

Role of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh as Head of the Shadow Ministry and First Ministry of West Bengal (3rd July 1947- 22nd January 1948) - An Analytical Review.

Babulal Bala

Assistant Professor of History, Raiganj University, West Bengal, India.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh was a remarkable character in Indian politics. He was born on 24th day of December 1891 at the Malikanda village of Dhaka district in East Bengal. His father Purna Chandra Ghosh was a village primary school teacher and mother Binodini Devi was a pious and generous woman. He was all along a very bright student and as a consequent of that he became the first class first in Chemistry from Dhaka College in 1913, and in 1916 he was not only the first class first in M.A but also became the toper among the pass out students of M.A, M. Sc in Chemistry. He did his Ph.D. from Calcutta University in 1920.¹ As a mark of extraordinary scholar, his some 'Research Papers' were published in the Journal of 'London Chemical Society'. Not only that, as a first Indian, even before getting Ph.D. Degree, he was appointed in the post of "Deputy Assay Master" in Calcutta Mint with the monthly salary worth Rs-500.²

In personal life as well as spiritual life, Dr. P. C. Ghosh was very much influenced by Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobinda. Later, when he came into the contact with M. K. Gandhi, became an ardent disciple of Gandhiji. After the meeting with Gandhiji in 1920 and deeply inspired by him about non-violence as well as fearlessness, Dr. P. C. Ghosh decided to join in the freedom movement in India under the guidance of Gandhiji, and so Dr. Ghosh resigned from the service and engaged himself in freedom movement in all respect. After leaving service in order to join non-cooperation movement and for self realization through the service of the country, Dr. P. C. Ghosh along with Dr. Suresh Chandra Bandopadhyay, and consultation with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Gandhiji established 'Abhay Ashram' in 1922, whose main centre was Koomilla in Eastern Bengal.³ Remaining in the path of truth, non-violence and adoration to God Dr, P. C. Ghosh devoted his life for the sake of his motherland on the Path of Mahatma Gandhi and that is why he was in favor of Council boycott against Deshbandhu's move to Council entry. Due to lack of unanimity, there was an election for the post of 'secretary' in Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. In that election Deshpran Birendranath Saashmal was the candidate of the followers of Council entry i.e, the group of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh was the candidate of Council boycott group as well as Gandian Group. At last, Dr. P. C. Ghosh won the election by 10 votes.⁴

As a strong believer of Gandhian Philosophy as well as thought, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh along with 80 (eighty) delegates of Bengal used their voting right in historic Tripuri Congress in 1938, in favor of Pattravi Sitarammaia who was supported by Gandhiji against Subash Chandra Bose. After resignation of Subash Chandra Bose, as a Congress President in April 1939, then Babu Rajendra Prasad was elected the Congress President and Dr. Ghosh was one of the members of the Working Committee, formed by the Congress President.⁵ Though

there were differences of opinion in politics, Dr. P. C. Ghosh had good personal relation with Bose brothers. Before partition, especially after the declaration of 'Direct Action Day' on 16th August, 1946 by the Muslim League, severe communal violence took place in Calcutta and thereupon same communal brutality had broken out at Noakhali in Eastern Bengal on the month of October, 1946 and the almost same thing happened through Bihar holocaust. In that situation Mahatma Gandhi, the 77 years old man, rushed Noakhali in order to restore communal harmony and tranquility and avoided to attend the celebration of Independence Day on 26th January, 1947 and expressed unhappiness for communal intolerance.

In the meantime after the election of 1946, it was found that within the 11 provinces Congress had got the thumping majority in 8 provinces where Muslim League only 3 provinces. In the Bengal Assembly election (1946, March) there was a resounding success both for the League and the Congress. The League got 115 seats out of 121 Muslims seats, and the Congress got 87 out of 90 general seats wiping out the Hindu Mahasabha, except the University seat won by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee.⁶ Naturally, after election Muslim League formed Ministry in Bengal province. As per the instruction of Viceroy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed central Ministry on 2nd September, 1946. Though at the beginning, Muslim League did not join with the Nehru's Central Ministry, but in the month of October without any consultation with Prime Minister Nehru, League joined the Central Ministry according to the advice of Viceroy.⁷

