

CHAPTER - VI

Politics of Migration

Generally, Migration is a complex process and is symptomatic of basic economic and social changes. It has been the experience of most of the developed countries that rapid economic and social changes are accompanied by population redistribution between rural and urban areas. So the migration flows have a bearing upon several problems of the development process such as employment and regional development.¹

Many scholars have explained migration from their own point of view. According to William Peterson, 'Free Migration is a movement motivated by the individual willingness to risk the unknown of a new home and breaking from a familiar social universe for the sake of adventure, achievement of idea or to escape a social system 'from which he has become alienated.'² Helen I.safa opines. "Migration is normally viewed as an economic phenomenon". It means the migrants leave their birth place for the want of employment facilities and also for searching better chances at some other places.³

Smith gave emphasis on migration as a change in physical space.⁴ Eisenstaedt depicts migration as 'the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another'.⁵ According to Weinberg."Human migration is considered as the change of place of abode permanently when temporarily for an appreciable duration as in the case of seasonal workers".⁶ Baker gives the latest definition of migration. He says "Migration is the act of moving from one spatial unit to another." Mehta also has explained migration as a process of movement of special mobility.⁷

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, the word "migration means moving from place to place in search of means of subsistence or to escape a stranger foe men, from time immemorial, have spread over the greater part of the earth's

surface. Within recorded history, human migration have transformed the entire aspect of lands and composition of their inhabitants,”⁸

The word migration is intimately related with the word ‘refugee.’ Jacques Verdant had remarked long back in the year of 1953 that ‘a refugee is someone who has been compelled to abandon his home’.⁹

The most tragic scene of independent India was its partition. In order to solve political problem, the two provinces of Bengal and Punjab, were divided on 15th August, 1947. As a result there was a large influx of refugee immigration in Bengal whose wave had touched North Bengal deeply.¹⁰

Before going in details we should go to the background which paved the way of partition of India and thereby created a burning problem like Migration. From 1905 to 1947 the British had planted the poisons tree of communalism which came to an end through partition and refugee problem.

Three types of religions came to the lime light of History in the pre-partition and Post-partition period namely Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh. Among them the Hindus and Muslim were two great enemies of each other. This hostility had begun from 5th or 6th century A.D. From this time the Vedic religion had spread. During the reign of Paul-Chanda- Barman-Sen and Deb the Brahmanical religion had very much extended. The main principle of Arya-Hindu was Social division. The sudras at that time were neglected deeply and oppressed by Brahmans and Kshatriyas. Their chief work was to give service to the upper class people. There was no liberation of this caste without this service. This was also regarded as the law of God. Goutam Buddha had protested against this social oppression in the name of religion. He said that no God the honesty and Sad Jukti of man will reach him to the proximity of truth. But gradually the Buddhist religion had declined and the Brahmanical religion was again revived. The Sudras were again oppressed by upper caste people. The Buddhists were also persecuted by Hindu rulers. Any man, who worshipped Buddhadev, was either killed or exiled. At this juncture the Buddhists or the Sudras were separated from the life-line of society. The Muslim invaders who came from outside took the chance of this separation.¹¹

In the year of 712 A.D. when Muhamad-Bin Kasim invaded Sindhu province, he was helped by some inhabitants of this province secretly and indirectly. These helpers, in the true sense of the term, were the men of oppressed class.¹²For this reason Swami Vivekananda said, "Musalmaner Bharutadhiar daridra padadalitader Uddherkaran haiyachilo. Aeijanyei amader ek-panchamangshya Bharatbasi Musalman haiya giyachilo. Kebal Tara barir bale Aeiha Swadhita hoi nai."¹³

