, that the Government of the country of India shall be gradually handed over to the people of India themselves. There are very great difficulties to be surmounted before the goal of self-government can be reached. It is useless to minimise these difficulties; there are, Sir, the Indianisation of the Army, the position of the great Indian native states, the grave communal problem, the fact that the government of this country is not only government for the cultured educated Indians of a province like this, but also for the millions of others, the tribes in the hills and the mountain races. Those are some of the difficulties, it is useless to minimise them, but this constitution is the first effort towards surmounting them, and these difficulties can only be surmounted if everyone, both British and Indian, work together and destroy them piecemeal, gradually and slowly, but at the same time steadily. I appeal to all the members in this House to sink all differences and send that message to the British people that they are prepared to co-operate with the British to surmount these difficulties and proceed slowly but surely towards what we all desire, the Government of India as a dominion in the British Empire.

**Babu MANMATHA NATH ROY:** We have just heard Mr. Travers on the other side of the House. {The arguments which he has,

given would have carried weight, if we had tried to work dyarchy himself, but we have the evidence of the Ministers who have devotedly tried to work the Reforms and have been disappointed. I oppose the Ministry as we do not want to perpetuate a system which has been tried before and has been proved to be unworkable. You cannot ask us to work the Reforms again and put that as a plea for laying aside our national demand. We oppose the Ministry because we have received no response to our national demands. We are here to co-operate as well as to resist. Times without number during the last three years we have indicated our gesture of honourable co-operation, but we have always met with arrogance and rebuff. We oppose the Ministry also because we regard the motion as a challenge to the great national organisation in the country, I mean the Indian National Congress. We cannot forget the verdict of the polls at the last general election. The response to the Congress has been spontaneous and universal, and the national demands have been ratified by the Congress. You profess to give us responsible government, you profess to give us Preliminary institutions, but that is impossible as long as you ignore and flout the Congress. You want a Ministry, because thereby you want to send a message to the British people, and because you want materials for a Parliamentary Commission. There is plenty of material supplied during the last six years as His Excellency said in this House the other day. Speaking for ourselves, the country, the House, or at all events the Congress party in this House, we want to send them the message that we refuse to work the present constitution which has been found to be unworkable, and that we do not want any Ministers under the present constitution. If we have to look to the welfare of the country, and if we are in any way to influence or determine the future development of the constitution, we ought to tell the British people and the Commission, that the constitution has to be recast, and that no tinkering here and there will do.

The Ministers have not yet been appointed, and yet we are asked to vote for their salaries. This has led to an inevitable result. The constitutional issue has been pushed into the background. Two Ministers will be appointed, but the potential Ministers—there are many. The bureaucracy has by this device played a dangerous game, and the job-hunters will be led by the nose. Do not forget the teachings of history, do not forget that the destinies of a country are not made by injustice and tyranny, arrogance and batons, coercion and devices, but by the torture of down-trodden millions and the groans and agonies of prison walls.

[At this stage the Council was adjourned for ten minutes.]

[After the adjournment.]

**Rai Bahadur JADUNATH MAJUMDAR:** I am sorry for those countrymen of ours who are outside the House, as well as for

those hon'ble members in the House who feel aggrieved at not having yet got full responsible government for India. Sir, it was my humble self who, as far back as September 1921, moved a resolution for the earlier appointment of a Statutory Commission in the Legislative Assembly. That Commission did not come, but for whose fault? Not for any fault on the part of those who wanted responsible government by co-operation, but on account of the non-co-operation movement which was inaugurated at the time of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shortly after the resolution had been moved by my humble self and accepted by the Government of India. The boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales created a change of feeling in England towards India and the resolution had no effect on the British Cabinet.

Sir, it is said that Ministers are of no use, but those who make such complaints labour under the misapprehension that full responsible government had already been conferred on us. They forget that full responsible government has not yet been conferred: Parliament never proposed full responsible government all at once for India; nor did it confer the same; nor are the Ministers here yet in the same position as the Ministers in the House of Commons. (Cries of "shame", "shame".) Yes, quite so, shame to those who are standing in the way of the attainment of responsible government by refusing Ministers' salaries.

Now, Sir, what is the complaint? It is that the Ministers have got no real powers. What powers do they want? Have even the members of the Executive Council got greater powers than they? Can they do anything they like? They cannot: and the Ministers are exactly in the same position in regard to transferred departments as the Executive Councillors.

Now, Sir, what is the position of the Ministers? The Ministers are entrusted with some departments—very important ones—, which are called nation-building departments—industries, agriculture, education, local self-government, and so on. Certain funds are provided for those departments. Are those members who are opposed to the appointment of Ministers also opposed to the grants for those departments? No, they are not. They will vote for the supplies of those departments, but when the question of the appointment of Ministers, who are to administer those departments, comes up, they say "we shall not vote their salaries". This is, to say the least, very awkward, illogical and extremely absurd. You will vote supplies for the transferred departments, but refuse the salaries of Ministers for administering them! Is there any consistency in this? Is it proper that you should not vote Ministers' salaries and thus allow these nation-building departments to be administered by men who, in your heart of hearts, you think should not? Is it not a very absurd position for the members opposite to take up?

The absurdity of the position is that you are running the municipalities, district boards and union boards as Chairmen and so on. Why, are they not under Government? Don't you know that all municipalities and district boards can be suspended by the fiat of Government without reference to the Council or anybody else? Obviously that position you can accept, whereas you find difficulty in accepting the position of a Minister, because he holds office at the pleasure of the Governor. That is only a convention, and even the Executive Councillors hold office at the pleasure of the King-Emperor and not at the pleasure of the people. No Governor will send away his Ministers for no reason; that will be utterly absurd. You say that the Ministers cannot work properly: I know, Sir, that bad workmen always quarrel with their tools. If the Ministers really want to work, and if they are efficient men at the same time, they can do substantial work in the way of nation-building.

Those who want to work the Reforms should be allowed to do so even with the limited resources at their disposal but instead of doing that you are allowing the Hon'ble Mr. Donald and other members of the bureaucracy to do that work and thereby stunting the growth of the nation-building departments.

You say "the Ministers have no powers and can do nothing". But look to the performances of the first Ministry—was not the Calcutta Municipal Act an act of the first Ministry and is not the Mayor of Calcutta leading the opposition now?

Then let us come to the Ministers of the second period—Ministers whom you drove out—Who gave you the Islamia College? It all depends upon the personnel of the Ministry to work out the Reforms successfully; if they are capable men, they can even with this limitation of funds do much and can certainly solve many of Bengal's problems.

Sir, I know the tactics that were employed by the Swaraj party during the last three years; it is no good using Deshbandhu's name for whom they as well as I cherish the greatest respect, but had that great man been alive now he would have advised you to accept the Ministry. If you are to attain equality of status with other free states in the British Commonwealth of Nations which is the ideal of your political ambition, you must work the reformed constitution for all it is worth. It is no good saying "we can't attain our end" before even trying to work it.

I think, Sir, that there are two ways of attaining our object: Firstly, by convincing the Government of your aptitude and ability to administer the transferred departments and, secondly, by wresting powers from the hands of the British Government. But as you cannot drive away the British by force and you have confessed to it more than once—, the best thing you can do is to persuade them, reason with them, and exert

your soul-force upon them, so that gradually, step by step, they may transfer more and more of their powers to popular control and thus you may attain provincial autonomy, the summit and goal of your ambition.

Now, what are the departments transferred to the Ministers? I find that they are quite large in number, *viz.*, Local Self-Government, Medical Department, Public Health, Education, Public Works, Agriculture, Industries, Civil Veterinary, Fishery, Co-operative Societies, Registration, Religious Endowments, Stationery, stores, etc.

And what are the reserved subjects? They are merely Law and Justice, Revenue, Irrigation, Police, etc.

But great patriots of the country as you are, you have refused to make use of the money allotted to transferred departments to be administered by your own Ministers and are asking those whom you consider your enemies to administer them! That is a great shame. What do we find in the other parts of India? All the other provinces of India have with one voice accepted Ministry and have made rapid stride in the nation-building departments. Look at the Punjab. Have they not accepted it? Look at Madras and other Provinces they have all accepted Ministry. It was disgraceful for this premier Province to have followed the example of the backward Central Provinces during the last session. Taking Bengal as a whole, have not our Mussalman countrymen who constitute more than half the population demanded in one voice the formation of Ministry?

To the shame and disgrace of Bengal she is still sitting on the fence and sulking and trying by dubious methods and tactics to attain self-government which is our heart's desire, and which cannot be attained by a short cut against precipitous walls of stone but only by a long and winding path, tortuous though it may be. And it is the only way, circumstanced as we are, to reach the summit of autonomy.

