



**Government of Bengal**

**Appointment Department**

**Reforms**

**Final Report of the  
Provincial Advisory Committee  
on the  
Delimitation of Constituencies  
1935**

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## Report.

### I.—Introductory.

1. The first Report of the Committee, completed on the 23rd March 1934, contained proposals for the delimitation of constituencies for the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Legislative Council and the Federal Assembly, on the basis of the Communal Decision, as altered later by the Poona Pact, and the proposals contained in the White Paper. Since the Committee submitted their first Report, the constitutional proposals enunciated in the White Paper have been subjected to several changes, particularly with regard to the Federal Legislature. As the constitution has emerged in the Government of India Act, 1935, however, the earlier proposals have remained substantially the same so far as the Provincial Legislature is concerned; indeed only one change was made which affects the delimitation of constituencies—the European community was given three territorial seats in the Bengal Legislative Council in place of the one seat given them in the White Paper. The quota of nominated members, ten in the White Paper, was reduced in the Government of India Act to a minimum of six and a maximum of eight; but no constituencies are involved in this change.

2. The changes made in the Government of India Act mainly affect the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. Indirect election has been substituted for direct election for the Assembly, hence the proposals made in the earlier proceedings of the Committee for territorial Federal Assembly constituencies are no longer pertinent. Direct election has replaced the White Paper, indirect system for the Council of State; the Committee accordingly was called upon to make proposals covering the constituencies for that body. They have also reviewed their previous recommendations covering the Commerce and Industry, Landholders and Labour seats for the Federal Assembly.

3. The heavier part of the Committee's task has been a review of the proposals of the Government of Bengal for the delimitation of constituencies for the Provincial Legislature. The Government of Bengal published their proposals on the 17th July, and invited representative associations, local bodies and responsible individuals to offer their views on them. In response to this invitation a considerable volume of criticism was received. The various representations, memorials and letters, numbering about 170 in all, were printed and circulated to the Committee, which was summoned to consider the Government's proposals in the light of these criticisms and of their own previous recommendations. The Committee was also asked to consider the electoral qualifications and methods of voting in certain constituencies for which the qualifications have not been determined in the Government of India Act.

4. Memoranda on the various subjects due for discussion were circulated by the Reforms Office to the members of the Committee. In these memoranda the attention of members was directed to the criticisms which had been sent in by the public, the full text of which was available in the printed volume referred to in the previous paragraph.

5. During their present session, the Committee met six times.
6. The order of the Committee's findings in the paragraphs below follows the arrangement in the Schedules to the Government of India Act, 1935, although this was not the actual order of discussion.

## II.—Council of State.

7. **General and Muhammadan seats.**—According to the first Schedule of the Government of India Act, the Bengal quota of seats for the Council of State is twenty—nine General seats including one Scheduled Caste seat, ten Muhammadan seats, and one seat for women. The method of election for the Scheduled Caste seat, and the women's seat is prescribed in the Act, hence the Committee had to consider the delimitation of eight General and ten Muhammadan seats.

8. With respect to the distribution of seats between urban and rural areas, the Committee were unanimously of opinion that the parallel recommended by them in their first Report in the case of the Provincial Upper House should be followed in the case of Muhammadan seats, viz., that there should be one urban Muhammadan seat. The same general principle was adopted, with two dissentients, in the case of the General urban seats, viz., that there should be two General urban seats.

9. In the case of the Muhammadan urban seat, some members thought that the municipal areas of Eastern Bengal should be included. A suggestion that it should cover the whole province received no support. Ultimately it was agreed by a majority of 10 votes to 4 that the constituency should consist of Calcutta and the municipalities and cantonment in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah. This is the same as was recommended by the Committee for the Bengal Legislative Council in their first Report. In the case of the two General urban seats, the suggestion was also made that the municipal areas of Eastern Bengal should be included, but it was agreed, by a majority of 9 votes to 5, that the constituencies should be the same as those recommended by the Committee in their first Report for the Provincial Upper House, viz.—

- (1) Calcutta, and
- (2) municipalities and cantonment in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah.

10. With regard to the Muhammadan rural seats in the Council of State the Committee, by a majority of 9 votes to 3, decided to recommend the following allocation:—

Burdwan Division	...	1
Presidency Division	...	1
Rajshahi Division	...	2
(a) Rajshahi Division North, including the Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur and Rangpur districts	...	1
(b) Rajshahi Division South, including the Rajshahi, Malda, Pabna and Bogra districts	...	1

Dacca Division	...	3
(a) Dacca	... ..	1
(b) Mymensingh	... ..	1
(c) Faridpur and Bakarganj	... ..	1
Chittagong Division	...	2
(a) Tippera	... ..	1
(b) Noakhali and Chittagong	... ..	1

There was some discussion on the allotment of one rural seat to Burdwan Division and to Presidency Division owing to the wide disparity in population. Suggestions were put forward that the 24-Parganas district or the Murshidabad district might be taken out of the Presidency Division seat and included in the Burdwan Division seat. The Committee however were opposed to the dismemberment of the Divisions especially in view of the probable restricted nature of the franchise for the Council of State.

11. The Committee unanimously agreed that the distribution of the six General rural seats in the Council of State should be as follows:—

Burdwan Division—

(a) Bankura and Midnapore	... ..	1
(b) Burdwan, Birbhum, Howrah and Hooghly excluding the municipalities in the districts of Hooghly and Howrah	... ..	1

Presidency Division (excluding the municipalities  
and cantonment in the district of the 24-Parganas) 1

Rajshahi Division	... ..	1
Dacca Division	... ..	1
Chittagong Division	... ..	1

### III.—Federal Assembly.\*

12. **Commerce and Industry seats.**—The Committee unanimously agreed to accept the Government proposals for the allocation of the Commerce constituencies for the Federal Assembly. These proposals

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\*The proposals of Government on the Federal Assembly seats were conveyed to the Committee in Memoranda circulated by the Reforms Office.

are substantially the same as those recommended by the Committee in their first Report. The constituencies proposed are:—

- (1) The Bengal Chamber of Commerce ... 1 seat.
- (2) The Indian Jute Mills Association ... 1 seat.
- (3) An electoral college of 15 members to 1 seat.  
be elected by the following bodies: viz.—
 

Bengal National Chamber of Commerce ..	6 members.
The Marwari Association ...	3 members.
The Bengal Mahajan Sabha ...	3 members.
The Muslim Chamber of Commerce ...	3 members.

The Committee further decided to recommend that the rules for electing members to the electoral college should be such as may be determined by the electing bodies subject to the approval of the Governor, and that the method of election and the qualifications of electors for the first two constituencies should be the same as in the case of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

13. **Landholders' seat.**—In agreement with their previous recommendation and the proposal of Government, the Committee unanimously agreed that the constituency should cover the whole of Bengal (excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts) and that voting should be by postal ballot.

It was also unanimously agreed that the qualifications of electors and candidates in respect of this constituency should be the same as for the landholders' constituencies (*vide* paragraph 38 *post*) of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

14. **Labour seats.**—In agreement with their previous recommendation and with the proposals of Government the Committee unanimously agreed that one seat should be allotted to a special labour constituency, on the *mukhiya* system covering the area of territorial labour constituencies for the Bengal Legislative Assembly, viz.:—

- (1) Calcutta and the Sadar Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district.
- (2) the Barrackpore Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district,
- (3) the Howrah district, and
- (4) the Sadar and Serampore Subdivisions of the Hooghly district.

Also in agreement with their previous recommendation and with the proposal of Government, the Committee, by a majority of 6 votes to 3, decided to recommend the allotment of the second seat to a registered trade union constituency composed of the registered trade unions qualified to elect members to the registered trade union seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

15. With regard to the qualifications of voters and candidates the Committee unanimously accepted a draft of rules prepared by Government. The draft is given in Appendix I.

#### IV.—Bengal Legislative Assembly.

##### General and Scheduled Caste seats.

16. **General urban seats.**—In their first Report the Committee recommended that there should be seventeen General urban seats; and that these seats should be spread over the municipal and cantonment areas of the province, with the exception of those in the Darjeeling Hill constituency. In the Government proposals, while the view of the Committee that the seats should be spread over all the municipalities of the province was accepted, the quota of seats was reduced to eleven. In their first Report the Committee also recommended that the Scheduled Caste seats should be limited to rural, i.e., non-municipal areas. This also was accepted by Government.

17. The divergence of opinion between Government and the Committee was reflected in the numerous criticisms which had been received. The Committee noted that, though there was a measure of support for the Government quota of eleven, there was a strong current of opposition to the distribution of the seats proposed by Government. The opposition was particularly strong from those municipalities which enjoy either an independent seat under the present constitution or a more restricted constituency than that now proposed by Government. In particular there were strong protests from Howrah, Hooghly and Dacca. Fear was also expressed by some municipalities in districts in the Presidency Division outside the metropolitan manufacturing area, that linking them with "mill" municipalities would result in their being swamped. An examination of the number of rate-payers in these municipalities shows that the probability is that the opposite might be the case, as the number of rate-payers in the "mill" municipalities is very small relatively to the total population. Nevertheless the Committee agreed to propose a redistribution of the urban seats in the Presidency Division.

18. Another class of protest came from the districts. The burden of these objections was that the municipalities of some districts did not wish to be linked with those of other districts. The Committee were unable to entertain these protests on two grounds, first, even on their previous figure of seventeen urban seats they could not satisfy all districts in this respect, for the requests were in most cases tantamount to a demand for an urban seat per district; and secondly, they were unanimously of the opinion that the Scheduled Caste seats should be restricted to purely rural areas. This made it necessary to link up municipalities over fairly wide areas.

19. A minority of the Committee was in favour of adhering to the Committee's first recommendation—of seventeen urban seats. A proposal to this effect however was lost by 9 votes to 3. The Committee then attempted to distribute eleven seats so that Calcutta should have the same constituencies as at present, and the remainder of the seats be



spread over all other municipal areas. The vital factor in the distribution was the position of Calcutta. In the discussion it became clear that the feeling against depriving Calcutta of two seats, as Government proposed to do, was very strong. On the other hand the Committee felt that, if they repeated their previous recommendation of seventeen seats, the charge of excessive weightage would be justified, and they recognized that the corresponding loss to the rural areas would seriously affect the nature of the rural seats. They therefore attempted to find a middle way, which, while not materially increasing the weightage in favour of the urban population, would at the same time maintain the Calcutta quota of seats at its present figure of six, and also enable the Committee to repeat their previous recommendations, which had been accepted by Government, that the rest of the seats should be distributed over the other municipal areas of the province, and that the Scheduled Caste seats should be allotted to non-municipal areas.

20. After examining various schemes of distribution with six seats to Calcutta, the Committee were driven to the conclusion that, if they were to adhere to their previous decision regarding Scheduled Caste seats, a workable distribution was impossible with eleven seats. They were however of opinion that such a distribution was possible with the addition of one more seat to the urban quota. On examining the Government proposals for the allocation of seats to rural areas, the Committee were unanimous in the opinion that, on the basis Government had adopted, the distribution by districts was equitable; but they came to the conclusion that one General seat could be spared from Midnapore. The abstraction from Midnapore of this seat, they thought, would not seriously affect the representation of the district, or the symmetry of the Government proposals. This seat they proposed should be absorbed in the urban quota for Calcutta. The other Calcutta seat the Committee found by a redistribution of the urban seats as delimited in the Government proposals. Instead of the Rajshahi Division municipalities with their relatively small population having one seat, the Committee recommended that the Rajshahi Division municipalities should be given one seat jointly with the municipalities of the Chittagong Division, and that the Bakarganj municipalities should be included in the Dacca Division seat. The urban quota of General seats recommended by the Committee is thus twelve, or one more than the number proposed by Government. It was agreed that the Calcutta seats be the same as they are under the present constitution. The Committee also agreed that, subject to detailed examination of the figures the following allocation for the Presidency Division, would be preferable to that proposed by Government:—

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| (1) municipalities of the 24-Parganas district                                | ... 1 seat |
| (2) municipalities of the Nadia, Murshidabad,<br>Khulna and Jessore districts | ... 1 seat |

21. With the above allocation of urban seats, the Committee unanimously re-affirmed their previous finding, which had been supported by Government, that the Scheduled Caste seats should be confined to non-municipal areas only.

22. **General rural seats.**—The Committee unanimously accepted the proposals of Government with regard to the distribution of the rural reserved and non-reserved seats by districts with the exception of the Midnapore district. On this subject the volume of criticisms was not large, and a proportion of them could not be entertained either because

they asked for more seats for a particular district, which were not available, or because they asked for something not legally permissible, e.g., the division of a district into more than one constituency where there were two reserved seats and only one non-reserved seat. Careful consideration was given to an influential demand that the Hooghly district should be made into one constituency to avoid the splitting of Serampore subdivision into thanas. The Committee were of opinion that such a course would not be justified in view of the total population of the district. They considered alternative methods of dividing the district but agreed that the Government proposal was the best. Alternative schemes for some other districts were considered, but the Committee, with one dissentient, considered that a case had been made out for revision in only two cases. These two cases were the districts of the 24-Parganas and Bakarganj.

23. Thus in only three cases did the Committee recommend revision of the Government proposals. The first was the district of Midnapore, from which one seat was taken for the urban quota. Recognising the difficulty of re-dividing this district into constituencies, the Committee agreed that the re-allocation should be left to Government in consultation with the local officers. The second case was the 24-Parganas district in which the Committee on geographical grounds accepted a distribution proposed by Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra Sen, M.L.C.; this acceptance, however, was conditional on Government being satisfied, on detailed examination of the figures, that the population ratios would be suitable.

The third case was the transfer of the reserved seat in the Government distribution for the district of Bakarganj from the Sadar-Bhola to the Patuakhali-Pirojpur constituency. In this case the Committee, with one dissentient, while recognising that the result would be giving two seats to a constituency with a smaller total population than the constituency for which one is allotted, were of the opinion that the reserved seat should be allotted to the area where the Scheduled Castes are most numerous.