In order to get relief from social oppression a large number of untouchables accepted Muslim religion during the reign of Muslim rulers.¹⁴But some Hindu men were transformed into Muslims getting the fear of Muslim swords. In 976-77 A.D. Subuktaghin, the Sultan of Gazni invaded India. His son sultan Mamud also invaded India about seventeen times and became greedy for gaining Indian wealth. Many persecuted men of India expanding from Punjab to Mathura and Sindhu to Somnath accepted Muslim religion by night. The Muslims became their friends. In 1192 Muhammad Ghuri defeated Prithviraj Chouhan in the 2nd battle of Tarain and thereby paved the path of establishing Muslim rule in India in 1206 A.D. After it the Turkish and other Muslim lucky men came to India forming into a body. Consequently social gathering and friendly relations between ordinary Musalmans and upper caste Hindus decreased and a gap was also made between them. Converted Muslims never said 'Eso Brahman, suchi Kari mon dharo hat Sabakar' On the other hand upper caste Hindus also never said 'Eso hey patit, hoke apanit Sab apaman bhar.'¹⁵

In 1204 A.D. the Muslim rule in Bangladesh was founded by Bakhtiyar Khalji . This rule was continued up to the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah and the grant of Dewani of the British in 1765 legally.¹⁶At that time a part of some clever Hindus was able to take high position at Muslim court by dint of their educational qualities. Matrimonial relations were also made sometimes. In spite of that there was possibility of Hindu –Muslim friendship during Muslim reign. The Hindus wanted the destruction of Muslim rule. In order to fulfil their aspirations the British East India Company came to India and they extended their hands towards the Hindus. Naturally the British rules were transformed into the friends of

Hindus.¹⁷The Hindus became eager to learn English language and thereby to adorn their society culturally. On the other hand, the Muslim community became unfavorable to learn English education and culture. Consequently they became backward both educationally and culturally than the Hindus. The Muslim communities kept themselves in a limited scope and forbade English education. Side by side the fate of western educated Hindus became bright. The use of Arabic and Parshi languages in the official work of royal court and law court was evident. Taking advantage of it the Hindus absorbed the honorable posts of this country by dint of their educational qualification. The gap was gradually increased between these two communities.

The Faraji movement of the year of 1804 in Bangladesh had opened the door of Wahabi movement. Haji Sariatullah took the leadership in this movement. The Hindus neglected this movement in the name of religious fanaticism. The conservative Hindus did not recognize the opposition towards the British as a vital step of freedom movement. In fact, both the Hindus and Muslim had different opinion with regards to the realization to liberate the country from the bondage of the British. From this point of view the Sepoy Muting of 1857 was not the movement of both Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim Sepoys at first led the movement. After that it had spread among the Hindu sepoy. But many upper class Hindu and Muslim communities were in favour of the British. The Hindu zaminders were also benefited by the Permanent Settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. But the Muslim Krishaks and Prajas fell a prey to this settlement. As a result, a social and mental distinction gradually extended between these two communities. In this condition Sir Saiyad Ahmen Khan came in the stage in order to upgrade the backward Muslims through western education and culture. For fulfilling this purpose he established Aligarh Anglo-Oriental College for the Muslims at Aligarh. Later this college was transformed into a university named Aligarh University. Only the Musalmans of Uttar Pradesh were benefited by this step of Sir Saiyad Ahmed. Most of the Muslims of North India stayed in miserable condition as before. In this condition the Hindu opposition of Muslims took a terrific shape.

Saiyad Ahmed of Rai Berili - the leader of the Wahabi movement definitely wanted to free the Muslims from internal stagnation and thereby to re-establish the Muslim Sovereignty in India. Above all, he wanted to give birth to a separate and free Muslim State.¹⁸ This mentality had affected the Hindu-Muslim political relationship adversely for one century. On the other hand, Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan who is called the 'Father of Muslim Renaissance' said embracing communalism that Hindu-Muslim are two separate nations. They should never be united.¹⁹

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India took opportunity of this two—nation theory. In order to increase the social and educational differentiation between the Hindus and the Muslim he gave the proposal of dividing Bengal. This proposal had influenced the Muslims of Purba Banga deeply.