In conclusion, I beg to say that these dubious methods and tactics are condemned not only by the whole country but also by the members of the beauracacy, many of whom are our sincere well wishers and want to work the Reforms for our good. I appeal therefore to you, members of the Swarajya Party, who are all patriots and have made considerable sacrifices for the country, to cheerfully work the Reforms and pave the path for responsible Government in the fullness of time.

**Babu JOGINDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI:** In rising to support the motion which is now before the House I do not propose to detain you long. I suppose it would be quite enough for me to point the real issues involved in this question. To my mind although, Sir, you have ruled that this motion is in order it seems that we cannot constitutionally vote on this demand because section 52 of the Government of India Act stands in the way.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Mr. Chakravarti, I have already decided that point and I think you had better not refer to that.

**Babu JOGINDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI:** With due respect to you I would only say this: you said that the motion is in order. I submit that that does not necessarily mean that we as members of the House should be a party to a procedure which we consider to be unconstitutional, and that is a point on which I want to address the members of the House. If you rule that out, Sir, I will not do so.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Yes that is my ruling.

**Babu JOGINDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI:** Then I leave out that point.

Then as regards the only other point I do not think that I need waste the time of the House at all. The only issue before us is what is the message that we are going to give to the country. Mr. Travers was telling us that the decision which we were going to arrive at this afternoon will be a very important one amounting to a message from the people of Bengal to the people of England. I ask the members of the House to consider as to what is the message we are going to give to the people of our own country. That is indeed the most important point for us to remember in connection with the question as to whether we should or should not vote for the demand which has been made on behalf of Government. The only issue before the House is whether we are going to submit to this demand by Government which means abject surrender to the bureaucratic demand or whether we are going to give a message to the people of our country by a straight and forward fight with the bureaucracy. I suppose the country outside is watching with keen interest to see what decision their representatives in this Council will give on this most important question. It will be for the members of the House to give a proper answer to this question by refusing the demand made by Government.

**Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM:** So far as the demand seeks to revive the responsible part of Government there cannot be the least doubt that it has the support of all the members on this side of the House. The Moslem group or groups have been returned to the Council on the distinct understanding that they should make the fullest use of the constitution in order to advance responsible government in the country. That being so, it is not open to us to say that we will not work the Reforms or that we will not utilise the Reforms for the purpose that is in view of the Government of India Act and which is supported by unanimous Indian opinion. So far as I am concerned I have always fought for the Indianisation of the administration. I have always fought for the introduction of the principle of responsible government in the country.

It may be remembered by the House that before the Muddiman Committee—I was then a Member of Government—even then I spoke out my mind, I told the Committee that the only course that was left was to give as much liberty as it was possible to the Ministers so that the object of the Government of India Act, 1919, may be properly fulfilled. There is no doubt that whether in the Government or outside there are great difficulties in the way of a Minister making a proper use of the constitution in order to administer his department in the spirit in which it was intended to be administered.

The conditions which surround the working of the transferred departments are difficult; everybody must admit that, but the demand before the House will not make the task of the Ministers easier; it will rather make it more difficult than it has been. We all know that the transferred departments are the most important departments of Government; these departments require to be developed and for their proper development it is absolutely necessary that a great deal of time and energy must be devoted by Ministers enthusiastic in the cause of building up the Indian nation and ameliorating the condition of the people. That being so, directly I saw that the demand was for the appointment of two Ministers only, it struck me that it was giving the Reforms a very poor chance indeed. I say this advisedly for I know something of the working of the Government and of the transferred departments as well—that the work before the Ministers is such as would require the attention of at least three Ministers. On the other hand look at the reserved side of the Government which is in charge of the Hon'ble Members of the Executive Council. Is it not an admitted fact that there is not enough work for four Members? It is admitted on all hands that the number of Members of Executive Council can safely be reduced to three or if possible even to two. On the other hand we have here this proposal to reduce the number of Ministers. I should have thought that in this session of the Bengal Legislative Council before the Statutory Commission came to India to examine the political situation things should have been made easier for the transferred departments and not made more difficult and that the Ministers who should be appointed would find the conditions under which they are to work made more favourable.

It cannot be denied that if the Reforms are not properly worked—if the constitution is not utilised in the way it should be utilised—then the Statutory Commission will have to enquire and find out what were the reasons why in this Council the transferred departments were not properly worked. If the present proposal is carried through—if the Government does not change its mind and alter the position of the transferred departments and give the Ministers a better chance, who will have to answer for it—I say that the Government will have to answer why the Reforms did not succeed. Sir, the question of the number of Ministers and Executive Councillors was fully investigated

by the authors of the Reforms who found that it would be necessary to maintain a certain balance between the two parties on political as well as administrative grounds. The transferred departments are the most important departments of the Government and they require to be developed and for their development it is absolutely necessary that a great deal of time and energy must be devoted by Ministers who are enthusiastic in the cause of building up the Indian nation and the amelioration of the condition of the people. There are sufficient number of such enthusiastic and able men who have not only the confidence of the people at large but also of the Council to do justice to the transferred subjects. Now it is proposed by the Government, not by the Council, or by the country, to have two Ministers. The reason advanced for the appointment of two Ministers is that if three were appointed they would have to include two Muhammadans and one Hindu. But is that the reason for curtailing the number and making it more difficult for the Ministers to work the constitution properly? The best thing would be to leave the question as to the number of Ministers to the members of the Legislative Council. I fail to understand why Government have taken this responsibility. This is a question which, I am afraid, Government will have to answer. Supposing Government appointed four Ministers—two Hindus and two Muhammadans. I do not find any reasonable objection if such an arrangement is made. In making the appointment, Government should see how the members of Council are grouped. If on the one hand there is a sufficient number of men prepared to work the Reforms, and on the other there is a much smaller number against it then the natural thing for the Government to do if they want a stable Ministry, is to take men from such groups as would work the constitution. May I ask will that give rise to any reasonable objection Sir, I may point out that in all the presidencies there are three Ministers. Even the Punjab have got three Ministers this time instead of two. How is the Government justified in putting Bengal back? I am afraid the result of this may mean the failure of Ministry. What you have got to see in this Council is which are the groups which are going to work the constitution as it is. So far as the Muhammadans are concerned, they are not going to stand in the way of working the constitution and all that I should like to point out emphatically is that the arrangement proposed is not conducive to its proper working.

**Babu JITENDRALAL BANNERJEE:** In rising to oppose the motion of Mr. Moberly, I find that I labour under a slight disadvantage.

The Hon'ble Member did not choose, perhaps wisely and prudently, to enlighten us upon the reasons for his motion. He flourished before us His Excellency the Governor's speech. "Leave it or take it"—that was the attitude which he adopted; but as for reasons or arguments—he gave us none. He told us that if we voted for the salaries, there

would be Ministers and if we did not vote for the salaries, there would be none. This was rather an obvious remark to make, and not quite worthy of the high degree of acumen which we associate with Members of the Executive Council.

Sir, whatever that may be, so far as the Government members are concerned, they are in a rather pitiable position. I am quite sure that most of them in their heart of hearts do not believe that dyarchy is a workable constitution at all. To use the expressive language of the Bihar Government, dyarchy has worked creakily in the past, and will continue to work creakily whatever patch-work repairs you may make. But whatever their private opinions may be, they dare not give expression to such opinions. But my remarks to-day are not intended, at least primarily, for Government Members who are bound to vote for the motion, nor are they meant for European members who somehow or other feel bound to sail in the same boat with the officials.

Mr. Travers has told us that he took his stand upon the Government of India Act of 1919. For him it was conclusive and legitimate as it was a law passed by the British Parliament. But we who are not Britishers may be pardoned if we do not accept things in that light. Time was when people used to think that the British Parliament was the arbiter of their destinies. That delusion has passed away long since. We no longer believe that the British Parliament can act as the arbiter of India's destinies. We believe that the destinies of our people are to be shaped and hammered into being right here in India and not over across the seas, in England or elsewhere.

But, Sir, my remarks are not primarily meant for the Government or for European members. They are primarily meant for our friends—the responsivists and the Muhammadans' opposite, who repeat in season and out of season that the constitution must be worked and that we must try and get the maximum of good out of the Reforms. This sort of talk presupposes that the constitution is workable. And so far as that is concerned the answer is furnished by an unanimous body of opinion from all parts of the country and from every considerate person who had the working of the Reforms under his charge. And this opinion is that the constitution is unworkable. Sir, this is not the view of the constitution-wreckers as we are called, it is the view of people whose moderation is beyond question. It is the opinion of the Raja of Panagal who is a reactionary of reactionaries. It is the opinion also of Sir A. P. Pattro of Madras who is another reactionary, and of Mr. Kelkar, the C. P. Minister, whose moderation has never been questioned. This is the opinion of Sir Chimanlal Setalavad of Bombay whose moderation is beyond dispute and last, but certainly not the least, this is the opinion of Sir Provash Chunder Mitter. His opinion as expressed before the Muddiman Committee was—I shall quote his very words—that the constitution was unsatisfactory. But that was not all. He went further and said that it was unworkable. Sir, if it was unworkable when

the Muddiman Committee was sitting, how has it become workable now? And how is it that Sir Provash Chunder Mitter is now moving heaven and earth to work a thing which, according to his own testimony, is unworkable? Has there been a change in the constitution? Has Parliament passed any amending Bill? Not that we know of. But probably there has been a change in Sir Provash Chunder Mitter's mental attitude—a change into the cause of which we need not speculate.