Due to increasing communal violence and mass killing in different parts of the country especially after the Muslims to adopt the slogan of 'Lar ke lenge Pakistan' or 'no cause is dearer or nobler than Pakistan' or Nehru's controversial faux pas after the acceptance of Cabinet Mission Plan, *whether the Congress would follow the Cabinet Mission Plan toto, Nehru answered that his party was 'completely unfettered by any agreement and free to meet all situation as they arise',⁸(10th July 1946)* –all these cleared that India was going to divide. But Ghandiji was dead against the partition and expressed his view that if the communal violence would continue then the destruction of the country is inevitable. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Ballav Bhai Pattel boldly stated that it was not possible to work with the League. They also said that if the partitioned happened, then the League members would engage themselves into their developmental work, and they (Nehru & Patel) also did for the betterment of their part and thus peace might restore.⁹

Keeping in mind the above situation, when with the partition of India as well as Bengal partition was inevitable, the activists of the 'Abhoy Ashram' decided that they will not change their working place whether it was East or West Bengal, but one might be allowed to work in his birth place. Though the birth place of Dr. P. C. Ghosh was East Bengal, but he was deeply associated with the work of west Bengal. In that situation, due to the desire of his associates of West Bengal, Dr. P. C. Ghosh inclined to become the leader of the West Bengal Legislative assembly. The president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC), Surendra Mohan

Ghosh also expressed his desire to become the leader of the Legislative Assembly. J.B. Kripalini, the then All India Congress President decided that he personally would talk to the M.L.As of the Congress party and also cleared that most acceptable between the two would be elected the leader of the Legislative party, but there would be no open opposition. Both Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Dr. Prafulla Chandra

Ghosh were agreed with the proposal and lastly majority of the Congress M.L.As expressed their confidence on Dr.Ghosh and that is why he was elected the leader of the Legislative Assembly. After becoming the leader Dr. Ghosh at first proposed Surendra Mohan Ghosh to become a member of his Ministry, but he declined.¹⁰

The year 1947, experienced not only the birth of Independent India but also witnessed the 'Partition of Bengal'. Indeed West Bengal suffered most due to the partition; it was a blow to the economy, culture and identity of the Bengali people. It was an overall crisis of the Bengali nationality during the first phase of the post-independence days that left permanent socio- cultural impact in the psyche of the Bengali people.¹¹ Before the partition of Bengal, it was decided among the Congress, Muslim League and the Government of India that the leader of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly along with his colleagues would join with the Muslim League ministry headed by Khwaja Nazimuddin- as a '**Shadow Ministry**'. No work would be done in West Bengal without the approval of the shadow Ministry. Though, in all affairs i.e, work order and implementation of any project would be exercised by the League ministry of United Bengal. In case of any disputes as well as differences of opinion between League Ministry and Shadow Ministry, Governor had the right to resolve, if necessary the Government of India would interfere to solve the problem. 3rd July,1947 i.e, from the day of oath taking of the 'Shadow Ministry' of Dr. P.C.Ghosh to 15th August,1947 were very crucial day in the life of Dr. Ghosh. The first biggest challenge came before the Shadow Ministry with the Government Employees'. Government of India given the rights of all the Govt. Employees' of united Bengal to work either in East Bengal or India as well as West Bengal. As most of the employees' were Hindus, so almost all of them wanted to work in West Bengal. The Ministry unanimously decided to absorb them.¹²