The complete proposals of the Committee for the delimitation of General urban, and General and Scheduled Caste rural seats, are given in Appendix II.

#### **Muhammadan seats.**

24. **Muhammadan urban seats.**—In their first Report the Committee proposed that the Muhammadan urban quota of seats should be six, and that the constituencies should be the same as for the present Bengal Legislative Council. In the Government proposals this recommendation was accepted. The Committee noted that while one or two representations were received to the effect that the quota should be reduced to four, no one had expressed the view before the Committee that the number should be increased above six. The Committee were therefore satisfied that they had correctly interpreted the opinion of the Muhammadan community on the subject, and they agreed unanimously to repeat their previous view.

25. There was however difference of opinion as to how these seats should be distributed. No support was given to a suggestion that the six seats should be distributed among all the municipal areas of the province, but the majority of the Committee were much impressed by the demands made for urban representation in the Chittagong Division,

particularly as Chittagong town is an important commercial centre and a major port. It was therefore agreed by majority of 7 votes to 5 to modify the previous findings of the Committee, in order to provide the Chittagong Division municipalities with a seat. This the Committee found it possible to do by combining the municipalities of Barrackpore with the Sadar municipalities in the 24-Parganas district, and by transferring the Barasat and Basirhat municipalities to the corresponding rural constituency. The seat so released they allocated to the municipalities of the Chittagong Division. Suggestions that the Mymensingh municipalities or Mymensingh town, or other combinations of municipalities in the Dacca Division should be joined to the Dacca-Narayangunge constituency did not find favour.

26. The full list of Muhammadan urban seats recommended by the Committee is:—

Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	Number of members.	Name of constituency.
Ward Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 of Calcutta.	130,358	1	Calcutta North (Muhammadan).
Ward Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 22A, 23, 24, 25 and 27, of Calcutta.	132,296	1	Calcutta South (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Hooghly and Howrah districts.	90,698	1	Hooghly <i>cum</i> Howrah Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities and cantonment of the Sadar and Barrackpore subdivisions of the 24-Parganas district	142,107	1	24-Parganas Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Dacca district	74,468	1	Dacca Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Chittagong Division.	71,098	1	Chittagong Division Municipal (Muhammadan).

27. **Muhammadan rural seats.**—With respect to the distribution of Muhammadan rural seats the proposals of Government differed from those of the Committee as given in their first Report in the following items:—

(a) Burdwan and Midnapore districts. The Committee in their first Report recommended that these districts should be given weightage on account of their size. They accordingly recommended that they should be given two seats each, though only one seat each was justified on the basis of population.

(b) Corresponding reductions were made in the number of seats allotted to two other districts, Mymensingh and Tippera.

28. Numerous protests were received against the reduction of the Mymensingh and Tippera seats, and the Committee unanimously agreed not to press their previous recommendation, and to accept the district allocation of seats as proposed by Government. The Committee were also of the opinion that irrespective of changes in the population ratios that might be occasioned by their proposals for the distribution of the urban seats, the Government allocation of seats by districts should remain unaffected; and the Muhammadan members wished their unanimous opinion to be recorded that, if Government found it necessary to redistribute the rural district quotas as the result of the changes in population ratios caused by the Committee's proposals regarding the

urban seats, then they preferred to accept without amendment the proposals of Government with respect to Muhammadan urban seats.

29. In reviewing the distribution within districts the Committee noted that no criticism of the Government proposals had been received with respect to over half of the districts of the province. Many of the suggested redistributions in the other districts had been considered, and rejected, before the Committee submitted their first Report, for, before the Committee made their delimitation, they had had the views of the local officers before them. Further consideration of alternative schemes led to the conclusion that no good ground for revision had been put forward in any one instance. With regard to Dacca, it was explained that Government had found it necessary to make a complete redistribution owing to diluvion, with a consequent change of district boundaries. This change required a recalculation of the district population, but no readjustment in the quotas of the districts concerned, Dacca and Faridpur. The change within the Dacca district however made a district re-distribution necessary. The Committee considered several alternative schemes for the district but ultimately agreed that the Government proposal, which had the support of the local officers, was the most suitable.

30. Thus the only change in the Government proposals recommended by the Committee is the consequential change following on the removal of the Barasat and Bashirhat municipalities from the urban seats. One or two changes in nomenclature were accepted. The complete list of Muhammadan urban and rural seats as recommended by the Committee is given in Appendix III.

31. **Anglo-Indian seats.**—The Committee noted that no criticism of the proposals of Government had been received; they accordingly reaffirmed their previous recommendation that, for the four Anglo-Indian seats, including one Anglo-Indian women's seat, there should be a single Anglo-Indian constituency covering the whole of Bengal.

32. **European seats.**—In partial modification of their previous recommendations and in agreement with the proposals of Government, whose proposals had elicited no criticism from the public, and with the views of the European Association, the Committee unanimously agreed to the following allocation:—

	Seats.
Chittagong Division	... .. 1
Dacca Division	... .. 1
Rajshahi Division (excluding the Darjeeling district)	... .. 1
Darjeeling district	... .. 1
Hooghly and Howrah districts	... .. 1
The Burdwan Division (excluding the Hooghly and Howrah districts)	... .. 1
The Presidency Division (excluding the Tollygunge, South Suburban and Garden Reach municipalities of the 24-Parganas districts)	... .. 1
Calcutta as defined in sub-section 11 section 3 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, and the Tollygunge, South Suburban and Garden Reach municipalities of the 24-Parganas district	... .. 4

33. **Indian Christian seats.**—In agreement with their previous recommendation and the proposal of Government the Committee unanimously recommended that the constituencies for the two Indian Christian seats should be—

- (1) Calcutta *cum* Presidency Division, and
- (2) Dacca Division.

Several criticisms of the Government proposals had been received. The Committee noted that one representative association had supported the Government proposals. A suggestion that, while Calcutta and the Presidency Division should be one constituency, the other should be Dacca district was dismissed on the ground that a seat for Dacca district would be too small, as the total Indian Christian population of the district is only 13,567. There was some discussion as to whether the constituencies proposed by Government would be too big; but the Committee felt that, as there were only two constituencies, the seats should be as representative as possible, and that, though the area was large, the number of voters would be small.

34. **Commerce, Industry, Mining and Planting seats.**—The basis of the Committee's recommendations in their first Report was the Communal Award and the White Paper, in which it was stated that the composition of the bodies through which election to the Commerce and Industry seats would be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, would not be statutorily fixed. It was, however, stated that though it was not possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians, respectively, should be returned, it was expected that the initial number in Bengal would approximately be fourteen Europeans and five Indians. The Committee accordingly recommended that fourteen seats should be distributed among bodies predominantly European in character and five among Indian bodies.

35. The first point discussed by the Committee in considering the Government proposals and the various representations which had been received was whether, in view of the fact that there was no statutory obligation to allot fourteen seats to European and five to Indian interests, the allocation of nineteen seats should be considered *de novo* without any reference to the racial composition of the bodies concerned. Discussion turned on the question whether it was possible to evolve some criterion by which the different interests could be suitably represented; but it was generally agreed that no suitable standard could be evolved within the time at the disposal of the Committee. The Committee, therefore, with one dissentient, agreed to the following distribution:—

	Seats.
The Bengal Chamber of Commerce ...	7
The Calcutta Trades Association ...	2
The Indian Jute Mills Association ...	2
The Indian Tea Association ...	2
The Indian Mining Association ...	1
The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce ...	2
The Bengal Mahajan Sabha ...	1
The Marwari Association ...	1
The Muslim Chamber of Commerce ...	1

36. The above distribution is the same as that proposed by Government. No representation had been received with respect to the bodies which are predominantly European in character; but the Committee gave careful consideration to the various memorials which had been submitted from Indian interests. In their first series of meetings the Committee had dealt with this question exhaustively, taking evidence from the leading Indian commercial bodies, and on re-examining the question they found that no good grounds had been put forward for enfranchising any body not included in their original list. The ultimate issue of their present deliberations shows one change as compared with their previous recommendation, namely, the exclusion of the Indian Mining Federation, for which, on the Committee's first proposals, an alternate seat had been recommended along with the Bengal Mahajan Sabha. The Indian Mining Federation again received strong support, and a proposal that one of the seats allotted to the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce should be given to the Indian Mining Federation was lost only by the casting vote of the Chairman. One member objected to the allocation of a seat to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

37. With regard to the qualifications of electors and candidates and the method of election, the Committee unanimously agreed to the rules given in Appendix IV. With regard to the method of election it was agreed that the postal ballot should be used.

38. **Landholders' seats.**—In agreement with their previous recommendation and with the proposals of Government the Committee agreed to recommend that the present distribution of one seat per division should be maintained.

With regard to the qualifications of electors the rules in Appendix V were unanimously approved by the Committee. A suggestion that the land revenue qualification should be reduced to half of what it is under the present constitution received no support.

It was unanimously agreed to recommend that the qualifications of candidates should be that no person shall be eligible for election as a member to represent a Landholders' constituency unless his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency.

It was also unanimously agreed that the method of election should be the postal ballot.

39. **University seats.**—In agreement with their own previous recommendation and the proposals of Government, concerning which no representation had been received, the Committee decided that one seat should be allotted to Calcutta University and one to Dacca University.

40. With regard to the qualifications of electors to these two constituencies the Committee, after considerable discussion, accepted, by a majority, the following:—

*Calcutta University Constituency.*—A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Calcutta University Constituency if he has a place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal and if he at the time of the draft publication of the electoral roll—

- (a) is a member of the Senate of the University, or
- (b) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for life, or

- (c) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for the two academic years immediately preceding the academic year in which the draft publication is made.

*Dacca University Constituency.*—A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Dacca University Constituency if he has a place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal and if he at the time of the draft publication of the electoral roll—

- (a) is a member of the Court of the University, or  
 (b) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for life, or  
 (c) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for the two academic years immediately preceding the academic year in which the draft publication is made.

There was a good deal of discussion on clause (c) of these electoral qualifications, especially as the proposed qualification affects Calcutta University. Some members pointed out that the effect of this provision would be to disfranchise many registered graduates who were eligible as electors under the existing rules, as registered graduates who had discontinued payment of registration fees would, under the rules of the University, be debarred from qualifying under this clause, unless they paid up the entire amount of their arrears. The view was also put forward that with the general lowering of the franchise, no case could be made out for the substitution of the present rule whereby graduates of seven years' standing are enfranchised without the payment of fees, by a rule requiring the payment of at least twenty rupees for many graduates. The further point was also taken that a franchise which had existed for fifteen years should not be taken away. Eventually by a majority of 10 votes to 3 the Committee decided to agree to the qualifications proposed by Government, and at the same time to invite the attention of Government to the practical difficulties involved. In particular, it was suggested that those who tender registration fees for the two academic years preceding the year of draft publication of the rolls should be eligible as electors, whether or not they paid up all arrears.

41. With regard to the qualifications of candidates the Committee unanimously agreed that the present rule, which provides that no person is eligible for election as a member to represent a University constituency unless his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency, should be retained.

The Committee were unanimously of opinion that the method of polling should be the postal ballot.

42. **Labour seats.**—The previous recommendations of the Committee with regard to these constituencies were that two of the eight seats for representatives of labour should be assigned jointly to all registered

trade unions representing manual workers in the province and that the six remaining seats should be distributed as follows:—

	Seats.
Coal mining labour	... 1
Tea garden labour	... 1
Representatives of adult manual workers in registered factories in—	
the Sadar and Serampore subdivisions of the Hooghly district	... 1
the Howrah district	... 1
the Barrackpore subdivision of the 24-Parganas district and	... 1
Calcutta and the Sadar subdivision of the 24-Parganas district	... 1

43. The Committee noted that the proposals of Government were the same in principle as those of the Committee but that, whereas the Committee had recommended that the Trade Union seats should be distributed among all registered trade unions in the province representing manual workers, Government proposed to allot the two seats as follows:—

One to a constituency consisting of registered trade unions of workers engaged in water transport, and the other to a constituency of registered trade unions representing railway workers.

44. Of the representations submitted only one was deemed worthy of serious consideration, that of the Bengal Trade Unions Federation. Representations were submitted regarding the allotment of a labour seat to Eastern Bengal, but, as in the earlier proceedings of the Committee, the suggestion received no support, because the number of workers engaged in perennial factories in Eastern Bengal is insignificant as compared with the number of those employed in factories in the metropolitan manufacturing area.

45. The Committee agreed unanimously that the Government proposals regarding the tea garden labour and the colliery labour seats were acceptable, but Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury, supporting the principle advocated by the Bengal Trade Unions Federation, put forward the proposition that most of the remainder of the seats should be allocated to registered trade unions. After some general discussion he proposed that the six seats should be divided equally between territorial constituencies in the metropolitan manufacturing area and registered trade unions representing manual workers. This proposal was not supported, and the Committee re-affirmed its previous recommendation that there should be four territorial labour and two trade union seats. They agreed with the Government proposals regarding the territorial seats, but there was a sharp difference of opinion as to the distribution of the two trade union seats. The majority of the Committee were of the opinion that the distribution of the trade union seats to all registered trade unions as previously recommended by the Committee would give undue weightage to the workers in factories in the metropolitan manufacturing area who had a direct vote in the territorial constituencies and were members of trade unions. The majority were also of the



opinion that it was more equitable to allot the trade union seats to the chief classes of workers who could not be represented under the direct system, viz., deep sea and inland seamen and railway workers. Accordingly by a majority of 6 votes to 5, the proposals of Government were accepted.

46. The Committee accepted the rules in Appendix VI governing the qualifications of electors and candidates in the various labour constituencies.

47. **Women's seats.**—The Committee's previous recommendation was that for the two General as well as for the two Muhammadan women's seats the constituencies should be—

- (1) the Calcutta municipal area, and
- (2) Dacca town.

and that the electorate in either case should consist of women only.