Leaving that aside, will it be an act of superarrogation if we enquire how the provisions of the Government of India Act affect the Ministers? We are perpetually told that, if Ministers are appointed, they will work the transferred departments and will be able to do some good to the country. If that were really the position we would certainly not adopt an attitude of factious hostility. But let us see whether it is possible to get any good maximum or minimum out of the constitution. If Ministers are to do any good to the country, it is presupposed that they will have some control over the purse and the policy of the administration. But this is precisely the point where I join issue with my friends. Have you any control over the purse? You have none. And here let me remark that dyarchy without a separate purse and without separate sources of revenue earmarked for the transferred departments is a sham and an absurdity. You take the lion's share for the reserved departments, and can you possibly initiate any large measure of policy with the leavings that remain? Only recently, Dr. Paranjpye of Bombay had been congratulating himself that he had not been appointed Minister of Education. And why? Because with the money at his disposal he could not have done any good. If Dr. Paranjpye cannot do any good in Bombay, have you any guarantee that you will be able to do it in Bengal? Are you magicians that you can work something with nothing in hand?

Then comes the question of policy. Can you initiate any large measure of policy? That again is primarily a question of the purse. Take for instance the case of Local Self-Government. Suppose a municipality approaches you for a loan and the Minister thinks that the municipality is solvent and that a loan can be advanced. He cannot do it all the same without the permission of the Finance Member. Should you think that a District Board is competent and solvent and that it is worthy of support, even then you cannot help it without the permission and consent of the Finance Member. Everywhere it is the same story. Everywhere the hoof-mark of the Finance Member is broad upon the working of the transferred departments.

Coming to the question of administration, are you free even there? Can you administer the departments in your own way? You cannot. Everywhere you are overridden by your Secretaries and permanent heads of departments. And here also I have got a large body of testimony in support of my contention. I shall take up one or two cases

at random from the Muddiman Committee's Report. In Madras, Sir K. V. Reddi wanted to have the assistance of an expert, a Mr. Ghose, in order to find out whether there was any soft wood in the Madras forests which could be used for the manufacture of pencils. The Finance Member at once turned it down. It was only a matter of Rs. 4,000 and yet the Finance Member would not find the money. In the Punjab, Lala Harkissen Lal wanted a bare sum of £60 to enable a Public Works Department officer to proceed to England in order to enable him to study the subject of cement manufacture. It was a case which was strongly recommended by the Minister—the all-powerful Minister for whom Rai Jadunath Mazumdar Bahadur was flourishing his hands so emphatically. The Minister did not get the money. The Finance Member turned down his proposal. I can give you more instances showing the utter helplessness of the so-called popular Ministers. There were two Civil Surgeons in the Central Provinces who approached Government for the advance of a certain sum of money for the purpose of purchasing motor cars. The Minister, Mr. Kelkar, enquired into the circumstances and found that there was absolutely no necessity for the purchase of the cars. What happened? The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals went behind his back to His Excellency and got the money sanctioned. When any expenditure is required for Europeans, it is always sanctioned somehow or other. Here is a very striking case in point. In C. P. a certain Executive Engineer wanted an extra monthly allowance of Rs. 100—most probably for a motor car. He was an Indian: what happened? The Minister said that there was no necessity for a motor car and the proposal was accordingly turned down. But when a European Executive Engineer came up with a similar proposal and the Minister turned it down similarly, what happened? The officer in question being a European, the European Chief Engineer went behind the back of the Minister to His Excellency and got the extra hundred rupees sanctioned. And yet you say "give us responsibility and power and we shall be able to work the constitution!"

Then again take the question of initiating measures of policy. It is a mistake to talk of the transferred departments as entirely transferred: they cannot be entirely transferred, because the transferred and reserved departments impinge upon one another at innumerable points. Here, in Bengal, a Minister is in charge of agriculture; but can he initiate any large measure of agricultural policy, seeing that the cognate subject of irrigation is a reserved subject? We have learned from the illuminating evidence given by Rai Bahadur A. N. Das before the Agricultural Commission that this Irrigation Department exists only for the purpose of maintaining an establishment. That was the sum and substance of his evidence. "There is no irrigation scheme before the Government" he said, "but we maintain an establishment." Is that what you call governing the country? In Madras there is a Minister who is in charge of industry—industrial development—but let

us see what subjects are under his control. He is the Minister in charge of industries, but he cannot look after factories, mines, boilers, electricity and water power because they are reserved subjects: and yet he is the Minister responsible for the development of industries! And will you tell me that any honourable self-respecting man will accept the office of ministership with powers so circumscribed and limited and with conditions so humiliating to any man of ordinary spirit? We have been asked again and again to work the constitution and to send a message of good-will to the British Parliament to the effect that we want to co-operate with them. Why not ask the British Parliament to tell us that *they* want to co-operate with us?

As the constitution stands at present, it is inconsistent with the self-respect of honourable and patriotic men to accept the position of Minister. We refuse to accept these ministerships or to work the constitution—because the constitution itself is unworkable, and, even more, because this Government is not a Government with which honourable and self-respecting Indians can co-operate or continue to associate. Can a Government which confines in prison hundreds of persons without trial, without framing charges, without hauling them up before a court of justice be called a civilized Government? I say that these are methods of barbarism, and we refuse to associate ourselves with such methods even in the sacred name of working the constitution.

To my friends opposite I have only another remark to address before I resume my seat. Do not think that we are obstructionists for the fun of the thing, or that we want to go on ploughing for ever the barren sands of a fruitless opposition. We want to get on with the real business of the country, but you must make it possible for us to do so. We refuse to act like grown up children, we refuse to be put off with the gilt lollipops of your political confectionery, we refuse to be deluded by shadows and *simulacra* Diarchy is dead; give it a decent burial; do not vex our souls with the sick phantom of a resurrected ghost. And above all, if you want your Government to be stable and enduring—a source of glory to you and of peace and prosperity to us—do not build upon a foundation of rottenness.

[Here the member having reached the time-limit had to resume his seat.].

**Khan Sahab Maulvi ABDUS SATTAR:** While rising to support the grant and to oppose the motion that has been moved I would like to add a few words of observation. Our worthy colleague Sir Abd-ur-Rahim has said plainly that the Moslem group is pledged to work the Reforms and it is necessary for me just to go into the position—the reason, the condition—under which the Moslem group is pledged. When the Reforms first came most of the Muhammadan leaders were in favour of working the Reforms. Our worthy and influential Hindu leaders

thought that the Reforms as given were inadequate, insufficient and unsatisfactory. They thought that by working the Reforms they would get no advantage and therefore thought of non-co-operating with Government. The spirit of non-co-operation was put into the minds of the poor people, I mean, the larger section of the Muhammadan community, and they non-co-operated and sent in sweepers, carters and cobblers. The reason for doing so is not far to seek. Everybody wanted better things and it is for that reason that we the Muhammadans thought that it was perhaps the easier way and therefore we non-co-operated. But that did not bring us nearer to the goal nor Swaraj was in any way visible. Then came the period when our worthy friends began the propaganda on Council entry for breaking the diarchy and the whole country was swamped with the idea that the people should go into the Council and break diarchy and we sent in men like Maulvi Md. Nurul Huq Chaudhuri and others to the Council.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I think you had better not mention any names.

**Khan Sahab Maulvi ABDUS SATTAR:** We watched it, but it did not bring any advantage and then when two Muhammadan Ministers were appointed people began to think that perhaps it would be better to work the Reforms and get as much advantage as possible out of it towards the uplifting of the Muhammadan community. It would be nation building if men from their community were tried so that they may stand shoulder to shoulder with the other communities. Give them every opportunity so that they may be equal to the other communities: otherwise they will be always a stumbling block. As we are anxious to be equally competent like the other community we think the best course for us is to work the Reforms. This time, therefore, out of the 39 members 38 have come with the label of co-operation. Only one has come with the Swaraj ticket, though I think in his heart of hearts he believes that it is necessary to work the constitution. But unfortunately there is one thing in our way—I mean His Excellency's speech—about which our worthy friend Sir Abd-ur-Rahim has complained and I associate myself with all that he has said. The conditions which His Excellency has held up before us has upset us a little. (Hear, hear.) We want to place sufficient number of men to work the constitution. Now our position is this that now that we have come with the label of co-operation we cannot go against that, we shall have to vote for it. We would, however, as indicated by His Excellency, try to remedy what we have not got, *i.e.*, we should try to have sufficient number of able Ministers to work the Reforms. I hope the Muhammadans as a block would solidly vote for it.