On 18th February, 1904 he delivered a speech at a public meeting of Dacca saying that this proposal will give such an opportunity to the Muslims of Dacca which they can never imagine.²⁰ On 16th October, 1905 the whole of Bengal was divided into two parts –Purba Banga and Assam on the one hand and Paschim-banga, Bihar and Orissa on the other. Curzon showed the cause that with a view to removing administrative complicity, this division was made. But the real purpose of this division was to strengthen the British Empire rousing the communal feeling between the Hindu and the Muslim. This proposal had shaken the Hindu Society powerfully. They started the anti-partition movement. Naturally the anti-partition movement formed clear nationalism not only in Bangladesh but in the whole India amongst Hindus and Muslims. As a re-action in 1906 two communal parties were founded namely All India Muslim League and the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha.²¹ On the other side, in the Surat Congress the rift on the question of directing Swadeshi movement arrived at the highest point and the congress was divided into two sections the Moderate and the Extremist. Somebody opines that after 1906, the congress was transformed into a congress of the Hindus.²² and its competitor was the newly formed Muslim League. In fact, the seed of partitioning the country was sowed in this episode at which a division became clear between British Indian Association and Muslim Community. In 1887, before starting the Madras

Congress Saiyad Ahmed acquainted the Muslims of Hindu supremacy. In 1888 he remarked that the Hindu and the Muslim are two belligerent nations and their peaceful co-existence should not be possible at the end of British rule. At that time under his enterprise Mr. Theodore Baker had established an anti-congress institution. The rift between these two parties gave a green signal of imminent partition and migration problem.

When Muslim League was born, the age of the Congress Party was only twenty one. But from birth time the League became the greatest competitor of the Congress. The Muslim league was becoming the main shelter of the Muslim. It got support of the British directly and indirectly. When the Hindus invited them to support the anti-partition movement, they did not show any eagerness in this matter. But the Swadeshi movement had removed the British fear from the minds of men.²³ This movement had also taught men to embrace the woe. This was an important step for rousing national consciousness. Will Durant had admitted that Indian Revolution truly started from 1905.²⁴ This Swadeshi movement was transformed into a vast national movement gradually. This newly born nationalism was able to create fissure in the Indian National Congress. One side was moderate and another side, extremist. We have already known it. Side by side various terrorist revolutionary organizations were formed at different parts of Bangladesh. They had no trust either in please prayer and protest policy like the Moderates or confidence in non violent protest. The only way to them for expulsion was the way of using Bomb, Gun etc. Creating terrorism by armed revolution or guerilla warfare they one by one had killed the British, looted Armed-bhander, invaded European club and were able to create terror in the whole country. From 1757 to 1900 –during this long period many simultaneous and separated revolts took place at different parts of India. Most of the terrorists were non-Muslims. And the shrewd British Government took the step of hated communal politics to repress the Swadeshi movement. They were in-favour of the Muslim community in the communal riot. The main objective of the British Government was to maintain the support of the Musalmans towards partition of Bengal. The Hindus were deprived of Government service. If any riot took place, the Hindus were only arrested. The

British had distributed pamphlets in order to rise anti Hindu feelings in the minds of Muslims. Sir Bamfield directly said, between his two wives the Muslim one was the principal queen.²⁵

At that time under the leadership of Aga Khan some Muslims met Lord Minto. This meeting was a pre-planned step of the British Government. The demands of the Muslims were (I) the Muslims were to be appointed in the administrative Department of the Governor-General. (ii) The post should be reserved for the Muslims in the civil service (iii) A Muslim university should be opened (iv) A Muslim judge was to be appointed at each High Court. In fact, this appeasement towards the Muslim was the part and parcel of Government plan.²⁶ Thus the Divide and Rule policy of the British Government had waded the painful moment of partitioning India.²⁷

The Secretary of the newly formed Muslim League openly remarked that both the Hindus and the Congress wanted to drive away the British. Their mentality is totally opposite to the Muslims. So there was no question of compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League.²⁸

The division of the congress into two parts at the Surat Congress, the active works of the revolutionaries in different countries of Europe in-favour of freedom warmed the political arena of the country.²⁹ In 1907, Bipin Chandra Paul—the extremist leader demanded clearly the end of British rule in his speech. Khudiram Basu, Prafulla Chaki, Ullaskar Datta, Bhupendra Nath Dutta—all these revolutionaries also wanted to expel the British through the way of Secret murder.³⁰