The proposals of Government were that the constituencies should be—

- (1) the Calcutta municipal area, and
- (2) Dacca and Narayangunge municipal areas.

Thus, with the minor change that Narayangunge had been joined to Dacca, the proposals of Government were the same as those of the Committee.

48. Since the Committee first submitted their report, the nature of the electorate in the Muhammadan women's seats has been determined in the Government of India Act; but with respect to the General women's seats, Government proposed that the electorate should include both men and women voters.

49. After considering the representations which had been received, the Committee unanimously agreed to accept the constituencies proposed by Government with regard to the General women's seats. With regard to the Muhammadan women's constituencies, however, some members were of opinion that Chittagong should be added to Dacca and Narayangunge left out. This proposal was, however, lost by 6 votes to 8. No support was given to suggestions that rural areas should be included in the constituencies or that the constituencies should be divided between the municipalities of Eastern and Western Bengal; indeed some members feared that the Calcutta General Women's constituency might prove to be too unwieldy.

50. With regard to the electorate for the General women's constituency the Committee agreed by 10 votes to 5, Mrs. P. K. Bose voting with the majority, that both men and women should vote.

## V.—Bengal Legislative Council.

51. **General and Muhammadan seats.**—The Committee examined the few criticisms which had been received, but found that no substantial reasons had been advanced for revision of their previous

recommendation, which had been accepted by Government. The Committee accordingly agreed on the following constituencies:—

A.—GENERAL.

(a) *Urban—2 seats.*

	Seats.
(1) Calcutta as defined in sub-section (11) of section 3 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923 (Ben. Act III of 1923). ... ..	1
(2) The municipalities and cantonment of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah districts ... ..	1

(b) *Rural—8 seats.*

(1) The Bankura and Midnapore districts ... ..	1
(2) The Burdwan, Birbhum, Hooghly, and Howrah districts excluding the municipalities of the Hooghly and Howrah districts ... ..	1
(3) The Presidency Division excluding the municipalities and cantonment of the 24-Parganas district ... ..	1
(4) The Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts ... ..	1
(5) The Rajshahi, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna and Malda districts ... ..	1
(6) The Dacca and Mymensingh districts ... ..	1
(7) The Faridpur and Bakarganj districts ... ..	1
(8) The Chittagong Division excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	1

B.—MUHAMMADAN.

(a) *Urban—1 seat.*

Calcutta as defined in sub-section (11) of section 3 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, (Ben Act III of 1923), and the municipalities and cantonment of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah districts ... ..	1
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(b) *Rural—16 seats.*

(1) The Burdwan Division excluding the municipalities of the Hooghly and Howrah districts ... ..	1
(2) The 24-Parganas district excluding the municipal and cantonment areas and the Jessore and Khulna districts ... ..	1

(3) The Nadia and Murshidabad district ...	...	1
(4) The Rajshahi and Malda districts ...	...	1
(5) The Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts ...	...	1
(6) The Rangpur district ...	...	1
(7) The Bogra and Pabna districts ...	...	1
(8) The Faridpur district ...	...	1
(9) The Bakarganj district ...	...	1
(10) The Tippera district ...	...	1
(11) The Noakhali district ...	...	1
(12) The Chittagong district ...	...	1
(13) The Sadar and Manikganj subdivisions of the Dacca district ...	...	1
(14) The Narayanganj and Munshiganj subdivisions of the Dacca district. ...	...	1
(15) The Jamalpur and Tangail subdivisions of the Mymensingh district ...	...	1
(16) The Sadar, Netrokona and Kishoreganj subdivisions of the Mymensingh district ...	...	1

52. **European seats.**—The Committee unanimously agreed that the three European seats in the Bengal Legislative Council should be allotted to an all-Bengal constituency. This allocation, they noted, had the support of the leading European representative bodies.

K. NAZIMUDDIN (*Chairman*).

B. P. SINGH ROY.

B. C. CHATTERJEE.

\*S. M. BOSE.

\*N. K. BOSE.

\*M. A. MUMIN.

\*TAMIZUDDIN KHAN.

\*H. S. SUHRAWARDY.

\*M. B. MULLICK.

S. BOSE.

\*K. C. RAY CHAUDHURY.

C. G. COOPER.

E. T. McCLUSKIE.

G. P. HOGG.

H. J. TWYNAM.

R. N. GILCHRIST (*Secretary*).

*The 29th August 1935.*

## APPENDIX I.

### Federal Assembly; Special Labour Seats.

#### Qualifications of electors.

(*Vide* paragraph 15.)

Voters in the Special Labour Constituency shall be adult workers employed in factories with a minimum daily strength of 500 persons or over with the qualifications set forth in the following rules. Voting shall be on the indirect system on the basis of one *mukhiya* for 250 voters and fractions of over 150 shall count as one unit for the purpose of electing *mukhiyas*:—

*Special Labour Constituency.*—(1) A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Bengal Special Labour Constituency if he is elected as a *mukhiya* for the purpose of election of a member for the said constituency under these rules.

(2) No person shall be eligible for election as a *mukhiya* for the purpose of election of a member for the Bengal Special Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the primary roll of the constituency prepared under these rules.

(3) A person shall be entitled to have his name included in the primary roll of the Bengal Special Labour Constituency who being a manual worker has a place or residence in the Presidency of Bengal and has been employed for a period of 180 days during a period of one year previous to the first publication of the primary roll under these rules in a perennial factory situated in the constituency and registered under the Indian Factories Act, 1934 (XXV of 1934):

Provided that in the annual return form prescribed by rules by the Governor-General in Council, the manager of the factory has declared for the calendar year previous to the year in which the election is held, the average daily number of persons employed in the factory, and the number so declared as certified by the Chief Inspector of Factories is not less than 500:

Provided further, that no manual worker who has been employed in more than one factory shall be entitled to have his name entered in the primary roll unless an application with documentary evidence is made for the purpose within such period as may be fixed by the registering authority.

*Explanations.*—(1) "Manual worker" excludes all medical, clerical and supervisory staff such as a manager, assistant manager, engineer, or contractor whose duties involve primarily literary or professional training.

(2) "Perennial factory" means a factory which is not a seasonal factory within the meaning sub-sections (1) and (2), of section 4, of the Indian Factories Act (XXV of 1934).

## Federal Assembly; Trade Union Labour Seats.

### Qualifications of electors.

(*Vide* paragraph 15.)

(1) No trade union shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Bengal Trade Union Constituency unless it is registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, or under any other law for the registration of trade unions for the time being in force, at least one year before the date of the draft publication of such roll and it has its registered office in Bengal:

Provided that for the first general election held under the Act a trade union which has been registered at least six months before the date of the draft publication of the roll shall be so qualified.

(2) No trade union shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Bengal Trade Union Constituency if it is declared to be an unlawful association under the provisions of any law for the time being in force.

(3) Subject as aforesaid a trade union shall be qualified to be included in the Bengal Trade Union Constituency if—

(a) the rules of the trade union restrict the membership of the trade union to persons who are normally workers in a railway administration and the membership of the trade union consists of at least 100 members other than honorary members who—

- (i) are residents of Bengal by virtue of their work,
- (ii) have paid subscriptions, in the case of the first general election held under the Act, for three months, and, in the case of every subsequent election so held, for six months immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the electoral roll; and
- (iii) have attained the age of 21 years; or

(b) the union consists of at least 100 members other than honorary members, eighty per cent. of whom are workers engaged in water transport and who—

- (i) possess a certificate of discharge given under section 43 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923 (XXI of 1923), at the port of Calcutta or Chittagong, or are ordinarily employed as a master or a member of the crew of a vessel used for navigation in inland waters;
- (ii) have paid subscriptions, in the case of the first general election held under the Act, for three months, and in the case of every subsequent election so held, for six months immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the electoral roll; and
- (iii) have attained the age of 21 years.

## Federal Assembly; Labour seats.

### Qualification of candidates.

(Vide paragraph 15.)

No person shall be qualified to hold a seat in the Federal Assembly to represent—

- (a) the Bengal Trade Union Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the primary electoral roll of the constituency;
- (b) the Bengal Special Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the electoral roll of the constituency or of any other constituency of the Bengal Legislative Assembly:

Provided that after two general elections no person whose name is not included in the electoral roll of any labour constituency in the province or who has not at any time been elected by any such constituency to the Bengal Legislative Assembly shall be qualified.

## APPENDIX II.

### Distribution of General seats of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

(Vide paragraph 23.)

#### A.—Urban Constituencies—Number of seats 12.

Extent of constituency.	Population of Constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ward Nos. 1, 2, 30, 31 and 32 of Calcutta	150,990	1	Calcutta North (General).
Ward Nos. 3, 4, 28 and 29 of Calcutta ..	154,654	1	Calcutta East (General).
Ward Nos. 5, 7, 10 and 12 of Calcutta ..	70,077	1	Calcutta West (General).
Ward Nos. 6, 8 and 9 of Calcutta ..	118,497	1	Calcutta Central (General).
Ward Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 of Calcutta.	129,142	1	Calcutta South Central (General).
Ward Nos. 22, 22A, 23, 24, 25 and 27 of Calcutta	170,899	1	Calcutta South (General).
The municipalities of the Howrah and Hooghly districts.	368,115	1	Hooghly cum Howrah Municipal (General).
The municipalities of the Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore districts.	221,263	1	Burdwan Division North Municipal (General).
The municipalities and cantonment of the 24-Parganas district.	426,942	1	24-Parganas Municipal (General).
The municipalities of the Nadia, Murshidabad, Jessore and Khulna districts.	173,766	1	Presidency Division Municipal (General).
The municipalities of the Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions excluding the Darjeeling and Kurseong municipalities.	196,106	1	Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions Municipal (General).
The municipalities of the Dacca Division	244,040	1	Dacca Division Municipal (General).

**B.—Rural General constituencies—Reserved and Non-reserved.**

**Number of seats.**

Reserved ..	30
Non-reserved ..	35
Total ..	<u>65</u>

District.	Number of seats.			Extent of constituency.	General population.		Number of members.	Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes.	Name of constituency.
	Reserved.	Non-reserved.	Total.		Total.	Scheduled Castes.			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Burdwan ..	2	2	4	The Sadar subdivision of the Burdwan district excluding municipal areas.	463,748	234,262	2	1	Burdwan Central Rural (General).
				The Kalna, Katwa and Asansol subdivisions of the Burdwan district excluding municipal areas.	732,754	340,865	2	1	Burdwan North-West Rural (General).
Birbhum ..	1	1	2	The Birbhum district excluding municipal areas.	680,303	340,818	2	1	Birbhum Rural (General).
Bankura ..	1	2	3	The Sadar subdivision of the Bankura district excluding municipal areas.	740,201	323,880	2	1	Bankura West Rural (General).
				The Bishnupur subdivision of the Bankura district excluding municipal areas.	260,669	108,757	1	..	Bankura East Rural (General).
Midnapore* ..	2	5	7	The Sadar subdivision of the Midnapore district excluding municipal areas.	760,509	222,505	2	1	Midnapore Central Rural (General).
				The Jhargram and Ghatal subdivisions of the Midnapore district excluding municipal areas.	609,243	196,762	2	1	Jhargram cum Ghatal Rural (General).
				The Tamluk subdivision of the Midnapore district excluding municipal areas.	552,414	87,795	1	..	Midnapore East Rural (General).
				The Egra, Ramnagar and Contai police-stations in the Contai subdivision of the Midnapore district.	324,166	44,601	1	..	Midnapore South-West Rural (General).
				The Khedgree, Patashpur and Bhagawanpur police-stations in the Contai subdivision of the Midnapore district.	273,933	37,720	1	..	Midnapore South-East Rural (General).

Hooghly ..	1	2	3	The Sadar subdivision and the Serampore Uttarpara, Bhadreswar, Singur and Chanditala police-stations in these Serampore subdivision of the Hooghly district excluding municipal areas.	395,577	172,993	2	1	Hooghly North-East Rural (General).
				The Arambagh subdivision and the Haripal, Tarakeswar and Jangipara police-stations in the Serampore subdivision of the Hooghly district excluding municipal areas.	370,021	129,702	1	..	Hooghly South-West Rural (General).
Howrah ..	1	1	2	The Howrah district excluding municipal areas.	665,494	202,441	2	1	Howrah Rural (General).
24-Parganas ..	2	2	4	The Sadar and Diamond Harbour Subdivisions of the 24-Parganas district excluding municipal areas.	1,002,670	509,995	2	1	24-Parganas South-West Rural (General).
				The Barrackpore, Barasat and Bashirhat subdivisions of the 24-Parganas district excluding municipal areas.	377,031	194,211	2	1	24-Parganas North-East Rural (General).
Nadia ..	1	1	2	The Nadia district excluding municipal areas.	494,249	167,308	2	1	Nadia Rural (General).
Murshidabad ..	1	1	2	The Murshidabad district excluding municipal areas.	551,281	191,724	2	1	Murshidabad Rural (General).
Jessore ..	1	1	2	The Jessore district excluding municipal areas.	622,236	318,385	2	1	Jessore Rural (General).
Khulna ..	2	1	3	The Khulna district excluding municipal areas.	795,536	527,749	3	2	Khulna Rural (General).
Rajshahi ..	..	1	1	The Rajshahi district excluding municipal areas.	325,187	133,474	1	..	Rajshahi Rural (General).
Malda ..	1	1	2	The Malda district excluding municipal areas.	464,904	180,070	2	1	Malda Rural (General).
Dinajpur ..	2	1	3	The Dinajpur district excluding municipal areas.	855,199	551,395	3	2	Dinajpur Rural (General.)
Jalpaiguri cum Silliguri.	2	1	3	The Jalpaiguri district and the Silliguri subdivision of the Darjeeling district excluding municipal areas.	806,841	556,075	3	2	Jalpaiguri cum Silliguri Rural (General).
Rangpur ..	2	1	3	The Rangpur district excluding municipal areas.	738,641	533,003	3	2	Rangpur Rural (General).
Bogra-Pabna ..	1	1	2	The Bogra and Pabna districts excluding municipal areas.	478,142	200,492	2	1	Bogra cum Pabna Rural (General).