[At this stage the Council was adjourned for 15 minutes.]

[After the adjournment.]

**Srijut BIJAY KUMAR CHATTERJEE:** Sir, I beg to oppose the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly. I do so on many grounds.

In the first place, it is against the constitution, and it is not customary to grant salaries before the appointment of Ministers. We do not know who the Ministers would be; and whether the persons to be appointed would enjoy the confidence of this House. In all countries where democratic forms of Government prevail, the Ministers are first appointed and then the salaries are granted. The arguments put forward by His Excellency Lord Lytton are not convincing. That the question would again come before the Council in March next is no justification for ignoring the constitutional law now. It is practically giving a blank cheque to the Government. The reason for this action of the Government is obvious. We can see through it. It is apparent that if His Excellency the Governor announces his decision just now, some of the gentlemen who are running after the ministerships being dissatisfied may join with the Opposition and throw out the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly. But now, Sir, the expectation of this lucrative appointment would induce many aspirants to the throne to support it. I cannot, therefore, support this motion.

My second ground is that I cannot think of acceptance of office unless the political prisoners, who are now rotting in jail or are interned in unhealthy places, are released, or are placed on open trial before a court of justice. Sir, these patriots, the flowers of society, these young men, who have sacrificed their all for their country, and whose only fault is their love of their motherland, are detained in jail for years without any trial, some are interned in small huts fit for dogs and cats, situated in damp, marshy places, where snakes or other dangerous animals constantly move about. Sir, I am not drawing this picture from my own imagination. This is not a manufactured lie brought about to discredit the Government. I have myself seen some of these huts and was horrified to think how can a Government which boasts of civilisation and democracy make such arrangements. These young men are ruined both bodily and mentally. Therefore, Sir, unless these young men are released or placed on open trial we cannot think of acceptance of any office.

My third point is that, on principle, I am against diarchy. Sir, diarchy has failed—failed hopelessly. It may be that Government taking advantage of disunion between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and with the help of some selfish and misguided people, may try to revive it again, and some gentlemen at the brilliant prospect of getting the ৩৯,০০০ হাজারি *munsudary* may try to work the unworkable Reforms. But, Sir, as my friend Srijut Jitendralal Bannerjee has said, and I may be allowed to repeat, what the verdict of the country is, not only of the Swarajists, but those of moderate politicians like Lala

Harkissenlal, Mr. Chintamani, the Hon'ble Mr. Sachhidananda, Sir Ali Iman, and numerous others, who are supposed to be soberminded. As for us the Congressmen, we have condemned it. Sir, the Swarajists are accused of destroying everything. I deny the charge, I deny that statement. I say that we have come to co-operate and are ready to assist the Government in everything that is conducive to the welfare of the country. But has the Government given any indication of its change of heart? Has the angle of vision changed? Did the Government accept the terms laid down by the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das before his death? Has the Government satisfied the national demands formulated and passed at the last session of the Legislative Assembly? Have the political prisoners been released? Have the repressive laws—laws fit for barbarous ages—been repealed? Has the Arms Act been repealed? Have the Indians been trusted with military training? Have the Reforms given any real powers to this Council or the Ministers over the Budget? Have the nation-building departments been supplied with sufficient funds in order to improve sanitation, irrigation, or education? Have not the poor countrymen of ours been overburdened with taxation? We are treated like slaves, and then asked to co-operate. There cannot be any co-operation between slaves and masters. Co-operation can only take place between two equal persons. What the Government asks is not co-operation. It may be obedience, submission, flattery: call it anything you please, but pray do not call it co-operation. It is for these reasons that the Swarajists are out for destruction. It is not destruction for destruction's sake. We try to destroy this old rotten, sham, Reforms this apple of discord, this father of communalism and selfishness this *विषमक लक्ष्म* in order to build up a healthy and real constitution. Give us one that is really workable, that is consistent with our self-respect and with our national interests and we are ready to work it.

Sir, the appointment of Ministers reminds me of the appointment of cooly sirdars in a tea garden. In a certain tea garden there were some refractory cooly sirdars, who always complained against the ill-treatment that was meted out to the coolies and who exposed the tyranny which was perpetrated on them. The cunning tea garden Manager appointed some of these cooly sirdars as chowkidars. And the agitation stopped automatically. Sir, the appointment of the Ministers is like the appointment of the chowkidars. Sir, the Indian Ministers with all their paraphernalia with their chaprasés and takhtas are nothing better than coolies. Because, to quote the words of Lord Siva who is fortunately present here to-day, the Indians are nothing more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water". Sir, the Indian Empire is the tea garden of the British people. The Governor is the manager of this garden. And in order to serve the interests of the

proprietors, the British people, the so-called trustees of the Indian people, the Governor is appointing the Indian coolies as Minister or chowkidar in order to stop Indian agitation.

My friends on the other side—the party composed of a curious combination of Independents and Responsivists, Liberals, Moderates, and Jo-Hukums and what not, will say what is the good of quarreling for a thing that is not within our reach. Try to work the Reforms other wise the British people will be angry and the Reforms would be taken away. To them I could say it would be a thousand-fold benefit to this poor and over-taxed country if these Reforms are repealed. Sir, I remember a time when one Lieutenant-Governor, with the help of one Chief Secretary, ruled, and ruled effectively, Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Sir, instead of one Governor and one Secretary, we have now got two Governors, eight Executive Councillors, five or six Ministers in addition to the regiment of Secretaries known as Chief Secretary, full Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries drawing fabulous sums, as salaries and travelling expenses. And the country has not advanced an inch, rather it has gone backwards. Villagers are dying by thousands and millions, of diseases and starvation, the thirsty have not got one more drop of pure drinking water, the hungry have not got one more morsel of food, the naked have not got one more yard of cloth, the illiterate and the ignorant have not been given any more education. Representing as I do, the poorest district in Bengal, where the population has been reduced by one lakh within the last 10 years, it is my duty to say with all the emphasis that I can command, that it is a crime against society, it is a sin against God, to waste public money in this way on an extravagant experiment on diarchy at the cost of the Indian people. The experiment has failed, and is bound to fail. Sir, I pray to God that the Reforms may be taken away, as early as possible so that my poor beloved countrymen may not have to pay for this extravagant expenditure, and the different communities and different persons may not fight with one another for these chowkidari appointments.

Sir, the independent countries in the world, laugh at us, when they find that the Indians are sitting at an examination on the Reforms like dutiful obedient schoolboys, trying to pass the Matric or School Final Examination on Self-Government. Sir, as a student of history, I may be permitted to say that no nation in the world has ever obtained Swaraj as a gift from any other nation. Sir, it has to be gained, it has to be acquired by selfless service, by sacrifice, by character and unity. How and when it will come is more than I can say and I do not know. But I do know, Sir, that it will come, that it is bound to come sooner or later, because it cannot be the decree of Providence that one nation will rule over another for all time to come. And I may be allowed to quote the famous Sanskrit couplet, which means where has

gone the famous city of Mathura of the Prince of Judas? Where has gone the kingdom of Kosalas of the Raghus? Thinking thus you should come to the conclusion that nothing is permanent in this world.

যত্নপতে: ক গতা মথুরাপুরী  
 ধ্বংসপতে: ক গতোত্তর কোশলা।  
 ইতি বিচিন্ত্য কুরুষ মন: স্থিরঃ  
 ন সদিনং জগদিত্যবধায় ॥

**Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY:** I rise to support the grant asked for by the Hon'ble Member and I shall proceed to give my reasons. It is a pity that the issue is clouded by self-laceration and self-condemnation, and we have to listen to heart-rending words, that almost draw from us tears of self-pity. I support the grant not because I believe that diarchy is a beneficent proposition, or that we shall be able to work it efficiently and satisfactorily or through it achieve political regeneration. Diarchy has been found to be full of defects; it is admitted on all hands, and plainly and simply His Excellency the Governor acknowledged it before us the other day. We are aware of the chorus of disapproval, and the disillusionment and disappointment of Ministers who had attempted to work the system, full of hopes for the good of the people, and had to give it up in despair. We are now at the third stage of the period between one Statutory Commission and another. The first period was spent in non-co-operation inside and outside the Councils, the preparation of the country for a magnificent effort; this failed, but left behind it splendid achievements and results; the next stage was non-co-operation inside the Council. It helped undoubtedly to keep up the spirit of the people, to keep before them the ideal of independence, the necessity of all working together for the common cause. But the results that we hoped for did not come; Parliament and the British people remained unmoved by the gesture of despair, and we passed through a barren waste of three years. The fight was lost, the spirit had weakened, and already there were gestures of co-operation on honourable terms. Where non-co-operation with all its vast and massive forces had failed, there was little likelihood that obstruction inside the Council would succeed. The moral consciousness of the British people remained untouched. We spent three years of fruitless obstruction. Our best young men were interned; not one item of administration was discussed on its merits; we went into this lobby or the other as the Government supported it or opposed it. There was no informed criticism, no definite constructive work by the opposition, as we were too deeply involved in wrecking the constitution. I remember in the first reformed Council when there were hardly so many members in the opposition as in this Council or in the last, we succeeded through well informed criticism, through work solidly done,

in putting through several measures of prime importance and in defeating the Government on many occasions. In those days such a defeat sustained on the merits, carried more weight than the defeat inflicted, not on merits, but as a party manoeuvre. So we have now reached the third stage. The constitution as it stands must be worked, its faults exposed, the remedies ascertained, the Ministers must create for themselves, if they can, traditions of independence and working within the constitution, gain for the people of India such rights and privileges as they can secure. If they can do anything from their place in the ministry for the good of the people let them do it, if they cannot, at any rate they will be a check on measures that might tend to go against the interests of the people. And if you refuse the ministry we shall have three more barren years of grind; three more years of fitful attendance, three more years of voting not in accordance with the merits of a question but according to the merits of the constitution. If the Ministers try, they might be able to do something for the good of the people even with the limited finances at their disposal; freed from the anxiety of a constitutional struggle with a bare ministerial majority much can be done, at any rate such a measure as an expenditure of Rs. 2½ lakhs for maidan roads against half a lakh for malaria can be prevented. I would ask those stalwarts who were the members of the Independent party in the last Council and now sit as leaders of the Swarajists, who always favoured us with well-informed criticisms, not to dedicate us once more to three years of barren endeavour, not to make us vote on each item of administration as if it was a question of the safety of the constitution.

And now to place one more argument before you for your consideration. Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri has said that the motion tabled by the Swarajists is the only reply that can be given by those who still cherish Deshbandhu's memory and for the principles for which he stood. And he further said that that is the only reply possible for those who rejected it on three previous occasions. Alas! the principles for which Deshbandhu stood are no more and those who cherish his memory, as like unto the memory of a revered master, are faced with the situation that what he stood for has long ceased to be followed, otherwise the mandate of the Muhammadan community would not have been what it is. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Muhammadans have declared that diarchy has to be worked; those who stood as Swarajists were defeated, those who had only lately left the Swarajist fold were suspected and were defeated. As to what are the reasons for this change it is not for me to conjecture. It may just be that we desire to work the Reforms, and settle the standing disputes as between the Hindus and the Muhammadans before the constitutional fight proceeds further and before more powers are given. It may be that we no more trust the maxim that the issues will solve themselves as soon as liberty is gained; it may be

that the Muhammadan community disapproved of the act of those who pulled down two Muslim Ministers on the last occasion although I shall be insulting the political intelligence of my community if I were to consider seriously that its politics are only centred on the number of Ministers appointed from one community or another. The Muhammadan community having emphatically and unequivocally declared its opinion, we have to accept it until it declares otherwise. I know that the policy of appointing one minister from among the Muslims has created a certain amount of resentment; not merely on the ground that the Reforms cannot be adequately worked with two Ministers and that the very safety of the constitution demands it or that you are not giving the people a chance to show their merit, but also because it does not give opportunities to some people to become Ministers and taste the sweets and the responsibilities of office. So until such time as the community declares unequivocally against diarchy as it has declared to-day in its favour, we are compelled to obey its voice and support the constitution. And hence it is clear that this present Council is not the same as the last and the traditions of the last Council, so far as its attitude towards diarchy is concerned, are not binding on this Council. But there is one thing that I ardently wish for. In supporting the demand I hope that we shall not think that it is our duty to support and approve of the actions of Government in all matters. With due regard to the safety of the constitution, perhaps, I may say, in proportion to our regard for it, it must be our endeavour to devote our energies intensively towards the advancement of our national aspirations and the betterment of the conditions of our people.

**Mr. S. C. MUKERJI:** I have heard with rapt attention the able speech which was made by my hon'ble friend, Mr. J. L. Bannerjee. When I heard him I felt in my heart of hearts that every word that fell from the lips of my hon'ble friend came from the depth of his heart and what he said he really believed in and, if I mistake not, that was the only speech which was bristling with facts and figures—a speech in which my hon'ble friend tried to rise to the occasion and grapple with a most difficult and intricate subject. It was a treat to me to hear the hon'ble opponent trying to deal with a subject with all the ability that he possesses. One of my profound regrets however was when I saw him metamorphosed from a no-changer into a pro-changer. There was a time when he was a no-Council-entry-wallah and it was a deep regret to me when I found that a great change had come over him and the transformation in the political creed did not appeal to me. From another point of view, however, I entertain hopes that if a no-changer can be transformed into a pro-changer—a pro-changer will in course of time turn into a responsivist if not a liberal. Sir, my regret is that when he was dealing with facts and figures he dealt with other provinces of India barring the province of Bengal. He was talking of Ministers

and ex-Ministers whose grievance was that they could not work the reformed constitution. But my friend, Mr. J. L. Bannerjee conveniently forgets that in the years 1921-23 we had three Ministers—two Hindus and one Muhammadan who were men of conspicuous ability. One of them was a man of outstanding personality—a man who would be a pride and ornament to any country in the world and it is to that Ministers that you owe the Calcutta Municipal Act which has given you your Mayor to-day—the great opposition leader, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. It is to that Minister that you owe a non-official Chairman in every district board and in all the municipalities in the province of Bengal to-day. It was he who gave a new turn to the Medical Service. The other Minister was Sir Provash Chunder Mitter, now a member of this Council. I say I have not found a better man than Sir Provash who has got a greater grip of facts, and it was he who gave the University Rs. 5½ lakhs and saved the University from collapse. Sir, I differed from Sir Provash Chunder Mitter in his criticism of the University of Calcutta but at the same time we have to admit that it was his criticism of the University which has introduced a new tone in the administration of that University. It was he in those lean years when there was a deficit of two crores and 13 lakhs who got scholarships for the depressed classes, for the Muhammadans and also for girls education. It was he who was responsible for an enhanced grant for primary education during his Ministry. My hon'ble friend Mr. Bannerjee dealt with facts and figures so far as the other provinces were concerned. I have therefore thought it fit to deal with the province of Bengal. I would ask the members of this House to remember that it was the late Minister, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, who initiated a new policy in the Excise Department. It is a department in which I am deeply interested. I wanted him to rise to the occasion and introduce a new tone into the Excise Department and to my great admiration I notice the Nawab Bahadur has since then been continually following a wise and judicious policy. The day is not far distant when the Bengal Government will surely be pledged to a policy of prohibition. I would ask the members of the House to remember that the new tone which the Nawab Bahadur has been able to give has been with the assistance of an I. C. S. officer! You say that the reformed constitution is unworkable. I say emphatically it is not unworkable if you get the right type of men. Place me there in the Chair of that Ministry and I shall see whether your Secretary obeys me or not. What you want is courage, grit and tact. If you have got these I am sure any I. C. S. officer will surely work with you hand in hand and will whole-heartedly co-operate with you. If you think that your case is reasonable, fight it out in the Cabinet, and if you are not successful, then come out and say that the Executive Councilors will not give you what you want. My friend on the opposite side asked a pertinent question: "What message shall we give to the

country?" Through you, Sir, I am giving them the message. That message is the message which the Unseen Hand writ on the walls of Belshazzar—MENE, MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN. "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting". Your walking-in and walking-out policy won't do. Your dog-in-the manger policy won't do. If you have the courage, come and work the constitution. If not, then let others do it. I am sorry I fail to understand your walking-out policy. With these remarks I beg therefore to support whole-heartedly the motion which has been moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly.

**Mr. S. C. BOSE:** The Hon'ble Mr. Moberly has this afternoon delivered a speech on the subject of the grant whose only recommendation is its brevity. It has not the merit of reasoning, it has not the merit of an attempt to grapple with the real issue. It has not even the merit of diction—a merit which we used to associate in times gone by with official pronouncements.

But if the Hon'ble the Home Member makes an attempt to run away from the real issues that arise in this case we on this side of the House are determined not to let him do so. He has got to satisfy the House before he asks for its opinion on the question of grant as to whether diarchy is workable. He has got to satisfy the House that the House ought to allow itself to be deprived of its right to vote on the question of Ministers' salaries after the Ministers are appointed. He has got to satisfy the House that the circumstances have changed since 1924-25 in such a way that he can ask the members of this House to respond to the call of the Governor.