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had no earlier experience in the field of administration. He thought that if he would go ahead with the development of common people, honesty and hard work, in spite of some mistake the country would progress. His second impression was that if the recruitment of Chief Secretary and other Secretaries were well then the implementation of the policy of the council of ministry would be easier. Keeping in mind the above thinking, Dr. Ghosh went through all the secret reports of the higher officials of administrative and judicial. He recruited Sukumar Sen (I.C.S) as the Chief Secretary, Karuna Kumar Hazra (I.C.S.) as personal secretary, Ranajit Gupta (I.C.S.) as Home Secretary and Shaibal Kumar Gupta (I.C.S) as Education Secretary. These recruitments were no-doubt very good because the devotion and sincerities they showed in their working place was noteworthy. At the time of the 'Shadow Ministry' one day, after noon a letter from Mahatma Gandhi came in the hands of Dr. Ghosh by somebody. The contents of the letter were quite explosive. In that letter Gandhiji had written to Dr. Ghosh: " Sarder Vallabhbhai Patel sent a message that there should be a Marwari in your Cabinet- Badridas Goyenka or Deviprasad Khaitan. It appears to me that it is proper to do it and improper not to do it".¹³ Dr. Ghosh was very much astonished after getting the letter from Gandhi, as because a few days ago, Dr. Ghosh approved the name of the ministers from Centre. Sarder Patel was one of the approval bodies, but at that time he personally did not say anything regarding that matter. It was fully illogical that a minister from Marwari community must be inducted. Thereafter, as Gandhiji was not able to hear the telephonic conversation, Dr. Ghosh narrated the whole matter to Kripaliniji, so that he could inform Gandhiji. After knowing full well Gandhiji told Kripaliniji, 'If Prafulla thought that the proposal was unjustified, he might think that I had not written him that letter'.¹⁴ It is mention worthy that Dr. Ghosh had no grudge against any Marwari, as because according to the will of Dr. P.C.Ghosh, Iswardas Jalan, a man of Marwari community became the first Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Iswardas Jalan

became the Speaker by dint of his worthiness, not because as a Marwari. In the Shadow Ministry, and the first Ministry of Dr. P.C. Ghosh there was no Muslim and for that reason nobody told him anything. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh all along deeply believed that one able and honest Hindu Minister could welfare to all communities and at the same time a Muslim Minister vice-versa. Worthy men should be given the opportunity to perform in the appropriate places irrespective of caste, class and religion. Ministers should be inducted from each and every community – this policy is nothing but to perpetuate the communal ailment.

When Gandhiji was doing his best to restore the peace and communal harmony in Calcutta, even at the day of independence i.e, 15th August 1947, in the mean time Dr. P. C. Ghosh Ministry had to face a severe problem. On 14th August 1947, Pakistani flag was hoisted in the district town of Murshidabad and Maldah. On 15th August 1947, Indian flag was hoisted in Khulna. The report of the boundary commission of two Bengal as well as Radclif Award was published on 17th August. In that report, it was found that the entire Khulna district was within the part of East Pakistan, on the other hand some part of Murshidabad and Maldah districts along with the main city of Maldah and Murshidabad had become the part of West Bengal. Naturally, there was a overcast environment in two Bengal. In that situation, Dr. P.C.Ghosh along with Khwaza Nazimuddin made a joint statement. The essence of the joint statement was that if there was a necessity regarding the change of the Radclif Award, it must be done with the consultation of the government of two Bengal, and until and unless it had not done the people of both side had to obey the boundary line. In a public meeting at Calcutta Gandhiji regarded the joint statement as statesmanlike and sagacious. Though, Sardar Ballav Bhai Pattel, the first Home Minister of India did not like the joint statement. Later Government of India formed a five men committee in order to consider the demands of the people, but the result was meaningless.¹⁵

As the first Primer of West Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had to take the responsibility of the administration at a very critical moment. At that time there were main three problems before him, such as: 1) Food Crisis, 2) Communal Problems and 3) Corruption. In the Government store room, there were only the food grains of only some days. So, with the import of the food grain by the steamer and without any delay it was transferred to the necessary places. In order to meet up the food problem, in spite of huge hardship, Dr. Ghosh was able to collect almost one lakh maund food grains from his own provinces. But, another danger came from Maitriyee Basu, leader of Congress trade union. Maitriyee Basu came to Dr. P.C.Ghosh only few days before the Durga Puja and demanded that one month's salary had to be given as advance to the driver of the food supply department. Dr. Ghosh told her that if she would come to him at least two weeks ago, then an arrangement might be done for giving advance of all the equal salary holders. So, it is not possible by any means to give the salary of one month as advance only to the drivers of the food supply departments. After that without giving any notice as well as intimation, one day morning the drivers of the food supply departments started to cease work. Dr. Ghosh with the help of supply Minister, Charu Chandra Bhandari appealed to the non government transport owner to help the government by giving car driver. In that way Dr. Ghosh showed his capacity that he was not a man to bend his head to the illegal and unjustified demands.¹⁶

It was fact that, the restoration of communal harmony was not an easy task. In order to make the proper environment regarding the peaceful living of the Muslim community in west Bengal, Dr. Ghosh did his best. In order to take the decision regarding Puja, Korbani, Tajia and procession; a meeting was arranged at the No. 8 theatre road, the government resident of Dr. Ghosh along with Sir. Khaza

Nazimuddin, the President of both the Congress and the Muslim League. After the meeting it was decided that all the religious practices would be performed according to the arrangement of the previous British administration.