\*As decided by Government after consultation with local officers.



District. (1)	Number of seats.			Extent of constituency. (5)	General population.		Number of members. (8)	Seats reserved for Scheduled castes. (9)	Name of constituency. (10)
	Reserved. (2)	Non-reserved. (3)	Total. (4)		Total. (6)	Scheduled Castes. (7)			
Dacca ..	1	2	3	The Sadar and Narayanganj subdivisions of the Dacca district excluding municipal areas.	546,623	260,119	2	1	Dacca East Rural (General).
				The Manikganj and Munshiganj subdivisions of the Dacca district.	480,949	177,860	1	..	Dacca West Rural (General).
Mymensingh ..	2	2	4	The Tangail and Jamalpur subdivisions and the Kotwali, Muktagacha, Phulbaria, Gaffargaon, Trisal and Bhaluka police-stations of the Sadar subdivisions of the Mymensingh district.	558,064	241,935	2	1	Mymensingh West Rural (General).
				The Netrakona and Kishoreganj subdivisions and the Haluaghat, Phulpur, Nandail and Iswarganj, police-stations of the Sadar subdivisions of the Mymensingh district.	559,799	233,262	2	1	Mymensingh East Rural (General).
Faridpur ..	2	1	3	The Faridpur district excluding municipal areas.	816,980	436,852	3	2	Faridpur Rural (General).
Bakarganj ..	1	2	3	The Patuakhali and Pirojpur subdivisions of the Bakarganj district excluding municipal areas.	355,186	224,549	2	1	Bakarganj South-West Rural (General).
				The Sadar and Bhola subdivisions of the Bakarganj district excluding municipal areas.	427,728	183,390	1	..	Bakarganj North-East Rural (General).
Tippera ..	1	1	2	The Tippera district excluding municipal areas.	712,094	210,829	2	1	Tippera Rural (General).
Noakhali ..	..	1	1	The Noakhali district excluding municipal areas.	862,769	77,886	1	..	Noakhali Rural (General).
Chittagong ..	..	1	1	The Chittagong district excluding municipal areas.	441,753	57,744	1	..	Chittagong Rural (General).

## APPENDIX III.

## Distribution of Muhammadan seats of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

(Vide paragraph 30.)

## A.—Urban Constituencies—Number of seats—6.

Extent of constituency.	Population of Constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ward Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 23, 29, 30, 31 and 32 of Calcutta.	130,358	1	Calcutta North (Muhammadan).
Ward Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 22A, 23, 24, 25 and 27 of Calcutta.	132,296	1	Calcutta South (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Hooghly and Howrah districts.	90,698	1	Hooghly cum Howrah Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities and cantonment of the Sadar and Barrackpore subdivisions of the 24-Parganas district.	142,107	1	24-Parganas Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Dacca district ..	74,468	1	Dacca Municipal (Muhammadan).
The municipalities of the Chittagong Division	71,098	1	Chittagong Division Municipal (Muhammadan).

## B.—Rural constituencies—Number of seats—111.

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Burdwan ..	1	The Burdwan district ..	292,471	1	Burdwan (Muhammadan).
Birbhum ..	1	The Birbhum district ..	252,908	1	Birbhum (Muhammadan).
Bankura ..	1	The Bankura district ..	51,012	1	Bankura (Muhammadan).
Midnapore ..	1	The Midnapore district	212,473	1	Midnapore (Muhammadan).

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Hooghly ..	1	The Hooghly district excluding municipal areas.	145,064	1	Hooghly Rural (Muhammadian).
Howrah ..	1	The Howrah district excluding municipal areas.	178,153	1	Howrah Rural (Muhammadian).
24-Parganas ..	3	The Diamond Harbour Subdivision and the Bishnupur, Baruipur and Jaynagar police-stations of the Sadar-Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district excluding municipal areas.	239,772	1	24-Parganas South Rural (Muhammadian).
		The Tollygunge, Sonarpur, Behala, Metiabruz, Mahehtola, Canning, Pratapnagar, Budge-Budge and Bhangar police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision, the Barrackpore Subdivision and the Barasat, Amdanga and Rajarhat police-stations of the Barasat Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district excluding municipal areas of Sadar and Barrackpore Subdivisions.	265,014	1	24-Parganas Central Rural (Muhammadian).
		The Basirhat Subdivision and the Deganga and Habra police-stations of the Barasat Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district.	295,975	1	24-Parganas North-East Rural (Muhammadian).
Nadia ..	4	The Kushtia Subdivision of the Nadia district.	339,561	1	Kushtia (Muhammadian).
		The Meherpur Subdivision of the Nadia district.	209,097	1	Meherpur (Muhammadian).
		The Chuadanga Subdivision and the Ranaghat and Hanskhali police-stations of the Ranaghat Subdivision of the Nadia district.	206,766	1	Nadia East (Muhammadian).
		The Sadar Subdivision and the Santipur, Chakdah and Haringhata police-stations of the Ranaghat Subdivision of the Nadia district.	189,491	1	Nadia West (Muhammadian).

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Murshidabad ..	3	The Sadar Subdivision of the Murshidabad district.	243,684	1	Berhampore (Muhammadan).
		The Lalbagh and Kandi Subdivisions of the Murshidabad district.	322,289	1	Murshidabad South-West (Muhammadan).
		The Jangipur Subdivision of the Murshidabad district.	195,609	1	Jangipur (Muhammadan).
Jessore ..	4	The Sadar Subdivision of the Jessore district.	312,504	1	Jessore Sadar (Muhammadan).
		The Magura and Narail Subdivisions of the Jessore district.	327,475	1	Jessore East (Muhammadan).
		The Bongaon Subdivision of the Jessore district.	158,975	1	Bongaon (Muhammadan).
		The Jhenida Subdivision of the Jessore district.	236,417	1	Jhenidah (Muhammadan).
Khulna ..	3	The Sadar Subdivision of the Khulna district.	219,156	1	Khulna (Muhammadan).
		The Satkhira Subdivision of the Khulna district.	318,655	1	Satkhira (Muhammadan).
		The Bagerhat Subdivision of the Khulna district.	267,098	1	Bagerhat (Muhammadan).
Rajshahi ..	4	The Nator Subdivision of the Rajshahi district.	280,931	1	Nator (Muhammadan).
		The Raninagar, Naogaon, Badalgachi, Mahadebpur and Niamatpur police-stations of the Rajshahi district.	266,700	1	Rajshahi North (Muhammadan).
		The Tanor, Godagari, Boalia, Paba, Durgapur, Puthia and Charghat police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Rajshahi district.	257,299	1	Rajshahi South (Muhammadan).
		The Manda and Atral police-stations of the Naogaon Subdivision and the Bagmara and Mohanpur (Khurd) police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Rajshahi district.	278,175	1	Rajshahi Central (Muhammadan).
Dinajpur ..	4	The Balurghat Subdivision of the Dinajpur district.	229,748	1	Balurghat (Muhammadan).
		The Thakurgaon Subdivision of the Dinajpur district.	277,686	1	Thakurgaon (Muhammadan).

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Popula- tion of con- stituency.	No. of members.	Name of consti- tuen- cy.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		The Chirirbandar, Parbatipur, Nawabganj, and Ghoraghat police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Dinajpur district.	191,584	1	Dinajpur East (Muhammadan).
		The Dinajpur, Biral, Kaliaganj, Kushmundi, Banshidhari, Itahar, Raiganj and Hemtabad police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Dinajpur district.	187,705	1	Dinajpur West (Muhammadan).
Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling combined.	1	The Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.	244,342	1	Jalpaiguri cum-Darjeeling (Muhammadan).
Rangpur ..	7	The Nilphamari Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	311,723	1	Nilphamari (Muhammadan).
		The Kotwali, Gangachara, Badarganj, Kaliganj and Hatibandha police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	286,661	1	Rangpur North (Muhammadan).
		The Kaunia, Pirgacha, Mitapokhar and Pirganj police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	227,680	1	Rangpur South (Muhammadan).
		The Bhurangamari, Nageswari, Fulbari, Lalmonirhat and Kurigaon police-stations of the Kurigram subdivision of the Rangpur district.	254,162	1	Kurigram North (Muhammadan).
		The Ulipur, Chillimari and Rahumari police-stations of the Kurigram Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	203,997	1	Kurigram South (Muhammadan).
		The Sundarganj, Sadulapur and Gaibandha police-stations of the Gaibandha Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	273,609	1	Gaibandha North (Muhammadan).
		The Palashbari, Gobindaganj, Shaghata and Fulchari police-stations of the Gaibandha Subdivision of the Rangpur district.	279,008	1	Gaibandha South (Muhammadan).
		Bogra ..	4	The Shariakandi and Gabtali police-stations of the Bogra district.	231,730
The Bogra, Sherpur and Dhunot police-stations of the Bogra district.	254,753			1	Bogra South (Muhammadan).
The Shibganj Khetlal and Panchbibi police-stations of the Bogra district.	190,263			1	Bogra North (Muhammadan).

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Pabna ..	5	The Kahalu, Dupchan- chia, Jaypurhat and Adamdighi police- stations of the Bogra district.	219,892	1	Bogra West (Muham- madan).
		The Bera, Sujanagar, Santhia and Faridpur police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Pabna district.	218,800	1	Pabna East (Muham- madan).
		The Chatmohar, Atgharia, Pabna and Sara police- stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Pabna district.	205,875	1	Pabna West (Muham- madan).
		The Shazadpur, Chau- hall and Belkuchi police-stations of the Serajganj Subdivision of the Pabna district.	236,799	1	Serajganj South (Muhammadan).
		The Serajganj and Kazi- pur police-stations of the Serajganj Subdivi- sion of the Pabna dis- trict.	222,288	1	Serajganj North (Muhammadan).
Malda ..	2	The Kamarkhanda, Ulla- para, Raiganj and Taras police-stations of the Serajganj Subdivi- sion of the Pabna dis- trict.	227,950	1	Serajganj Centraf (Muhammadan).
		The Kharba, Harish- chandrapur, Ratua, Manikchak, Gajole, Malda, Bamangola, Habibpur, English Bazar and Bholahat police-stations of the Malda district.	247,862	1	Malda North (Muhammadan).
Dacca ..	9	The Kaliachak, Sibganj, Nawabganj, Nachole and Gomastapur police- stations of the Malda district.	324,081	1	Malda South (Muhammadan).
		The Fatulla, Narayan- ganj, Baidyabazar and Rupganj police- stations of the Narayanganj Subdivi- sion of the Dacca district excluding municipal areas.	230,539	1	Narayanganj South (Muhammadan).
		The Araihazar, Narsingdi and Sibpur police- stations of the Narayanganj Subdivi- sion of the Dacca district.	255,093	1	Narayanganj East (Muhammadan).
		The Monohardi and Rai- pura police-stations of the Narayanganj Sub- division of the Dacca district.	270,457	1	Narayanganj North (Muhammadan).
		The Munshiganj, Tangi- bari and Lohajang police-stations of the Munshiganj Subdivi- sion of the Dacca district.	226,758	1	Munshiganj (Muham- madan).

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mymensingh	16	The Serajdikhan and Srinagar police-stations of the Munshiganj Subdivision and the Nawabganj and Dohar police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Dacca district.	251,242	1	Dacca South Central (Muhammadan).
		The Manikganj, Ghior and Saturia police-stations of the Manikganj Subdivision and the Dhamrai police-station of the Sadar Subdivision of the Dacca district.	236,425	1	Manikganj East (Muhammadan).
		The Singair, Daulatpur, Sibalaya and Harirampur police-stations of the Manikganj Subdivision of the Dacca district.	212,916	1	Manikganj West (Muhammadan).
		The Kaliakoir, Sripur, Kaliganj and Kapasia police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of Dacca district.	256,847	1	Dacca North Central (Muhammadan).
		The Sabhar, Tezgaon, Lalbagh, Keraniganj and Joydebpur police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Dacca district excluding municipal areas.	245,183	1	Dacca Central (Muhammadan).
		The Nalitabari, Nokla and Sherpur police-stations of the Jamalpur Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	216,487	1	Jamalpur East (Muhammadan).
		The Sribardi, Dewanganj and Islampur police-stations of the Jamalpur Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	265,550	1	Jamalpur North (Muhammadan).
		The Melandaha, Madarganj and Sarishabari police-stations of the Jamalpur Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	193,974	1	Jamalpur West (Muhammadan).
		The Jamalpur police-station of the Jamalpur Subdivision and the Muktagacha police-station of the Sadar Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	243,624	1	Jamalpur Muktagacha (Muhammadan).
		The Haluaghat, Phulpur and Kotwali police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	323,100	1	Mymensingh North (Muhammadan).
The Iswarganj and Nandail police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	312,428	1	Mymensingh East (Muhammadan).		

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		The Gaffargaon and Bhaluka police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	178,805	1	Mymensingh South (Muhammadan).
		The Phulbaria and Trisal police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	191,061	1	Mymensingh West (Muhammadan).
		The Nagarpur, Mirzapur and Basail police-stations of the Tangail Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	245,973	1	Tangail South (Muhammadan).
		The Tangail and Kalihati police-stations of the Tangail Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	233,718	1	Tangail West (Muhammadan).
		The Ghatail, Madhupur and Gopalpur police-stations of the Tangail Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	294,251	1	Tangail North (Muhammadan).
		The Kendua, Madan, Khaliajuri, Mohanganj and Atpara police-stations of the Netrakona Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	260,809	1	Netrakona South (Muhammadan).
		The Durgapur, Kalma-kanda, Purbathala, Barhatta and Netrakona police-stations of the Netrakona Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	268,801	1	Netrakona North (Muhammadan).
		The Hossainpur, Pakundia and Katiadi police-stations of the Kishoreganj Subdivision of the Mymensingh district.	216,480	1	Kishoreganj South (Muhammadan).
		The Kishoreganj, Karimganj, Tarail and Itna police-stations of the Kishoreganj Subdivisions of the Mymensingh district.	248,556	1	Kishoreganj North (Muhammadan).
		The Astgram, Nikil, Bajitpur, Bhairabbazar and Kuliarchar police-stations of the Kishoreganj Subdivisions of the Mymensingh district.	233,935	1	Kishoreganj East (Muhammadan).
Faridpur	6	The Gopalganj Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	220,393	1	Gopalganj (Muhammadan).
		The Goalundo Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	201,831	1	Goalundo (Muhammadan).
		The Faridpur, Charbhadrasan, Nagarkanda and Bhusna police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	241,887	1	Faridpur West (Muhammadan).