On the question of the workability or the unworkability of diarchy I had expected that the hon'ble member for the Presidency landholders' constituency would raise his voice and explain to us as to how he considers to-day in spite of his evidence before the Muddiman Committee that diarchy is workable. Sir, the echo of that voice is heard proclaiming from a distance that "soon after joining the Government I realised that the system was unsatisfactory and unworkable". The echo of that voice is heard proclaiming from a distance in no uncertain terms that "this failure is due not only to the inherent difficulties in the constitution but also to financial difficulties under which the Ministers have to work in all provinces, specially in Bengal". The echo of that voice is heard proclaiming from a distance in still more certain terms that "even if these financial difficulties were removed in future and if other defects be remedied, even then it cannot be successfully worked any more". I ask the hon'ble member for the Presidency landholders' constituency what he has got to say against the evidence he himself gave before the Muddiman Committee after he had worked the reforms for three years. I ask him what are the changes in the constitution which have taken place since he ceased to be a Minister

which makes workable what in his opinion was un-workable even if financial difficulties were removed and even if other defects were remedied ?

I also expected the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry— I beg his pardon I mean the hon'ble member for the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce—who is the Leader of the Responsivists, to explain to the House the nature of the response which the Government has given since 1925. I find, however, that these two hon'ble members have realised that discretion is by far the better part of valour and that they realize also that it is quite impossible to point out any change in the circumstances or to explain the nature of the response if any they had received from the Government. I, therefore, congratulate them upon the sense that has dawned upon them this afternoon, in not opening their lips in this House.

Now, Sir, it is not necessary for me to mention the defects of the present constitution. I have it on high authority, prominent officials and non-officials alike, that the defects of this diarchical system of Government have been pointed out more than once and that Government has been provided with plenty of evidence on that score. If that is so, what is the necessity of attempting to work diarchy, the defects of which are still in existence? What attempts have you made to remove these defects? Without remedying them, what right have you to ask the Members of this House to join with you in working this system?

The second issue that arises is this. Is this House going to be deprived of its right to vote on the question of Ministers' salaries after they are appointed? If I may remind the House, in February, 1925, in the last Council, Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, with whom we on this side of the House do not see eye to eye on many questions, moved a resolution that the Council recommends to Government that provision be made for the salaries of Ministers in the Budget of 1925-26. Though we opposed diarchy on principle, we can understand that the motion which Sir Abd-ur-Rahim then brought was constitutional, because that gave to the House the right to vote on the question of the Ministers' salaries for the financial year 1925-26 after the Ministers were appointed. What will be the result of this motion? The result will be this: if it is carried, for the rest of the current financial year this House is going to be deprived of its right to vote on the question of Ministers' salaries. I consider it an invasion on the rights of the House and I expected that the persons who are masquerading under the garb of Law, Order and the constitution would have hesitated to bring forward this motion. The object of it is not far to seek. It is an attempt to drive a wedge into the ranks of the Nationalist parties in the Council.

Then, Sir, I come to the next question, *viz.*, whether the policy of obstruction is a barren policy. I heard a member—I do not know from where—Mr. Travers saying that the policy of obstruction is a barren policy. I do not know whether I should congratulate him or sympathise with him on his utter lack of knowledge of the history of his own country. Is it news to him that the policy of obstruction was systematically pursued in the Dominion of Canada year after year, until it succeeded, until that policy was recognised as effective by Lord Durham, and a change in the constitution took place. The new Viceroy, Lord Durham, came to Canada and condemned the policy that had been followed till then in the Dominion Government of setting class against class, creed against creed, race against race—a policy which I say that the present Government is pursuing in this country. I think if we had a Viceroy like Lord Durham, we would have expected a similar pronouncement from him that the policy of setting class against class, race against race and creed against creed must be abandoned in this country. The policy of obstruction did succeed in Canada, it did succeed in the United States to this extent that it ultimately led to the independence of America. Now, coming to European history, and to the policy of obstruction in Hungary, the Austrian Government had to recognise that it was no use attempting to coerce the Hungarian nation, when the nation came forward with its demand in one voice.

Then I pass on to the long discourse of Rai Jadunath Mazumdar Bahadur. In the course of the catalogue of different departments that he gave, a man of his temperament should not have forgotten two departments—the Grass-cutting department and the Hewing of wood department—for in the opinion of this side of the House those are really the two departments which are going to be entrusted to the Ministers.

My friend Mr. Suhrawardy—on whose lips I find a smile—has said that we have wasted three years on this barren policy. I congratulate him on the dawning of this new light after he had three successive times fought under our late revered leader, Deshabandhu Das, in his opposition to the formation of a ministry in Bengal.

We, on this side of the House, have made our position clear. We are not going to support any ministry, for we realise that it will mean possibly a team of two or four crouching cringing slaves of the Secretaries. We are not going to support a ministry because in the circumstances in which we stand to-day, these gentlemen, however honourable they may be, have not the right, even if they had the inclination, of opposing the views of their Secretaries. I say once more that we shall not be a party to a team of two or four crouching, cringing slaves, specially as they are to be our countrymen. We are not going to be a party to this rule which has got in detention without any

trial more than 100 of our young men, to a rule which has brought into being a number of officers who can stoop to falsehoods and who in their letters and despatches give out on some occasions half truths, which are more immoral and dishonest than falsehood itself.

**Sir PROVASH CHUNDER MITTER:** I had no desire of taking part in this evening's controversy, but since my opinion publicly expressed has been quoted by more than one speaker, it is but just that I should point out to this House that my opinion on diarchy is perfectly well known. I have on several occasions expressed the opinion that diarchy is an extremely unsatisfactory constitution—[A voice—"You said unworkable"]—Yes, unworkable if you please,—but there is another thing which I have also mentioned on many occasions about diarchy and that is that diarchy is an existing constitution and you cannot get rid of it if you want to. Well, if it is an existing constitution, if it is not within the limits of your powers to get rid of it, it stands to reason, it stands to commonsense, that you should work it for the good of the people; I have always maintained and I still maintain that it is possible to work it for the benefit of the people however faulty that constitution may be. I shall presently come to that aspect of the question, but before I do so may I point out to my friends opposite what has been their policy during the last three years and what it has yielded? The policy of barren obstruction even when they had the support of a powerful Moslem group within their party led them to nowhere. They found nothing but a blind alley before them. If that was the position with the powerful personality of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das at their head as also with more than 20 Moslem members in their party, can they expect—the mere *chelas* of Deshbandhu—when the representatives of more than half the population of Bengal have proclaimed in no uncertain terms that diarchy must be worked—to achieve greater results under more difficult conditions, especially when Deshbandhu is no more? I for myself, speaking absolutely from a detached point of view, for I can assure you that I am not anxious to be a Minister (Applause). (Do not misunderstand me. I would be a Minister to-morrow if I had 30 men of my community at my back.) Speaking absolutely from a detached point of view I repeat that I honestly believe that diarchy is capable of being worked for the good of the people however bad as a constitution it may be. Above all, I appeal to my friends opposite as men of commonsense that it would be futile to act in a childish and petulant spirit. If you cannot get rid of the constitution either be in it or allow those who want to work it to the best interests of the country to do so. If the Congress mandate be against acceptance of office—and I respect those who follow that mandate because it is their party mandate—I would appeal to my friends opposite that they should,

within the limits of their mandate, look at this question from one important point of view, namely, the good of the people. For the good of the people I would appeal to my friends opposite to unite so far as unity is possible—unity not merely amongst the two great communities but unity amongst different political groups as well. I know that unity on all points is perhaps not possible but there are various points where concerted action, if not unity, is possible. Will it be to the interest of the nation to fritter away the energy of our representative men by quarrelling amongst each other? That is a thing which I wish my friends to consider.

Coming to the question of diarchy, I maintain that when you have about 35 per cent. of the revenues in the transferred departments, you can, if you want to work, get about 3 crores of rupees for the good of the people. It may be asked what did you do during the three years that you were a Minister? But to that I say that we started with a deficit budget of 2 crores and 12 lakhs and if we had difficulties inside the Government our difficulties from outside were much greater. My revered political *guru* Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, once the idol of the people, was hounded out of public life by the ungrateful attitude taken up by a large section of the people for no other reason than this that he had honesty to differ from them. He gave his life-blood for the good of the people and where would have been public lip and my friends opposite but for Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea? A nation which is not grateful to its patriots is not worthy of liberty. If Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea had the backing of his patriotic countrymen then I am sure the Ministry would have achieved very much more in spite of the difficulties in his way (Question). Could diarchy be worked under such conditions? (Question). I know you will question because unfortunately there is so much of party spirit in this Council. I am sure that so long as that party spirit lasts, so long as, against our best interests, we are inclined to place the interests of the party above those of the country and the community, that question will be repeated and India shall continue to remain a nation of slaves—and nothing but a nation of slaves. Till that party spirit is not removed; till the common good of the people is not the determining factor till then that consummation—that of liberty—will never be reached. Sir, there is another point. Liberty is a sacred thing. Can we achieve liberty unless we honestly try to work for the good of the people? Well, if you believe your Council work cannot conduce to the good of the people, my friends, your position is not inside the Council, but outside it—but then you are better judges of your own action than I am. I am only putting this to you as one, whose opinion according to you can never be for the good of the country but detrimental to it, yet at any rate as a citizen, is still entitled to put forward his views before you.