At the day of independence i.e, 15th August 1947, Mahatma Gandhi was in Calcutta. In order to restore peace and communal harmony in Calcutta where Hindus were not have the courage to go to the locality of the Mussalmans and the Muslims had no capacity to go to the Hindu areas, so Gandhiji gave a proposal to Hussain Shahid Suharawardy to live together with him. From the day of 13th August Gandhiji and Suharawardi started to live in 150 Belegkata Main Road near –Haydari mach factory, an abandoned house of a Muslim gentleman.¹⁷ Though at the initial stage some people were not ready to tolerate Suharawardy and raised the slogan ‘Go back Gandhi’ , but after one or two days the situation started to develop. In the meanwhile, after receiving the news of Punjab the communal weather of Calcutta started to become hot, they wanted to take the revenge of Punjab and considered Gandhiji as their main opponent. In that situation the house where Gandhiji was living along with Suharawardy was attacked on 31st August, 1947¹⁸. Premier Dr. P. C. Ghosh after receiving the news, rushed to the place forthwith along with police commissioner at midnight. On the next day i.e, 1st September 1947, at 9.15 p.m. Gandhiji started his fasting for indefinite period and declared he would end his fasting only when communal harmony would restore. It was just a miracle, after starting the fasting of Gandhiji, those people who were involved in the incident of the attack of Gandhiji’s residence; they expressed their repentant and requested Gandhiji time and again to end his fasting. Not only that, they started to hand over their dangerous arms to Gandhiji. On the other hand, it was declared on behalf of the Government of west Bengal that those who would hand over the arms and other weapons within the limited days, no action would be taken against them.¹⁹At last, with the written commitment made by Nirmal Chatturjya, Niranjana Sing Tali and Suharawardy on behalf of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims respectively, Gandhi decided to end his fasting on 4th September at 9.15 p.m. Before the end of fasting he reiterated, see, I am ending my fasting on the basis of your commitment, if the communal violence recur, you must not come back to me with your life on the pretext of the violence, rather if you sacrificed your life to stop the communal violence, I would be happy.²⁰

In this time a group of youth and Students being inspired by the nobility of Gandhiji, they formed ‘Shanti Sena’ in order to restore communal normalcy. Mahatmaji advised the activists of the Shanti Sena to work in the troublesome area without thinking the safety and security of their own life. In that peace restoring campaign on 3rd September, 1947, a highly educated youth namely Sachin Mitra sacrificed his life. Later time, more three educated youth i.e, Smritish Bondopadhyay, Bireswar Ghosh and Sushil Dasgupta lost their lives for the restoration of communal harmony. This type of sacrifice of life for the greater interest of our motherland was no doubt a noble example in the political history of Bengal.²¹

In the field of the eradication of corruption Dr. Ghosh had given his special attention. He would hard and soul believed that the main hindrance before the development of a nation was corruption. Dr. Ghosh was able to receive full support from All India Congress President Kripaliniji and Governor Rajaji. Chief Secretary Sukumar Sen was very much enthusiastic regarding this matter. Besides these, Dr. Ghosh had got help from many Government and Non Government personalities to stop corruption. Dr. Ghosh thought that the main two safe-guard of democracy were-i) equitable public Service commission and ii) entirely free, honest and efficient judicial system. It was ethically in-correct for a person to become a member of Public Service Commission, if once he or she became the Secretary of any one department

there. In the case of Judiciary also, no person should be inducted who once became the M.L.A. or M.P. At the time of the recruitment of the Public Service Commission, according to the suggestions of the Premier Dr. P.C.Ghosh ; Governor Chakraborty Raja Gopalachari appointed a three man Service Commission headed by a retired District Judge B.K.Basu. The other two members were – Scientist Dr. Sudhamay Ghosh and Jitendra Prosad Neogi, professor in economics. The question regarding the appointment of the Judges in High Court was not arisen, but how many Judges were needed, that type of question arisen. In the undivided Bengal, the total Judges were 22. Dr. Ghosh thought that 13 Judges would be sufficient for West Bengal, 7 for Calcutta and 6 for the rest part of West Bengal.²²