District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Bakarganj	9	The Sadarpur and Bhanga police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision and the Sibchar police-station of the Madaripur Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	259,860	1	Faridpur East (Muhammadan).
		The Rajair, Madaripur, Kalkini and Palong police-stations of the Madaripur Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	302,463	1	Madaripur West (Muhammadan).
		The Gosairhat, Bhedarganj, Naria and Janjira police-stations of the Madaripur Subdivision of the Faridpur district.	314,491	1	Madaripur East (Muhammadan).
		The Bauphal, Patuakhali Mirzaganj and Betagi police-stations of the Patuakhali Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	293,203	1	Patuakhali North (Muhammadan).
		The Barguna, Amtoli and Galachipa police-stations of the Patuakhali Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	279,147	1	Patuakhali (South) (Muhammadan).
		The Patharghata, Mathbaria, Bamna Bhandaria and Kathalia police-stations of the Pirojpur Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	214,917	1	Pirojpur South (Muhammadan).
		The Pirojpur, Nazirpur Swarupkati, Banaripara and Kowkhali police-stations of the Pirojpur Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	200,132	1	Pirojpur North (Muhammadan).
		The Mehendiganj, Muladi and Hizla police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	221,070	1	Bakarganj North (Muhammadan).
		The Bakarganj, Rajapur, Nalchiti and Jhalakati police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	290,796	1	Bakarganj South (Muhammadan).
The Barisal, Babuganj, Uzirpur and Gaurnadi police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	242,886	1	Bakarganj West (Muhammadan).		
The Bhola and Daulat-Khan police-stations of the Dakshin Shabazpur Subdivision of the Bakarganj district.	178,878	1	Bhola North (Muhammadan).		

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Tippera	10	The Baranadi, Tazumaddin and Lalmoohan police-stations of the Dakshin Shabazpur Subdivisions of the Bakarganj district.	184,155	1	Bhola South (Muhammadan).
		The Nasirnagar, Sarall and Brahmanbaria police-stations of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision of the Tippera district excluding municipal areas.	229,653	1	Brahmanbaria North (Muhammadan).
		The Banchampur and Nabinagar police-stations of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision of the Tippera district.	235,507	1	Brahmanbaria South (Muhammadan).
		The Kasba police-station of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision and the Burichang police-station of the Sadar Subdivision of the Tippera district.	184,911	1	Tippera North-East (Muhammadan).
		The Debiduar and Muradnagar police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Tippera district.	224,059	1	Tippera North (Muhammadan).
		The Homna and Daudkandi police-stations of the Sadar Subdivisions of the Tippera district.	301,132	1	Tippera West (Muhammadan).
		The Chandina and Comilla police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Tippera district excluding municipal areas.	227,031	1	Tippera Central (Muhammadan).
		The Laksam and Chaudagram police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Tippera district.	300,645	1	Tippera South (Muhammadan).
		The Hajiganj and Kachua police-stations of the Chandpur Subdivision of the Tippera district.	193,313	1	Chandpur East (Muhammadan).
		The Chandpur and Faridganj police-stations of the Chandpur Subdivision of the Tippera district excluding municipal areas.	263,940	1	Chandpur West (Muhammadan).
The Matlabbar police-station of the Chandpur Subdivision of the Tippera district.	162,585	1	Matlabbar (Muhammadans).		

District.	No. of seats.	Extent of constituency.	Population of constituency.	No. of members.	Name of constituency.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Noakhali	6	The Begamganj and Senbagh police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Noakhali district.	245,973	1	Noakhali North (Muhammadan).
		The Sudharam and Companyganj police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision and the Sonagazi police-station of the Feni Subdivision of the Noakhali district excluding municipal area.	231,531	1	Noakhali Central (Muhammadan).
		The Ramganj and Raipur police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Noakhali district.	208,491	1	Ramganj cum Raipur (Muhammadan).
		The Lakshmipur and Ramgati police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Noakhali district.	215,147	1	Noakhali West (Muhammadan).
		The Hatiya and Sandwip police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Noakhali district.	172,622	1	Noakhali South (Muhammadan).
		The Feni, Pashuram and Chhagalnaya police-stations of the Feni Subdivision of the Noakhali district.	257,123	1	Feni (Muhammadan).
Chittagong	5	The Cox's Bazar Subdivision of the Chittagong district excluding municipal areas.	281,056	1	Cox's Bazar (Muhammadan).
		The Satkania, Banskhal and Anwara police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Chittagong district.	292,728	1	Chittagong South (Muhammadan).
		The Patiya, Boalkhal and Rangania police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Chittagong district.	234,219	1	Chittagong South Central (Muhammadan).
		The Raojan, Hathazari and Fatikchari police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Chittagong district.	246,351	1	Chittagong North-East (Muhammadan).
		The Sitakund, Mirsaral, Chittagong, Double Moorings and Pachalais police-stations of the Sadar Subdivision of the Chittagong district excluding municipal areas.	242,757	1	Chittagong North-West (Muhammadan).

## APPENDIX IV.

### Bengal Legislative Assembly ; Commerce, Industry, Mining and Planting seats.

(*Vide* paragraph 37.)

#### A. Qualifications of electors.

A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for a Commerce and Industry Constituency if his name is included in the list of members for the time being in force of the association or chamber or sabha forming such constituency:

Provided that no person shall be so qualified who has not a place of residence or business in Bengal.

In these rules 'person' includes a company, firm corporation or a body of persons.

A firm or a company or a corporation included in the electoral roll of a Commerce and Industry Constituency shall be entitled to nominate a representative who shall be entitled to be entered in the electoral roll of such constituency as such representative and be entitled to vote for such firm, company or corporation.

*Explanation.*—Such representative shall be—

- (a) in the case of a firm, any partner in such firm, or any person authorised by power of attorney or letter of procuration to sign the name of the firm or to sign such firm per procuration,
- (b) in the case of a company or other corporation, any Director, Manager or Secretary or such other person as may be authorised by a resolution of the Directors of the Company or the Executive Body of the Corporation, to act as its representative.

#### B. Qualifications of candidates.

A person shall not be qualified to be chosen to fill a seat in the Legislative Assembly from a Commerce and Industry Constituency unless his name is entered in the electoral roll as an elector or unless he is a representative entitled to vote on behalf of a firm or a company or a corporation entered in the electoral roll of that constituency.

## APPENDIX V.

## Bengal Legislative Assembly; Landholders' seats.

(Vide paragraph 38.)

## Qualifications of electors.

(1) A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of a Landholders' Constituency if he has a place of residence in the constituency and if he during the previous year—

(a) in the area comprising the Burdwan Landholders' and Presidency Landholders' Constituencies, held in his own right as a proprietor or held in his right as a permanent tenure-holder holding immediately under a proprietor, one or more estates or tenures or shares of estates or tenures and paid in respect thereof land revenue or rent or both amounting to not less than Rs. 3,000 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 700; or

(b) in the area comprising the Dacca Landholders', Rajshahi Landholders' and Chittagong Landholders' Constituencies held in his own right as a proprietor or held in his right as a permanent tenure-holder holding immediately under a proprietor, one or more estates or tenures or shares of estates or tenures and paid in respect thereof land revenue or rent or both amounting to not less than Rs. 2,000, or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 500.

(2) In determining the qualification of a person for being included in the electoral roll of a Landholders' Constituency—

(a) only such estates and shares of estates and only such permanent tenures and shares of permanent tenures as are not within the district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts shall be taken into account;

(b) only such estates and shares of estates as are held by him in his own right and not in a fiduciary capacity and are registered in his own names in the registers maintained under the Land Registration Act, 1886, shall be taken into account;

(c) only such permanent tenures and shares of permanent tenures as are held by him in his own right and not in a fiduciary capacity shall be taken into account;

(d) only revenue or rent or road and public works cesses payable in respect of his own personal shares shall be taken into account;

(e) if a landholder is qualified as an elector under clause (a) or clause (b) of sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph in more than one constituency, he shall be qualified to vote only in that constituency in which he makes the largest payment;

(f) if the amount of land revenue or rent or road and public works cesses paid by a landholder in respect of any share of an estate or permanent tenure is not definitely known, the District Officer of the district in which such estate or tenure is situated shall estimate the amount paid in respect of such share, and his decision shall be final.

*Explanation.*—A mutwalli or manager of a wakf estate or a shebait of a debutter estate shall be deemed to hold such estate in his own right but a trustee or a manager of an estate other than a wakf estate or debutter estate shall not be so deemed.

## APPENDIX VI.

## Bengal Legislative Assembly; Labour seats.

(Vide paragraph 46.)

## I. Qualification of electors.

A.—*Factory Labour Constituencies.*

A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of a Factory Labour Constituency, if he, being a manual worker, has a place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal and has been employed for not less than 180 days during a period of one year immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the roll, in one or more perennial factories situated in the constituency and registered under the Indian Factories Act:

Provided that no manual worker who has been employed in more than one factory shall be qualified to be included in the roll unless an application with documentary evidence is made for the purpose within such period as may be fixed by the registering authority.

*Explanation.*—(1) “Manual worker” excludes all medical, clerical and supervisory staff such as a manager, assistant manager, engineer or a contractor, whose duties involve primarily literary or professional training.

(2) “Perennial factory” means a factory which is not a seasonal factory within the meaning of sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 4, of the Indian Factories Act (XXV of 1934).

*Coal-mining Labour Constituency.*

A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Coal-mining Labour Constituency if he, being a manual worker, has a place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal, and has been continuously employed for a period of 60 days during a period of one year immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the roll in one colliery situated in the constituency, and registered under the Indian Mines Act;

Provided that no manual worker who has not been employed for the two months immediately preceding the preparation of the roll shall be qualified to be included in the roll unless an application with documentary evidence is made for the purpose within such period as may be fixed by the registering authority.

*Explanation.*—“Manual worker” excludes all medical, clerical and supervisory staff, such as a manager, assistant manager, engineer or a contractor, whose duties involve primarily literary or professional training.

*Tea Garden Labour Constituencies.*

A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of a Tea Garden Labour Constituency if he, being a manual worker, has a

place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal and has been a permanent employee in one or more tea gardens for not less than 180 days during the year immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the roll :

Provided that no manual worker who has been employed in more than one tea garden shall be qualified to be included in the roll unless an application with documentary evidence is made for the purpose within such period as may be fixed by the registering authority.

*Explanations*—(1) "Manual worker" excludes doctors and their assistants, clerks, writers and their assistants, labour contractors (known as sardars in the hills). It includes all persons who belong to the class of manual workers, although they may have duties of supervision, and in particular it includes the classes of persons locally known as munshis, chaprasis, baidars, dafadars, chaukidars, paniwallas and (on the plains) sardars.

(2) "Permanent employee" means a person employed in a tea garden who during the period of his employment habitually resides within the boundaries of that garden or upon land provided for the purpose by the owners of the garden.

#### *Trade Union Labour Constituencies.*

A trade union shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Railway Trade Union Labour Constituency if—

- (i) the rules of the trade union restrict the membership of the said trade union to persons who are normally workers in a railway administration, and
- (ii) the membership of the trade union consists of at least 100 members other than honorary members who—
  - (a) are residents of Bengal by virtue of their work;
  - (b) have paid subscriptions, in the case of the first general election held under the Act, for three months, and, in the case of every subsequent election so held for six months immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the electoral roll; and
  - (c) have attained the age of 21 years.

A trade union shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Water Transport Trade Union Labour Constituency if such union consists of at least 100 members, other than honorary members, eighty per cent. of whom are workers engaged in water transport and who—

- (a) possess a certificate of discharge given under section 43 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923 (XXI of 1923), at the port of Calcutta or Chittagong, or are ordinarily employed as a master or a member of the crew of a vessel used for navigation in inland waters;
- (b) have paid subscriptions, in the case of the first general election, held under the Act, for three months, and in the case of every subsequent election so held, for six months immediately preceding the date of the draft publication of the electoral roll; and
- (c) have attained the age of 21 years.

## II. Qualifications of candidates.

No person shall be qualified to hold a seat in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to represent—

- (a) A Factory Labour Constituency or a Coal-mining Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the electoral roll of the constituency concerned or of any other constituency in the province:

Provided that, after two general elections, no person whose name is not included in the electoral roll of any labour constituency in the province or who has not at any time been elected by any such constituency to the Bengal Legislative Assembly, shall be qualified;

- (b) A Tea Garden Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the electoral roll of the constituency or of any other constituency in the province and he has been a resident in the district of Jalpaiguri or Darjeeling according as the constituency is comprised within the Jalpaiguri or Darjeeling district for a period of not less than ten years previous to the date of submission of his nomination paper for such election.
- (c) A Trade Union Labour Constituency unless his name is included in the primary electoral roll of the constituency.



**Note by Mrs. P. K. Bose, on the two General seats reserved for women.**

1. The Provincial Advisory Committee unanimously agreed that the constituencies for the two General Women's seats reserved for women should be—

- (a) the Calcutta municipal area, and
- (b) the Dacca cum Narayangunge area.

2. The majority of the members of the Committee were of opinion that in the two General Women's Constituencies the electorate should consist of both men and women voters.