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I am very sorry that although I do not intend to impose any restriction on you, I would remind you that His Excellency has allotted only three hours' time for the discussion of this motion, and I understand that the leader of the opposition wants to speak: so I would ask you to bring your remarks to a close.

**Sir PROVASH CHUNDER MITTER:** Sir, I am obliged to you for placing the position before me, and in view of the fact that the leader of the opposition desires to speak, I will be very short and I will take only a couple of minutes or less. I say—determine the issue which you have got to determine to-day. Well, if in the determination of that issue the decision be against you, you revise your position and work for the good of the country. If you think that you cannot stop diarchy, then as fellow liberals—I hope you will not resent the expression because you are liberals in principle though in party politics you are their worst antagonists—then as fellow liberals who have accepted every liberal principle I say to you, work the constitution or else your place lies not inside the Council, but outside it. I would have developed the point, but I have been told to limit my speech. I would welcome you as fellow liberals for the purpose of working the constitution but if you resent that expression, I can assure you that I am not using it in a captious party spirit.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** Mr. President, Sir I had no desire to take part in this debate, particularly after the two maiden speeches made by Mr. J. L. Bannerjee and Mr. Bose on this side of the House, but I am compelled to rise to take a few minutes of your time, not only because of some speeches made on the other side of the House but also because some members did not speak and kept a very discreet silence.

**Mr. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI:** I wanted to speak, but never got an opportunity.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** Sir, it was not many days ago that His Excellency, in the course of a long speech, and at the end of it, said "Of the defects of the present constitution I have been provided with plenty of evidence; on the lines on which it can be improved opinion is far less unanimous, and of the success of the experiment already made evidence is more difficult to produce". I take it that the opinion which His Excellency expressed the other afternoon in this House about the defects of the present constitution is shared by the Government of which he is the head. It is admitted on all hands that the present system of Government is defective, and the logical corollary—the logical conclusion—to which His Excellency ought to have come, and with him the Government, is "Let us remove the defects, let us change the constitution"; but instead of that in the third sentence which I have quoted

from his speech, His Excellency said that he had not got enough evidence of the success of the system of Government, in which there were any number of defects of which he had ample evidence. Therefore, my submission to this House is that His Excellency was absolutely illogical in asking us to consider this motion, while he ought to have said "Let us consider what the defects are, let us see whether we can remove the defects and forge a better constitution which all of us would be ready to work". Sir, I am surprised that a motion of this nature has at all been brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly. I am more than surprised at the form of the motion that has been brought before us for our acceptance. Sir, we are members of the Congress Council Party: we do not approve of any Ministers under the present constitution—one, two, three, four, or any number—because we are convinced—as all the members are convinced, including the members of the Government, including His Excellency, and also the Government of Bengal—that the system is full of defects, but we follow the natural conclusion, namely, we refuse to work this constitution. We say the defects of this system must be remedied and, therefore, although we are against any Ministers—one, two, three, or four—we can quite appreciate the objection of Sir Abd-ur-Rahim that there is a confusion of several issues in one motion. Mr. Bose has already pointed out to members of this House that in February, 1925, Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, as a member of this House, brought forward a motion with a similar object, but certainly that resolution was not so dishonest as this motion—this demand for grant which has been brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Moberly. This motion commits the Council—I am now speaking on behalf of those who think something of this constitution, who want to preserve the constitution, the spirit of the constitution—to two Ministers. If the Government had decided to bring up a motion of the nature of what Sir Abd-ur-Rahim brought up in February, 1925, it would have been open to members of this Council to move amendments and say that they wanted not three, but four, not two, but three, Ministers. I am now speaking on behalf of those members who say that this diarchy is workable, and that certain precedents, certain constitutional rules, certain conventions, should be gradually built up and of which we all would be proud. Nowhere during the last six years in any province in India has there been a demand for grant for Ministers' salaries without the members being allowed to see who the Ministers are. Sir, if this is the spirit in which Government ask us to revive diarchy which we killed three years ago—and I say we may lose or win on this motion—whatever the result may be when the division is called—I can assure you, Sir, and the members of this House, and the people outside this Council Chamber, that you may have some Ministers, but you should remember that the spirit of resistance and the spirit of organisation, which have come into existence by the efforts of that great leader Deshbandhu Das, would not be

killed; and though diarchy may stand up in frame, in reality there would be nothing inside diarchy, even if we see two Ministers actually appointed and drawing fat salaries.

Sir, I was going to point out the real motive—the real purpose—behind this resolution. In 1921 the Congress declared that there was nothing in the present constitution, that the Ministers were mere puppets, and the result was that all Congressmen stayed outside the Councils. In 1923 we said the same thing, but we came into the Councils not for the purpose of working the constitution, but for the purpose of stopping the mischief which our countrymen, who were in love with the constitution, were doing to the cause of freedom in this country. The object of this motion is apparent to my countrymen: the object is to kill ruthlessly that spirit of organisation and resistance which Deshbandhu Das inculcated into the hearts of the people. The object of this motion is to kill that spirit of organisation inside the legislature of which the Government of Bengal, the bureaucracy, and even the Government in England, are afraid.

Sir, I would now like to say a word about Mr. Travers' speech. Mr. Travers has been well answered by Mr. Bose from this side of the House, but I would come to India. May I remind him that in 1921 when that great wave of obstructive movement was passing right through the country—may I ask him when Lord Reading in December, 1921, in the Government House at Calcutta sent for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and perhaps also Mr. B. Chakravarti over there, and asked for a round-table conference for the purpose of deciding three questions, *viz.*, the question of *Swaraj*, the question of *Khilafat*, and the question of the Punjab wrongs—may I ask him—was that offer for a round-table conference for peace the result of the subservient co-operation that this demand for grant asks for, or was not that offer for peace—for a round-table conference—the result of thorough-going obstruction that was being carried on by Mahatma Gandhi throughout the country? May I ask Mr. Travers, has he forgotten the history of Ireland? May I ask him was it not Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, who said, just like Mr. Travers in this House, "I will not stain my hand by clasping the hand of a murderer", and, within six months of this declaration, he had to shake hands with Messrs. Griffiths and Collins in London and sue for peace.

**Mr. W. L. TRAVERS:** Am I being compared with a murderer? I do not understand what Mr. Sen Gupta says.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** No, Mr. Travers, you are not being compared with a murderer. Mr. Travers threatened us "If you persist in this policy, we Britishers will not give you anything". I am reminding him whether the British people gave anything to Ireland.....

**Mr. W. L. TRAVERS:** I made no such remark that we Britishers will not give you anything. I only asked for co-operation with the British people so that they could give more.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** I am very much enlightened by Mr. Travers's interruption. Mr. Travers did say in this House to-day that the only policy that will succeed with the British people was the policy of co-operation and that if the Council fought them, obstructed them, they would get nothing; they would not be successful. That is a point I am answering.

I might now go over to Mr. Suhrawardy. Mr. Suhrawardy has said that this policy of obstruction is barren. When did he find it out? Did he find it out after the passing away of Deshbandhu Das, or is it really a case of a man running away from the fight from cowardice? If it was good when we defeated the motion for Ministers' salaries three times in this Council, why is it bad to-day? Let him answer the question. He has said that .....

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Would you please sit down, Mr. Sen Gupta? I am very sorry I have to interrupt you but as you have reached your time limit I cannot give you any more time.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** May I have two minutes?

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** Yes, you can have two minutes.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** May I ask some members of this House, may I ask Mr. B. K. Lahiri, Maharaj Kumar Sris Chandra Nandy what answer they will give to their electorates whom they led to believe just before they came to the Council that so long as the détenus were not released they would not attempt to form a ministry. I want a direct answer from them.

**Maharaj Kumar SRIS CHANDRA NANDY:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I think that is not a correct statement of facts.

**Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA:** I take it that Maharaj Kumar Sris Chandra Nandy did not make any such promise. I know Mr. B. K. Lahiri did; I have in writing signed by Mr. B. K. Lahiri a promise. I ask him to come to the same lobby with us, as he promised in that manifesto which he sent through Babu Amarendra Nath Chatterjee that he would not help in the formation of a ministry until the political détenus were released or put upon their trial.