It must be mentionable that when Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh elected as the leader of the West Bengal Legislative Party, he was not the Member of the Legislative Assembly. But, after becoming leader of the Legislative party as well as Premier or Chief Minister, it was mandatory for him to become a M.L.A. In that situation, Khagendra Nath Bandopadhyay, a Congress M.L.A. from Birbhum District left his Seuri Assembly seat for Dr. Ghosh who later won the by-election due to the whole hearted efforts of Khagendra Nath Bandopadhyay.²³ In that election, being aware of his weak position, Dr. Ghosh sought help from the central Congress leadership and Acharya Kripalani, the then All India Congress President in his election campaign in an appeal said "... the new province of Bengal was created under difficult conditions and needed its ablest leader to steer through the initial stages of independence, Sri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh has justified the choice... Bengal is fortunate in having at its helm of affairs one that can be truly described as the first servant of the people. I hope the people of Birbhum will be proud to elect him as their representative in the Assembly. Knowing as I do the work and worth of Sri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh I feel that to oppose him in this election would be doing a distinct disservice not only to West Bengal but to united Bengal".²⁴ That by-election was won by Dr. Ghosh defeating his nearest rival, a Hindu Mahasabha candidate by a margin of 22,480 to 13,492 votes.²⁵ During the period of Shadow Ministry, Dr. P.C.Ghosh was quite aware regarding the impending problems of his Ministry. The very first of all, was the desire of Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel through the letter of Gandhiji, which had already been mentioned. The Second problem came from his close circle. Dr. Ghosh became the Premier of West Bengal for the earnest desire of somebody, now one of them came to Dr. Ghosh and asked him to form a committee consisting of some special personality, who were obviously the outsider and insisted him to consult with them before doing any work. But, Dr. Ghosh literally said impossible, as because if it was happened, the outsiders would be informed about all the secret matters of the Government and that committee will be transformed into a Supper Cabinet. Though there was no answer from that person, but he was not satisfied.²⁶

The third problem for Dr. P. C. Ghosh had come with the discharge of Radhanath Das, Supply minister of Dr. Ghosh's ministry in the charge of corruption in collaboration with League ministers. But, as a consequence of that 'Hooghly Group' the most influential group in Provincial Congress Committee became very angry against Dr. Ghosh. In the meantime as an inevitable consequence of the Partition of Bengal huge Refugee influx, Communal environmental situation along with sabotaging activities of the Communists gradually led to the degradation of the law and order of the Province. In order to tackle this situation Dr. Ghosh brought the Security Bill in Cabinet in December, 1947. As Dr. Ghosh explained, "No patriotic citizen who stands for the safety and integrity of the state need have any fear of the provisions of the bill. Saboteurs, communal mischief mongers, gun runners and foreign agents and spies would have every reason for fear. No right thinking citizen would want to feel otherwise"²⁷. The Communists were deadly against the Security Bill, and the anti Ghosh Group within the Congress started

to use the grievances against Dr. Ghosh secretly. When the Security Bill was discussing in the Cabinet then one day a group of people came in a Jeep and started to throw stone in the Assembly compound. In that situation to disperse the mob, police had no other alternatives but to fire, and as a result one innocent Sishir Mandal, an employee of the Relief and Welfare Ambulance Corps died on December 10, 1947. Speaking on the floor of the Assembly, Dr. Ghosh denounced the agitation as a “well-laid conspiracy” designed to discredit the Government and to capture power by violence.²⁸ In the midst of controversy and huge excitement, the Security Bill was passed, but with this the days of the Ghosh Ministry started to end very speedy.²⁹