3. The Calcutta municipal area will have, roughly speaking, 150,000 men and women voters in 32 wards. In the case of the men candidates these 150,000 men and women voters will according to the Committee's proposals send six candidates—that is each seat for one candidate will have about 25,000 men and women voters. But in the case of a woman candidate there will be only one seat in the whole of the Calcutta municipal area—with the result that a woman candidate will have a constituency of 150,000 voters.

4. Some solution is necessary to meet this difficulty, as it will not be possible for a woman to seek election from a constituency comprising 150,000 voters. In this municipal area of 32 wards a choice could be made of some wards to form a constituency for a woman candidate. The selected wards should be scattered all over the municipal area to enable women voters from all parts of that area to vote for a woman candidate. In my opinion 16 wards with the largest number of women voters from among the 32 wards might be selected.

5. Though the number of voters to be dealt with may be comparatively very large, there will be facility in identification and the area too will be manageable for a candidate.

6. I should like to make it clear that the women voters of the other 16 wards not included, do not lose their right of voting. In the General men's constituencies they will exercise their right of vote as they will be mixed constituencies; so by this method no women voters in the whole of the municipal area of Calcutta will be disenfranchised.

7. In the case of the second General Seat in Dacca *cum* Narayangunge Constituency no difficulty is apprehended as the number of men and women voters is comparatively small.

**Joint Note of Dissent by Khan Bahadur M. A. Mumin, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
and Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, M.L.C.**

**1. Council of State.**

(a) **Urban constituencies.**—We do not agree to the recommendation of the Committee that the one Muhammadan urban seat and the two General urban seats should be allocated to Calcutta and the municipalities and cantonment in the district of 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah. There is no reason why the rest of the urban areas of the province should be excluded from representation as such. The municipalities of the whole province should be included in these constituencies. In that case the constituencies will be no doubt very large in area. But in view of the fact that the number of voters will be very small on account of the high franchise qualifications the constituencies though large will not be unmanageable.

(b) **Rural constituencies.**—The recommendation of the majority of the Committee that one Muhammadan rural seat should be allotted to each of the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions seems to be inequitable. The Burdwan Division has a Muslim population of 1,132,081 and the Presidency Division of 4,327,818. So on the basis of population which is the accepted basis in all other territorial constituencies the Presidency Division is entitled to four times as many seats as the Burdwan Division. In allocating one seat to each of these divisions the majority of the Committee have disregarded this obvious inequality in population, on the ground that they do not consider it advisable to split up the two administrative divisions. In the case of the Bengal Legislative Assembly seats, not only administrative divisions, but also districts and even subdivisions of districts have been split up in a large number of instances to make the distribution of seats conform to the population ratio as far as practicable. Why should, therefore, there be any hesitation to split up two administrative divisions in this case? Our suggestion is that one or two districts should be taken out from the Presidency Division and joined with the Burdwan Division to place the constituencies on a more equitable basis.

**2. Bengal Legislative Assembly.**

(a) **Muhammadan urban seats.**—The Committee has decided that two of the Muslim urban seats should be allotted to Eastern Bengal. It has further recommended that the municipalities in the districts of Chittagong, Tippera and Noakhali, i.e., the municipalities of the Chittagong Division should form a constituency for one of these seats. We are in agreement with this decision. But as regards the other seat the Committee is of opinion that it should go to the Dacca and the Narayan-ganj municipalities only. This seems to be altogether unreasonable. To our mind all the municipalities of the Dacca Division should form a constituency for this seat, just as the other seat has been given to all the municipalities of the Chittagong Division.

(b) **Muhammadan rural seats.**—We do not agree to the allocation recommended by the Committee as regards the Chittagong district. The original proposals of the Reforms Office seem to be more in conformity with local conditions.

### 3. Women Seats.

The Committee has recommended that the constituencies should

- (1) The Calcutta municipal area, and
- (2) The Dacca and Narayanganj municipal areas.

The number of voters in the Calcutta constituency will be at least 5 times larger than the number of voters in the other constituency. Our proposal is that the Dacca constituency should be strengthened by joining the Chittagong municipal area with it. This is desirable from another point of view, at least in so far as the Muslim seat is concerned. Chittagong is no less if not more prominent than Dacca in respect of female education amongst Muslims. Primary education is free and compulsory in the Chittagong municipality. The people of Chittagong very much resent the idea that the women of Chittagong should be excluded from representation. Our suggestion, therefore, is as already stated, that one seat should be allotted to the municipal areas of Dacca and Chittagong. The Narayanganj municipality has no importance in this respect and may be omitted from the constituency. No doubt Dacca and Chittagong are separated from each other by a long distance and it is said that it will be difficult for our women candidates to manage such a constituency. This is no doubt a drawback. But as women candidates will certainly be assisted by their male relatives and the number of voters will be small the disadvantage of distance is in our opinion far outweighed by the considerations already pointed out. It will be highly impolitic to discourage the awakening amongst the women of Chittagong by excluding them from representation.

### 4. Qualifications of electors for the Landholders' seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The qualifications recommended by the majority of the Committee seem to be too high. There is an ever increasing feeling amongst the tenants in general that the landlords whose interests are very often antagonistic to those of their tenants can ill represent them in the Legislative bodies. The landlords, therefore, will have very little chance of being returned to the future legislatures except through the special landholders' constituencies. That being so if franchise qualifications are very high these special constituencies will be so many close reserves for the biggest landholders only and a large number of moderately big landholders will have no chance of representation. We, therefore, suggest that—

- (i) in the area comprising the Burdwan Landholders' and Presidency Landholders' constituencies the qualification should be payment of revenue or rent amounting to not less than Rs. 1,500 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 350, and
- (ii) in the area comprising the Dacca Landholders', Rajshahi Landholders' and Chittagong Landholders' constituencies the qualification should be payment of revenue or rent amounting to not less than Rs. 1,000 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 250.

### Note of Dissent by Mr. N. K. Basu, M.L.C.

There has been an air of unreality about the whole of the proceedings of the present session of the Committee.

The Government of Bengal having come to certain conclusions about the previous reports of the Committee, the two Hon'ble Members of the Bengal Cabinet, and the Reforms Commissioner seemed to take it for granted that the last word had been said on the subject and that further discussion would not serve any fruitful purpose. This impression was added to by the fact that the sittings were held mostly while the Legislative Council was in session thus preventing undivided attention being given to this very important matter by either official or non-official members of the Legislative Council. I understand, however, that the urgency in submitting the report was considerable in view of the programme laid down.

With this introduction, I shall now proceed to record my dissent, from several of the recommendations of the Committee: My note follows the order of discussion in the Committee and not the arrangement made in the Report.

1. **Qualification of a voter of the Calcutta University Constituency.**—This has been altered substantially by the Local Government making a large reduction in the number of voters and rendering it difficult if not impossible for many graduates of standing to exercise the franchise. The qualifications which are proposed by Government are—

*“Calcutta University Constituency.*—A person shall be qualified to be included in the electoral roll of the Calcutta University Constituency if he has a place of residence in the Presidency of Bengal and if he at the time of the draft publication of the electoral roll—

- (a) is a member of the Senate of the University, or
- (b) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for life, or
- (c) is a registered graduate of the University and has before such draft publication paid the registration fees for the two academic years immediately preceding the academic year in which the draft publication is made.”

As the elections will very probably be held at the end of 1936, those graduates who were not registered last year will not have the right to be enrolled. The draft publication of the roll will not probably be later than April 1936 and one wonders how many will register themselves in the next seven months and so qualify themselves. Moreover, there are scores of graduates (I myself being one) who registered themselves ten, twenty or thirty years back, paid the fee for a few years and then stopped. If they now want to register themselves again they will have under the University Regulations to pay the fees for all the years they have remained unpaid. How many would be in position to pay these huge arrears and how many would like to pay merely for exercising the University franchise for once in five years?

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The proposal seems likely to bring in a little money to the coffers of the University but virtually to disfranchise a large body of senior

graduates. The present electorate being composed of all graduates of seven years' standing, I am definitely of opinion that the alteration should not be made.

It may be noted that the minority of the Committee that voted on this question consisted of graduates of the Calcutta University and the majority, of outsiders.

The suggestion made by the Committee does not seem to me to be practical, more specially in view of the fact that the Regulations of the University cannot be lightly altered.

2. **Commerce seats.**—(a) In the Communal Decision of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it was stated in a footnote to the schedule—

“(a) The composition of the bodies through which election to these seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly Indian, will not be statutorily fixed. It is, accordingly, not possible in each Province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians, respectively, will be returned. *It is, however expected that, initially, the numbers will be approximately as follows: Madras, 4 Europeans, 2 Indians; Bombay (including Sind) 5 Europeans, 3 Indians; Bengal, 14 Europeans, 5 Indians; United Provinces, 2 Europeans, 1 Indian; Punjab, 1 Indian; Bihar and Orissa 2 Europeans, 2 Indians; Central Provinces (including Berar) 1 European, 1 Indian; Assam, 8 Europeans, 3 Indians, Bombay (without Sind) 4 Europeans, 3 Indians; Sind, 1 European, 1 Indian.*” (The Italics are mine.) This has so long been the basis of the allocation of these seats. I do not know what the foundation of the “Expectation” was. It might have been some abstruse calculation or some question of political expediency. However that might be, this footnote has not found a place in the Fifth Schedule of the Government of India Act, nor has any such formula been incorporated therein. In my submission therefore it was the duty of the Committee to allocate these seats among the different commercial bodies on some intelligent and intelligible basis and not fulfil the “Expectations” of Mr. MacDonald without bestowing any further thoughts upon it. Any rational criterion (size of membership, amount of capital of the members, importance of the interest or interests represented, etc.) ought to have been adopted and the allocation made on the basis thereof—not merely by a rule of thumb to say 14 seats should go to “European interests” and 5 to “Indian interests.” If that were done, seats would have been allotted to the Chambers of Commerce, Jute interests, Coal interests, Tea interests and Mining interests, without any consideration being paid to the nationality of the constituencies and we would have been spared, for example, the allocation of 2 seats out of the 19 to the Calcutta Trades Association, which according to the last Parliamentary paper, boasted of 54 members (several of whom are not existent now) nor of the Indian Jute Mills Association with 52 members getting 2 seats as a “European interest” while the Indian Jute interests get none, nor of the Indian Mining Association getting a seat while the corresponding “Indian” body gets none.

The essay read out by Mr. Cooper which has been incorporated in full in the proceedings resolves itself into the statement that the Prime Minister's Award and the White Paper “intended” the seats to be allocated in the proportion of 14 to 5—a proposition which no one

has ever denied. When he goes on to speak of an "agreement" to that effect, I am afraid he talks of something that has never existed.

The Committee however was of opinion that opening out of this question would result in going into facts and figures not readily available and it would take a lot of time, and that therefore they would not disturb the Government's proposals. I respectfully disagree.

(b) **The Muslim Chamber of Commerce.**—I find absolutely no justification for allotting a seat to this Chamber, but for the fact that it carries the communal allotment of commerce seats a step further. I have already given my reasons in my note printed at page 104 of the Representations and also in my speech on the Proposals in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 15th August last. Attention is respectfully drawn to both these documents. I need only add that the Directory of Exporters of Indian Produce and Manufactures (8th Edition), a Government Publication, also gives the lie to the fantastic claims of the Chamber. According to that volume 2 out of 43 Jute exporters, 9 out of 32 Rice exporters, 1 out of 8 Cotton exporters; 6 out of 17 Grain exporters, 4 out of 10 Hide exporters and 2 out of 19 Oilseed exporters are Muslims, not anything like the 75 per cent. stated by the Chamber.

The scant regard paid to this matter strengthened the suspicion that I voiced in the Committee that the Government had proceeded on the direct principle of handicapping the vocal Hindus as much as possible and that the Committee was determined to say ditto to the Government.

3. **Labour seats.**—The Government of Bengal has not assigned any reason for dissenting from the recommendation of the Advisory Committee not to allot one seat to the Seamen's trade unions and to assign both jointly to all trade unions representing manual workers.

It seems to me that no valid ground has been made out for not giving the franchise to all registered trade unions representing manual workers.

One reason suggested was that it might make the constituency unwieldy. My reply to that is to allot one more seat at least to the Unions and one less to the territorial constituencies. In view of the fact that by so doing most of the manual workers will have the right to vote and some of them in dual capacities, this would encourage the growth of Trade Unions in the province—a very desirable thing. The allotment moreover to the 2 Unions named by the Government means the allocation of 2 seats to 2 non-Bengalees. The Seamen's Union specially is largely an organisation of Assamese Muhammadans.

4. **Urban General Constituencies.**—In this matter the Government has completely turned down the Committee's recommendations. The trend of the discussions at the present session showed that it was felt by the majority that there was no use going behind the findings of the Government, though eventually the Committee agreed to raise the figure to 12 from the Government figure (11).

The facts that were placed by me in my note (Representations, page 104) and also others mentioned orally were given very short shrift. As I pointed out during the discussions, the effect of the Government proposal was to put a further handicap on the caste Hindus of Bengal—the very class who by their persistent efforts have brought the new



state of things into existence. The members of the Committee seemed to agree to this point of view but several of them suggested that it was due to the Poona Pact. Holding as I do the very firm opinion that that Pact iniquitous in itself (so far at least as Bengal is concerned) and jumped at by the British Government, has the effect complained of, I think it is for that very reason all the more necessary to try to counteract its evil effects by a judicious allocation of seats.

That that is not the intention of the Government, and therefore of the majority of the Committee, will be apparent from the fact that while reducing the urban seats from 17 to 11, they thought that the previous decision of the Committee that these should be spread over all the municipal areas should be accepted and reaffirmed. The effect of the acceptance of the formula while reducing the number of seats is inevitably to virtually disfranchise a large section of the intelligentsia. While the majority of the population live no doubt in villages, it is equally without doubt that the brain of the society, the really active men, those that are the intellectual leaders of the nation, live in towns. The grouping together of all the numerous municipalities in a Commissioner's Division into single member constituencies is calculated to counteract the influence of the politically minded town-dwellers. As the Southborough Committee observed: the amount of representation given to urban constituencies on a more liberal basis is "justified by their superior standard of wealth and intelligence and by the larger interest evinced in political questions." Moreover by accepting the formula, the District electorates are denuded of those who really form their social, intellectual and commercial lives and incidentally makes it the easier for a still larger number of the scheduled castes to capture the general seats.