**Mr. BASANTA KUMAR LAHIRI:** On a point of personal explanation. I sent nothing through anybody. In my election campaign what I said is in print. There is no chance of my being called for by His Excellency or my accepting any office.

**The Hon'ble Mr. A. N. MOBERLY:** I am in a fortunate position because the gentlemen who have supported my motion have answered practically everything that has been said on the other side. No one, I think, desires to argue that the constitution at present in force in India is perfect. It is experimental and it was never intended that it should be permanent, but it does not rest with His Excellency or with the Government of Bengal to take any steps towards amending that constitution. It is there and, as has been pointed out, it is the law, and in order that the law may be worked this motion has been brought forward. The revocation of transferred subjects, as has been explained will expire on the 21st January. Under the Government of India Act those subjects will then automatically become transferred subjects and in order that they may be administered as such there must be Ministers appointed by His Excellency to administer them. It has been pointed out that in other countries Ministers are appointed first and salaries are voted afterwards. Experience has shown that in Bengal it is possible for Ministers to be appointed and to work and for their salaries for the period during which they have worked to be refused. It is in order that the period between now and the budget may be covered and that the Ministers, who will be appointed if the original motion is carried, may be remunerated for the work they do that the demand is being made to-night. I do not think that it is necessary for me to say anything more. The issue, as I said at the beginning is perfectly clear. If this amendment is carried there will be no Ministers and as His Excellency has already said he will regard that as an indication of the desire of the Council that there shall be no Ministers.

The motion that the demand for Rs. 24,775 under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of the two Ministers be refused was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

**AYES.**

Bagchi, Babu Romes Chandra.  
Banerjee, Dr. Pramathanath.  
Banerjee, Babu Promotba Nath.  
Banerjee, Mr. A. C.  
Bannerjee, Babu Jitendralal.  
Basu, Babu Sasi Sekhar.  
Basu, Mr. P. C.  
Basu, Mr. Sarat C.  
Biswas, Babu Surendra Nath.  
Bose, Babu Bejoy Krishna.  
Bose, Mr. S. C.  
Chakravarti, Babu Jogindra Chandra.  
Chakraborty, Babu Jatindra Nath.  
Chatterjee, Srijut Bijay Kumar.  
Chaudhuri, Rai Harendranath.  
Das Gupta, Dr. J. M.  
Datta, Babu Akhil Chandra.  
Datta, Babu Amulya Chandra.  
Dutt, Babu Saral Kumar.  
Ghose, Babu Amarendra Nath.

Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra.  
Himateingka, Babu Prabhu Doyal.  
Hoque, Kazi Emdadul.  
Khan, Babu Debendra Lal.  
Lala, Babu Sarada Kripa.  
Maiti, Babu Mahendra Nath.  
Moitra, Srijut Jogendra Nath.  
Mukerjee, Srijut Taraknath.  
Nasker, Babu Hem Chandra.  
Ray, Dr. Kumud Senkar.  
Roy, Babu Manmatha Nath.  
Roy, Dr. Bidhan Chandra.  
Roy, Mr. D. N. Bar-at-Law.  
Roy, Mr. Kiran Bankar.  
Ray Choudhuri, Rai Bahadur Satyendra Nath.  
Sarker, Babu Naliniranjan.  
Sen, Babu Nagendra Nath.  
Sen Gupta, Mr. J. M.

## NOES.

Acharyya Chaudhuri, Maharaja Sashi Kanta.  
 Afzal, Maulvi Syed Md.  
 Ahmad, Maulvi Kasiruddin.  
 Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Emaduddin.  
 Ali, Maulvi Syed Nausher.  
 Ali, Mr. Altaf.  
 Atiqullah, Maulvi Syed Md.  
 Baksh, Maulvi Kader.  
 Biswas, Maulvi Abdul Latif.  
 Chakravarti, Mr. Byemkee.  
 Chaudhuri, Mr. M. Ashraf Ali Khan.  
 Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Saiyid Nawab Ali, Khan Bahadur, of Dhanbari.  
 Child, Mr. R. H.  
 Choudhury, Maulvi Khorshed Alam.  
 Cohen, Mr. D. J.  
 Cooper, Mr. G. G.  
 Crawford, Mr. T. C.  
 Das, Rai Bahadur Amar Nath.  
 De, Mr. K. C.  
 Dey, Mr. G. G.  
 Donald, the Hon'ble Mr. J.  
 Drummond, Mr. J. G.  
 Dutt, Mr. G. S.  
 Farouqi, Khan Bahadur K. G. M.  
 Forrester, Mr. J. Campbell.  
 Ghosh Maulik, Babu Satyendra Chandra.  
 Ghuznavi, Hadji Mr. A. K. Abu Ahmed Khan.  
 Gilchrist, Mr. R. N.  
 Goenka, Rai Bahadur Badridas.  
 Gofran, Maulvi Abdul.  
 Habibullah, Nawab Khwaja.  
 Haque, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Azizul.  
 Hosain, Nawab Musharruf, Khan Bahadur.  
 Huq, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ekramul.  
 Husain, Maulvi Syed Maqbul.  
 Hussain, Maulvi Latefat.  
 Ismail, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad.  
 Jannaway, Mr. J. H.  
 Karim, Maulvi Abdul.  
 Kasem, Maulvi Abul.  
 Khan, Khan Sahib Maulvi Muazzam Ali.  
 Khan, Maulvi Tamsuddin.  
 Khan, Mr. Razaur Rahman.  
 Lahiri, Mr. Basanta Kumar.  
 Laird, Mr. R. B.  
 Leicester, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. H.

Liddell, Mr. H. C.  
 Lindsay, Mr. J. H.  
 Maguire, Mr. L. T.  
 Marr, Mr. A.  
 Mawla, Maulvi Choudhury Gelam.  
 Mazumdar, Rai Bahadur Jadunath.  
 McCluskie, Mr. E. T.  
 Mitter, Sir Pravash Chunder.  
 Moberly, the Hon'ble Mr. A. M.  
 Morgan, Mr. G.  
 Mukerji, Mr. S. C.  
 Nandy, Mahara] Kumar Srie Chandra.  
 Nazimuddin, Mr. Khwaja.  
 Oaten, Mr. E. F.  
 Ordish, Mr. J. E.  
 Phelps, Mr. Trevor J.  
 Philip, Mr. J. Y.  
 Poddar, Mr. Ananda Mohan.  
 Prentiss, Mr. W. D. R.  
 Rahim, Sir Abd-ur-  
 Rahman, Maulvi Azizur.  
 Rahman, Maulvi Shamsur-  
 Rahman, Mr. A. F. M. Abdur-  
 Raikat, Mr. Prasanna Deb.  
 Rauf, Maulvi Syed Abdur.  
 Ray, Babu Nagendra Narayan.  
 Ray, Maharaja Jogindra Nath, of Nater.  
 Ray, the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Kshaunish Chandra, of Nadia.  
 Ray Chaudhuri, Mr. K. C.  
 Roy, Mr. S. N.  
 Saehse, Mr. F. A.  
 Sadeque, Maulvi Mohamed.  
 Sanyal, Babu Sachindra Narayan.  
 Sarbadhikari, Dr. Sir Deva Prasad.  
 Sarkar, Rai Sahib Rehati Mohan.  
 Sattar, Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdus.  
 Sattar, Maulvi Abdoel Razak Hajee Abdoel.  
 Shah, Mr. Ghelam Hossain.  
 Sinha, Babu Charu Chandra.  
 Sinha, Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan, of Nashipur.  
 Skinner, Mr. S. A.  
 Solaiman, Maulvi Muhammad.  
 Stuart-Williams, Mr. S. C.  
 Suhrawardy, Mr. H. S.  
 Travers, Mr. W. L.  
 Wilson, Mr. R. S.  
 Woodhead, Mr. J. A.  
 Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.

The Ayes being 38 and the Noes 94, the motion was lost.

The following motions were deemed to be withdrawn:—

**Babu MANMATHA NATH ROY:** That the demand for Rs. 24,775 under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of the two Ministers, be reduced by Rs. 24,774.

**Babu NAGENDRA NATH SEN:** That the demand of Rs. 24,775 under the head "22—General Administration" for the salaries of two Ministers, be reduced by Rs. 24,770-5-10.

The time-limit having been reached the following motion was not dealt with:—

**Maulvi KADER BAKSH:** That the demand of Rs. 24,775 under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of two Ministers with effect from the 22nd January, 1927, be reduced by Re. 1.

The demand that a sum of Rs. 24,775 be granted under the head "22—General Administration" on account of the salaries of two Ministers with effect from the 22nd January, 1927, was then put and agreed to.

**Prorogation:**

**Mr. PRESIDENT:** I have it in command from His Excellency the Governor to announce that the Bengal Legislative Council stands prorogued.

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