In the meanwhile, Ghanashyam Das Birla had come to no. 8 Theatre Road i.e, Government resident of the Primer Dr. P.C.Ghosh in the Month of December 1947, with a paper signed by the majority of Congress M.L.A. and gave it to Dr. Ghosh. In that paper, though there was no specific allegation against Dr. Ghosh, but it was mentioned that in order to run the administration more properly we want to change the leader of the Congress Legislative party. In place of Dr. Ghosh they wanted Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy as their leader. Becoming quite sure that he had to leave the Ministry, in spite of that for the greater interest of the country Dr. Ghosh tried his best to pass the Security Bill which ultimately passed on 4th January 1948. In that situation, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, a true follower of Gandhiji and a man of high moral values, realised that he had lost the confidence of the majority of the Congress M.L.As. So, he resigned from the post of the leader of the Congress Legislative Party on 14th January 1948 and at a meeting on 15th January 1948, the Congress Legislative Party unanimously accepted the resignation of Dr. Ghosh.³⁰ Dr. B.C.Roy was then elected leader on 21st January and Dr. Ghosh leave the Secretariat on 22nd January 1948. Dr. B. C.Roy, after becoming the leader of the Legislative party invited Dr. P. C. Ghosh, to become the Home Minister of his Cabinet, but he was not agree with that proposal.³¹

Notes and References

1. Ghosh Dr. Prafulla Chandra : *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, Titas , Kolkata, 2014, pp. 24-25.
2. Ghosh Atulya : *Kasta Kalpita*, Ananda Publishers, Calcutta,1980; p-62; Ghosh Dr. Prafulla Chandra : *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, Titas, Kolkata, 2014; p.26. Dr. Ghosh in his ‘*Jiban Smritir Bhumika*’ mentioned that he would draw the salary of Rs 500 per month as a first Indian Deputy Assay Master, though Atulya Ghosh in his ‘*Kasta Kalpita*’ mentioned that the salary of Dr. Ghosh as a Deputy Assay Master was Rs 1000 to 1200.
3. Ghosh Prafulla Chandra : *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, Titas, Kolkata, p-46; and Ghosh Atulya : *Kasta Kalpita*, Ananda Publishers, Calcutta, 1980 ; pp.65-66.
4. Ghosh Dr. Prafulla Chandra,op. cit., p.46.
5. *ibid.*,pp. 79-80.
6. Sengupta Nitish : *Land of Two Rivers, A History of Bengal From the Mahabharata to Mujib*; penguin, Delhi, 2011, p.454.
7. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op. Cit, p.93.
8. *Land of Two Rivers*, op. Cit, pp,459-461.
9. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op. Cit, p.94.
10. *ibid.*, p.94
11. Basu Chandan : *The Making of the left Ideology in west Bengal: Culture, Political, Economy, Revolution 1947-1970*; Abhijeet Publications, Delhi-110094, 2009, p.4.
12. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op. Cit., pp. 95-96

13. Banerjee Dilip, Election Recorder- An Analytical Reference, Bengal-West Bengal, 1862-2012, Star Publishing House, Kolkata, 2012, p.953. Annexure-1, Letter from Gandhiji to Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.
14. *ibid*, pp.97-98.
15. *ibid.*, p.99.
16. *ibid.*,p.100.
17. *Satchallisher Dairy*, Nirmal Kumar Basu,1947, ed. By-Abhik Kumar Dey, Punachha, Kolkata, January-2014, pp. 315-319.
18. *ibid*, p-350.
19. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op. Cit, p.101.
20. *Satchallisher Dairy*,op. Cit. p.353.
21. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op, Cit., .p.102.
22. *Ibid*. p.103.
23. Sengupta Nitish : *Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy Jiban O Samaykal*, Dey's, Kolkata, 3rd edition-2009. PP,75-76.
24. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, November, 14, 1947.
25. *The Statesman*, November, 21, 1947.
26. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op, Cit.p.108.
27. *The Statesman*, December, 9, 1947.
28. Chakrabarty Saroj : *My Years With Dr. B. C. Roy*. A Centenary Volume, Saraswaty Press Limited, Calcutta, 1982. P. 69.
29. *Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy Jiban O Samaykal*, op. cit., pp.75-76.
30. *The Statesman*, January, 16, 1948.
31. *Jiban Smritir Bhumika*, op, Cit.,p. 110.