The effect of these proposals will be that the caste Hindus will not be in a position to secure more than about 35 of the General seats.

If this is the result really aimed at I have nothing further to say on the subject. Otherwise, my alternative proposals are—

(1) allot 17 seats to the municipalities and allocate them as recommended by our Committee previously (on the 23rd March 1934), or,

(1) if there are to be only 11 seats urban general—distribute them as they are distributed under the present constitution, and

(2) include all municipalities excepting those of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Dacca in the rural constituencies.

**5. Number of Scheduled Caste seats.**—As regards the election of members of the scheduled castes to General seats (rural) it seems to me that the effect of the Poona Pact has been imperfectly realised. The Communal decision stated—

"9. Members of the "depressed classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the "Depressed Classes" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above,

be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the Depressed Classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province.

“In Bengal it seems possible that in some general constituencies a majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for the members to be returned from the special Depressed Class constituencies in that Province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than ten seats in the Bengal Legislature.”

Upon this was superimposed the Poona Agreement which said—

“1. There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the General electorate seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows:—

Madras 30; Bombay (with Sind) 15; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 21; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20—total 148.”

“6. The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.”

The statement of His Majesty's Government regarding the Poona Agreement said, *inter alia*, “His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament the adoption of the clauses of the agreement dealing with representation in the Provincial Legislatures in place of the provisions in paragraph 9 of the Award.”

I submit that the plain meaning of these paragraphs read together is that the Depressed Classes (now termed the scheduled castes) will have 30 seats in the Lower House of the Bengal Provincial Legislature and no more.

Provision to that effect should be made in the Order in Council.

### Note of Dissent by Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury, M.L.C.

I urged before the Committee in February, 1933 that six of the eight labour seats should be allotted to Trade Union Constituencies on the ground that in the present conditions of this Presidency Special Labour Constituencies were not practicable. I mentioned that the Royal Commission on Indian Labour discussed at length the question of labour and the franchise and strongly recommended (*vide* page 464 of the Report) "if special representation is to be given to industrial labour, the method which in our view is most likely to be effective in securing the return to the Legislatures of the best representatives of labour is that of election by Registered Trade Unions. The working of this method should also exercise an important influence on the healthy development of Trade Unionism. Where only one seat was given, the Trade Unions might elect the members, where more than one seat was allotted to labour the unions could either be grouped for the purpose in separate constituencies possibly according to industries or they could elect the members jointly". This idea was opposed by a majority who were probably guided by the suggestion of the Reforms Officer on the ground that the Trade Union Movement in Bengal is only in its early stages and that the number of industrial workers covered by Registered Trade Unions is small compared with the total number of persons employed in organised industries in Bengal. This ground in my humble opinion is without any foundation. The report on the working of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, in Bengal for the year ending 31st March 1934 shows—that in 1932-33 there were 31 registered unions and in 1933-34 there were 46 Trade Unions in 1933-34 with a total membership (of the 40 Trade Unions which submitted return) of 79,182 (78,708 males and 474 females) including 56 members of the Indian Jute Mills Association—the only organisation of employers registered under the Act. It must be noted that the Act came into force in 1928 and in 6 years more than 78,000 workers joined the various Trade Unions.

The Committee, however, recommended allotment of only two out of eight seats to Labour Union Constituencies and six seats to Special Labour Territorial Constituencies. My next motion was that these two seats should be assigned jointly to all registered Trade Unions of manual workers and this was carried by a majority of nine votes to seven. The Government however ignored the majority and recommended allocation of one seat to Trade Unions of water transport workers and the other seat to Trade Unions of railway workers. This question was reopened on the 22nd August, 1935, and I urged again that at least 3 Trade Union Seats should be allotted including one for the unions of labour in the jute industry by far the largest industry in the province employing more than 200,000 workers. This was not conceded. Mr. N. K. Basu moved that the Committee's previous decision that the seats should be assigned jointly to all Trade Unions representing manual workers be reaffirmed and this motion was lost by 6 votes to 5. Unfortunately 3 members who originally voted for this motion were absent at the time and were attending a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce wrote a letter dated the 30th July 1935 to the Government (*vide* page 62 of the Representations received from the public) favouring allotment of two seats jointly to all registered Trade Unions

but Mr. Cooper, representing Bengal Chamber of Commerce, said that the Chamber on further consideration supported Government's proposal.

In my opinion the Government as well as the six members of the Committee including three officials ignored the cardinal principle of labour representation in Legislatures as conceived by the new Constitution and strongly recommended by the Royal Commission as well as the Lothian Committee that representation of labour would be most effective through Trade Union Constituencies and that if Trade Unions do not exist in certain large industries for example, tea and coal—special constituencies may be created. The principle that sauce for gander is sauce for goose is ignored. Nineteen seats were allotted for the representation of Trade, Commerce and Industry to Associations and organisations of Capital. Seats were given to such organisations as the Calcutta Trades Association with a membership of less than 200, the Marwari Association, the Mahajan Sabha and the brand new Moslem Chamber of Commerce with equally small membership. Could any one seriously believe that any of those four Associations represent even five per cent. of Marwari traders or mahajans (Bengalee merchants) or Calcutta tradesmen or Moslem merchants of Calcutta? -

The Bengal Trade Unions Federation (registered under the Trades Union Act) which is the central organisation of 14 first class Trade Unions including Railways, Water Transport, Textile and Printing Trades—condemned Government's proposal for allotment (*vide* its letter on page 59 of the published report of Representations) of 2 Trade Union Seats to two particular classes of workers, viz., Water Transport and Railways, the numerical strength of which is not even 10 per cent. of industrial workers residing in Bengal and the letter says that invidious distinction favouring Trade Unions of only two particular classes of workers is mischievous. The observation of the Secretary of the Committee that the proposal to assign the two seats jointly to all unions involved multiple representation in a large number of cases must have influenced the six members who voted against Mr. Basu's motion. These observations are not based on facts. Several thousand Railway workers are employed at the East Indian Railway shop at Lillooah and at the Eastern Bengal Railway Workshop at Kanchrapara and all these men will be eligible to vote in the Howrah district and the Barrackpore special Labour Constituencies and they will be also entitled to vote as members of East Indian Railway Employees' Association, Eastern Bengal Railway Indian Employees' Association and Kanchrapara Railway Workmen's Union. A large number of Lillooah and Kanchrapara Railway workmen are municipal rate-payers and they will vote in General constituencies as well. In the case of deep sea mariner workers, a large number of serangs, quartermasters and seamen occupying houses in Kidderpore and the Dock area are municipal voters and entitled to vote in Moslem Constituencies and will also vote through the Bengal Mariners' Union or Indian Seamen's Union according to Government's scheme. You cannot, therefore, avoid plural voting. Regarding the numerical strength of the Eastern Bengal Railway Indian Employees' Association, viz., 17,436, more than 90 per cent. of their members are clerks or educated traffic staff and not manual workers and a vast majority of them who live in Calcutta and other municipal towns in mufassal are municipal voters and some of them will vote on income-tax qualification as well. Therefore a large number of railwaymen will have plural votes. Take the case of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Indian

Employees' Association—a large number of members reside outside Bengal and it complicates matters regarding voting of only those residing within this province. There is another still more important point to urge, viz., the frequent collapse of Railway and Marine Workers' Unions and their cancellation from the register of Trade Unions. The Trade Union Report of 1933-34 shows cancellation of Bengal-Nagpur Railway Workers' Union, Calcutta Dock Workers' Union, East Indian Railway Workers' Union, Indo-Asiatic Seamen's Committee, Seamen's Association of India. The existing Marine Workers' Unions, as well as the Railway Workers' Unions which are very few may collapse owing to quarrels among leaders and other causes and in that case one or both the Trade Union seats may remain vacant. It is, therefore, prudent and a practicable proposition to assign the two Trade Union seats jointly to all Trade Unions even if four or five thousand members of Industrial Labour Unions (this is about the total strength of members of registered Factory Labour Unions) out of about 300,000 factory workers entitled to vote in territorial constituencies do have plural votes. Regarding delimitation of Labour Constituencies for the Federal Assembly, there was considerable divergence in the Committee over the Trade Union seat which in my opinion should be assigned jointly to all Trade Unions and not to two classes of unions on the grounds I have already urged in case of Provincial Trade Union seats.

In conclusion, I would draw the attention of Government to the decision of the Bombay Delimitation Committee which has proposed allotment of all the 7 Labour seats to Trade Unions only: four to Textile Labour Unions, two to Railway Unions, one to Marine and Dock Workers', one to General Trade Unions and according to a letter published in the Government Report of Public opinions on page 61 some of the unions with a membership of less than 300 have been recommended for allotment of seats.

### Minute of Dissent by Mr. M. B. Mullick, M.L.C.

I sign the report subject to the following note of dissent, as I regret, I could not persuade myself to agree with the views taken by the majority of my colleagues on the Committee with regard to the following matters:

I desire therefore to note my views regarding the same with brief reasons therefor for the consideration of the Central Delimitation Committee as also of the Government.

**I. Bengal (Provincial) Legislative Assembly (Lower House).—A. Bakarganj.**—The Committee in their first Report suggested that only two seats should be allotted to the constituency (Bakarganj Rural) one of which would be reserved for the Scheduled Castes. I could not agree with that view and I put in my note accordingly. The Government have now proposed to allot one more non-reserved seat to Bakarganj. With this addition, the proposal further is that this district is to be divided into two constituencies, viz., (1) Bakarganj North-East Rural-General, consisting of the Sadar subdivision and Bhola subdivision, and (2) Bakarganj South-West Rural-General, consisting of Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions. The proposal next is that each one of these constituencies will have one non-reserved general seat and that the reserved seat for the Scheduled Castes is to go to Bakarganj North-East Rural (Sadar and Bhola subdivisions). I am perfectly in agreement with this proposal. It appears that some gentlemen have submitted representations suggesting that the reserved seat should be transferred to Bakarganj South-West Rural-General (Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions) on the only ground that the number of the Scheduled Castes in this second constituency is greater than that of the Scheduled Castes in the first constituency (Bakarganj—Sadar and Bhola subdivisions). The majority of the Committee have accepted the suggestion and have proposed to allot the reserved seat for the Scheduled Castes to this constituency (Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions). I have dissented from this view.

I do not think this is just and proper. For the total non-Muhammadan population of Bakarganj Sadar and Bhola subdivisions is 427,728 and this is very much larger than that of the other two subdivisions (Perojpur and Patuakhali) which is only 355,186. I am definitely of opinion that the question of allocation of the General non-Muhammadan (Rural) seats must be taken as a whole and the question of the reservation of the seats for the Scheduled Castes comes next. As there are three seats (including the reserved one for the Scheduled Castes) allotted to Bakarganj district, I think two of these seats should go to the first constituency (Bakarganj Sadar and Bhola—Bakarganj North-East Rural-General) and one to the other namely, Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions (Bakarganj South-West Rural-General) and that one of the first two seats should be reserved for the Scheduled Castes. The apprehension expressed by some of my colleagues is that in case the reserved seat be allotted to the Sadar and Bhola subdivisions, the Scheduled Castes will practically have two seats namely, the reserved one and the one seat of the other constituency—Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions, as their number is much greater there than the "others." I do not think there is any foundation for this apprehension. And even

if it had any foundation at all, it is all the more reasonable why the reserved seat should go to the Sadar and Bhola subdivisions. For, as the number of the Scheduled Castes is much larger in Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions, and as the one of the seats is non-reserved, and further as the election will be on a joint basis the Scheduled Castes with their larger number of population in this constituency may have the two seats including the non-reserved one. And this certainly is unfair, for while the Scheduled Castes of this constituency—Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions—will have two seats, the Scheduled Castes of Sadar and Bhola subdivisions will have none.

It seems that the majority of the Committee lost sight of the fact that of the two seats proposed to be allotted to Perojpur and Bakarganj subdivisions, one of which is sought to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, but the other one is *not reserved* at all and there is hardly any likelihood of its being occupied by any one other than a member of the Scheduled Castes.

As regards the other matters regarding political consciousness, educational advancement, etc., the Scheduled Castes of this constituency are as good as those of the Perojpur and Patuakhali subdivisions. I, therefore, agree with the proposal of the Government and think that the reserved seat for the Scheduled Castes should be allotted to the Bakarganj North-East Rural-General Constituency.

*B. 24-Parganas.*—The Government proposed that the Sadar and Basirhat subdivisions would constitute one constituency (called 24-Parganas South-West Rural-General) and Barrackpur, Barasat and Diamond Harbour subdivisions would constitute the other (called 24-Parganas North-East Rural-General). The majority of the members of the Committee thought, on a consideration of the geographical position of the two constituencies, that the Sadar and Diamond Harbour subdivisions should form one constituency and Barrackpur, Barasat and Basirhat subdivisions should form another.

I could not agree with this view for the figures will at once show that the proportion of population is 1 : 3.

I think, therefore, that while maintaining the division of this district as suggested by the majority of the Committee, a portion of the Sadar subdivision bordering Basirhat may be transferred and joined to Barrackpur, Barasat and Basirhat subdivisions so that the inequality may be removed. The same has been done in the case of Mymensingh where a portion of the Sadar subdivision has been allotted to one of the two constituencies and the other portion to the other constituency.

*C. General Women's Constituency for Calcutta.*—The suggestion of the majority of the Committee that for this constituency both men and women should vote seems to be unjust and unfair, the constituency itself being admittedly an unwieldy one for inasmuch as there are six General seats for this constituency, while there is only one seat for women.

I think that only women should vote in this constituency.

*D. Calcutta University Constituency.*—I think the suggestion of the majority of the numbers of the Committee, if maintained, will deprive a very large section of the existing electors for this constituency

from the exercise of their franchise. As the franchise qualifications have been lowered for all the constituencies and the number of the voters has been much enlarged, it does not seem fair that the number of the voters of this constituency, which is the only one based upon educational qualifications, should be reduced. The Committee were unanimous in their first Report in maintaining the existing qualifications. The proposal of the Government that only registered graduates who have paid their two years' subscriptions immediately before the election seems rather unfair. If by this it is suggested that those only who have taken an active interest in the affairs of the University should be the voters, I venture to think then that the Senate of the University would be the best body for that purpose. But then a question may arise that a large percentage of the members of the Senate is nominated.

If it is thought that the existing constituency is unwieldy, and if any payment of subscription to the University is considered necessary at all, Government would move the University to have the Regulations so modified that the fees may be lowered to Rs. 2 or so in order that a large section of the educated body can elect their own representative on the Provincial Legislature and that payment of this subscription for one year immediately before the election should be considered sufficient for the purpose.

**II. Bengal Legislative Council (Provincial Upper House).—**I stick to my original view as indicated in my note of dissent in the first Report. I raised the matter in the Committee on this occasion as well; but I was overruled on the ground that the India Act as now passed did not make any reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes in the Provincial Upper House. I do not consider this to be the correct position. And I venture to think that out of the ten general seats three should be reserved for them.

**III. Federal Lower House.—**I hold the same view as I had at the time of the Committee's earlier sittings.

In view of the Government's recent proposals, I believe the matter has to be considered afresh, I hope to indicate my views before the 11th September next.



### Note of Dissent by Mr. S. M. Bose, M.L.C.

I sign this Report subject to the following note:—

**General urban seats.**—I still think that the original recommendation of this Committee for 17 General Urban seats should be maintained. The grounds shortly put are as follows:—

(1) The number of non-Muhammadan (now called General) seats at present is 46. It is to be increased to 78. Proportionally, there should be an increase from 11 to 17 as recommended by this Committee; just as there has been a nearly proportionate increase in the total European seats (territorial and commerce) from 16 to 25.

(2) The towns contain leaders of thought, the seers, the thinkers, the men who count and who are eminently fitted to lead; and it is but proper that such men should have a good chance of being returned.

I call attention to my note of dissent in the Report of the Provincial Franchise Committee, printed in Volume II of the Franchise Committee Report, where I have quoted passages from official reports as to the importance of towns. There seems to be an undeserved suspicion of towns, as if there is necessarily an inherent opposition between the interests of town and of country. Apart from Calcutta, and possibly Howrah, which are cosmopolitan towns, most of the other towns in Bengal are really part of rural areas, as they are now as regards franchise, part of rural constituencies. Calcutta and Howrah may be said to be urban-minded, but the other towns are all rural-minded and form intact, and in sympathy, part of rural constituencies. It is a great mistake to think that simply because there is a municipality in a place, that place *ipso facto* changes its character, and becomes a town, to be segregated from the surrounding villages. It must be remembered that in Bengal, there are only 22 municipalities with a population of over 30,000 and 27 with a population of over 25,000; and there are many small municipalities with less than 10,000 people. It is ridiculous to say that a municipality like Birnagar with a population of 2,341, Moheshpur with a population of 3,321, Old Malda with a population of 2,780, and other similar places should be regarded as urban-minded and so to be kept separate from rural areas. If it is really desired to give all the municipalities a separate franchise, then the only remedy is to increase the number of urban seats, from the existing number. If this be not done, the only alternative is to keep to the existing urban constituencies. The allocation of general urban seats as proposed by Government, is unworkable, as the extent of the proposed constituencies is unwieldy. It is futile to keep to the existing number of seats—11 and spread them over a huge number of municipalities. There are only, in my opinion, two possible alternatives—increase the number of seats to 17 and allocate them as done by the Committee previously, or keep the number of seats at 11 as proposed by the Government, then allocate them as at present. An injustice created by the proposal of Government is the disenfranchisement of important towns like Howrah and Hooghly which at present are given a seat each.

**Calcutta University seat.**—I entirely dissent from the majority of the Committee who have decided that the Calcutta University electorate is to consist of registered graduates who have before the draft publication of the electoral roll, paid the registration for the two preceding years. Since 1920, all graduates of seven years' standing enjoy the franchise without any payment being required of them. In my opinion, it is a retrograde measure to disenfranchise these graduates who have been enjoying the franchise for 15 years. Further, a registered graduate has to pay an annual registration fee of Rs. 10; so the new proposal will mean that a voter in the Calcutta University constituency will have to pay at least Rs. 20 for each election (I assume that the elections will be at intervals of two years at least). When there is going to be an all-round lowering of franchise, it is I think inequitable to make the voters pay Rs. 20 at least for the exercise of franchise. This will rule out a very large number of graduates and considerably narrow the University electorate. In the English Universities, I believe, a lump sum payment of a few guineas entitles a graduate to be permanently on the electoral roll.

It may be urged that in this special constituency (which is distinct from a general constituency where persons with a certain educational qualification have a vote), only those should have a vote who take a special interest in the University. But is the only measure of such interest the payment of Rs. 10 a year? Many who do not or cannot pay, do take a real interest in University matters by serving their *alma mater* in various honorary capacities. Further, it is possible for a rich candidate for the Calcutta University constituency to enroll a large number of graduate voters by paying Rs. 20 per head. This is very undesirable and will be a handicap to many worthy candidates who are poor.

Again, there is the practical difficulty that under the existing regulations, a registered graduate who has not paid up the whole of the registration fees up to date, cannot vote and a tender by him of two years' fees (if he is in arrears for over that period) will not be accepted by the University.

For all these reasons, I think the present franchise should not be altered. At most, the graduates may be required to pay a lump sum fee of say Rs. 5 for registering his name once for all.

**Women's General Constituencies.**—I agree with the Government proposal regarding the constituencies for the two seats and regarding mixed electorates. There is a wide-spread desire on the part of women to have larger constituencies, and one of the proposals received is that the East Bengal constituency should include Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong and Comilla. But it is to be remembered that this is the first time that women candidates are standing, and so everything should be done to encourage them at the start. An unwieldy constituency at the outset would be a great obstacle to them and would deter many who would shrink from a heavy task and may not have the means to contest such a huge area. The first election should be made easy. Subsequently, it will be open by Order in Council under section 291 of

the Government of India Act, 1935, to enlarge these constituencies by including other towns therein.

**Labour constituencies.**—This Committee previously recommended that for two Registered Trade Union Constituencies, the manual workers in all the Registered Trade Unions should vote. But the Government of Bengal have limited these constituencies to (1) registered Trade Unions of Railway workers, and (2) registered Trade Unions of water transport workers. The reasons put forth in opposition to the Committee's original decision are—(1) in that case neither the Railway workers nor the Water Transport workers will get any vote; and (2) there will be multiple voting as a voter in a territorial Labour Constituency will also have a vote in the Trade Union Constituencies. To prevent this anomaly, the Government propose to restrict the Trade Union seats to Railway Workers' and Water Transport Workers' Unions. But this anomaly exists in the Government scheme. There are registered factories containing Railway workers and also persons who are members of Water Transport Workers' Unions, who will have votes in the territorial Labour Constituencies as proposed by the Government in Schedule IVB of their proposals, e.g., the Railway Press at Fairlie Place, the Kanchrapara Workshop, employees of municipalities engaged in water-works who are, I am told, members of the Bengal Mariners' Union and other registered Water Transport Trade Unions. I am informed that there are no less than nine such registered factories within the jurisdiction mentioned in Schedule IVB, viz., Calcutta suburbs, Barrackpore, Howrah, Hooghly and Serampore, employing not less than 10,000 manual workers who as members of registered Trade Unions of Railway workers and of Water Transport workers, will also have votes in the registered Trade Union Constituencies. Multiple voting is thus not avoided in the Government scheme, and is therefore not a valid objection to the original scheme of the Committee. It had the further support both of the Royal Commission on Labour and of the Indian Franchise Committee which pointed out that it is desirable to accept Trade Unions as the basis of labour representation on the ground that such acceptance would be likely to lead to a very considerable development of those bodies on sound lines. The Advisory Committee in their previous Report of the 29th March 1933, have, in paragraph 7, carried out that principle, having regard to the difficulty mentioned there, that the Trade Union Movement in Bengal is only in its early stages. I see no reason for limiting the Trade Union franchise to two classes of workers only, as proposed by the Government, and hold that both the seats should be assigned jointly to all the registered Trade Unions representing manual workers.

**“European” and “Indian” Commerce Seats.**—There is considerable force in the point raised by Mr. N. K. Basu that the communal basis on which hitherto the 19 Commerce seats had been allotted (14 “European” and 5 “Indian”) was entirely wrong and that under the Government of India Act, 1935, there is no justification for the allocation made previously. Had this Committee been from the outset free to consider the allocation of seats entirely on its merits, without regard to the sharp division suggested by the Premier between “European” and “Indian” Commerce, I do not think the proportion of 14 to 5 would have been adopted. This arbitrary division was made by the Prime

Minister and has since been followed as a mandate in previous deliberations. The proportion of 14 to 5 was not made on any examination, but on the fiat of the Premier. This fiat has created a considerable bias in favour of the division suggested, a bias which still prevails and which has affected this Committee's recent decision. This is a point of substance, for it must be admitted that the question of division of seats has never been examined on its merits, as it should have been. It is true that the materials for such examination are not readily available, but I am of opinion that in the division adopted, there has been a considerable weightage in favour of seats given to predominantly European commercial interests; having regard to the growing importance of Indian commerce, I would allocate six seats to predominantly Indian commercial interests, reducing the other seats to 13. I would give this extra seat to the Indian Mining Federation.

### Minute of Dissent by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, M.L.C.

The representation granted to the urban areas is wrongfully inadequate so far as the Muslim seats are concerned. The Committee has proceeded far too much on the basis of population—the counting of heads—and has taken little account of the special importance of the towns. It is the cities that form the centres of culture, and give a lead to political thoughts and ideas. In the towns, also, the proportion of voters to the population is likely to be greater, though this will be offset by the fact that whereas in the villages the voters can be easily ascertained and enrolled, it is difficult to enroll the voters in the towns unless they actually come forward to claim the franchise. Again, a town election is much more difficult to manage. Every voter has to be approached; every voter has his own mind and individuality, whereas in the villages the voting is by parties or village heads. In the present council the entire urban representation is 6 out of 39, Calcutta having 2. In the future Council, although the seats will be trebled, i.e., 117 Muslim seats, the urban seats are still fixed at 6, with Calcutta as 2. In my opinion, the urban seats should be at least 12, of which Calcutta should have 4.

Then again no regard has been paid to the areas that a Muslim representative will be expected to serve. Here again the Committee has erred in making population and population alone the basis of its recommendations. The giving of a seat to Bankura is a negligible exception. I would make no distinction, between East and West Bengal, and would consider a Muslim representative from any constituency a true and proper representative. One of the criteria which, in my opinion, should be applied in distributing seats, should be the possibility of a representative keeping in touch with his constituency. Some constituencies, where the Muslim population is thick, hardly require any effort on the part of the representative to keep in touch with his voters; while others are so vast that a contest will not only mean ruin to the contestants, but the successful candidate cannot hope to remain in touch with his constituency after the elections. In my opinion, a formula which will take into account both population and the area of a constituency should be devised, and the constituencies distributed accordingly.

As for the labour seats, I do not agree with the principle of territorial constituencies. The territorial constituencies suggested cover a tremendous area and deal with an unmanageable number of voters. Under these circumstances only a person who adopts extremist tactics, makes extravagant promises and excites class passions, can succeed. I think that more representation should be given to legitimate Trade Unions, who are likely to look after the interests of labour, and yet not upset the social and economic structure.

Trade Unionism in Bengal is still in its infancy; and the movement should be encouraged by giving them voting rights. I anticipate that within the next few years a large number of Trade Unions will be formed; and it is best that provision should be made for their representation when they come into being.

If, however, the territorial constituencies are maintained, I do not think that it will be at all advisable or practical to give votes to all labourers. In my opinion there should be an earning qualification—labourers, for instance, earning Rs. 15 a month, either by piece work

or daily labour, according to the books of the employers, should have the franchise in Jute mill areas. If this qualification is insisted upon it will enfranchise a large number of labourers, and at the same time the list will not be unmanageable, and the voters will be persons who are likely to be steadier than a mass struggling between wind and water. After all the constituencies and the qualifications should not be such as will impose an impossible burden upon the prospective candidate.

One feels that one must apologise for the tone of the opposition to the seat allotted by the Committee to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. Hitherto the Muslims had no Chamber as such, but their position in the trade is undoubted. They have not advertised themselves and have allowed the others to steal a march over them. The result is that many were ignorant of the importance of the trade in the hands of the Muslims, and their criticisms are tinged with surprise and incredulity, if not with ignorance and antagonism. The figures which appear from the manifest and have been collected by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce to show the trade in the hands of Muslim merchants, clearly entitle this Chamber to at least 2 of the seats set apart for Commerce. They are undoubtedly the most important community after the Europeans. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce counts amongst its members many who are out merchants, and are not interested in commerce, but are politicians. Most of its *bona fide* members are engaged in petty trade or insurance companies. The Bengal Mahajan Sabha is not interested in Commerce—it is really interested, if at all, in internal trade. They claim to finance internal trade and lend money. The Marwari Association, composed at one time, of influential merchants, is now a social concern. The coal interests in Bengal have been utterly rejected. They are represented by the Indian Mining Federation, and although some of them have larger interests in Behar than in Bengal, there is no reason why they should be deprived of representation here. I certainly think that they should have a separate seat reserved for them and not be left to the mercy of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, whose members they will be compelled to become.