In 1908 the moderates gathered at a meeting of Allahabad and took a decision of demanding self-administration from the British through 3ps policy. On the other hand in 1907 at Karachi and 1908 also at Amritsar Congress the Muslim League took the principle of compromise with the British. Like old method of congress they made an arrangement of broadcasting with the help of Saiyed Amir Ali.³¹

The Morley—Minto Reforms Act of 1909 gave additional facilities to the Muslims depending upon Two—Nation Theories definitely. Some progressive Muslims protested against it but most of the Muslims became glad in this respect.

On the occasion of the Emperor George-V and Rani Mary to India a Durbar had commenced in Delhi on 12th December, 1911 in which the announcement of abolishing partition of Bengal had done. This news failed to get back the condition of Bangladesh like as before. The young revolutionaries were engaged in secret murder and the expulsion of the British. A bomb was thrown on Lord Hurdinj. He became conscious about it that all Indians were not the worshipped of the British. Side by side the Muslims were not glad at the news of abolishing partition of Bengal. They cherished that the British Government will always appease them. This hope was transformed into despair by chance.

In 1914, the First World War started and the condition was changed partly generally. Among the moderate leaders Gandhiji agreed to help the British freely. In this war Smt. Annie Basant declared the price of Indian allegiance was the independence of India.³² From 1915, she started her Home rule movement. At that year she delivered a speech in Bombay and said: Home rule means she understood own Government of the country. The mass from every province will select the members of the parliament by vote and the Government which will be formed among them will be responsible in the parliament for their own work. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Ali brothers were in favour of the Home rule movement. In 1917 at Calcutta Congress Srimati Besant in her powerful speeches demanded self—rule within a brief period, which was the main slogan of the extremists. The extremists were driven away from the Congress at the Surat Congress in 1907. Only ten years later they had occupied the Congress.³³

In 1919 for a few years the Hindu Muslim relations took different shape. After the First World War according to the Treaty of Sevras Turaska got punishment and the power of the Sultan was cut. The Muslims did not accept this activity of the British. They burnt in anger and demanded that the British policy towards Turaska was to be changed and the Turkish Sultan was to be given its own status as before. Later this demand took the shape of Khilafat movement.

Gandhiji was the main supporter of this demand. In fact, Gandhiji wanted to draw both the Khilafat question and the demand of Home rule at the same time.

On 23rd November, 1919 a sammelon of All India Khilafat Committee was held in Delhi at which Gandhiji was selected as the President. In this sammelon the Muslims took the decision of non-cooperating with the British at every step until their demand was fulfilled and the Muslim League welcomed this decision. A memorandum was placed by the Indian Khilafatists towards the Viceroy on 19th January, 1920. Gandhiji, Swami Shradhdhansda, Modanmohan Malavya and Motilal Nehru—the Hindu leaders signed at this memorandum. The main objective of Gandhiji was to maintain Hindu Muslim unity supporting the khilafatists. But he did not realize that the origin of the Khilafat movement was pan-Islamism which had no similarity with Indian hope and aspiration. Some Muslim leaders were not glad gaining co-operation from the Hindu leaders. Muhammad Ali—a renowned leader of the Muslim said openly at the Madras Congress, he is at first the Muslim then other. And any Amir of Afghanistan invades India, if the Hindus do not support it, he himself will stand against the Hindus.³⁴ The Congress just avoided this remark.

On 1st August, 1920 the Non-cooperation movement was transformed into national movement for Khilafat. At the Nagpur Congress ‘The programme of Non-co-operation was accepted permanently’. In this connection about 14,000 persons were Musalmans. But Annie Besant, Jinnah, Bipin Paul and Modan Mohan Malavya—the Congress leaders did not support this movement started by Gandhiji. In this context Jinnah said to Gandhij, your principle in the mean time has contained division and confusion in the life of the mass. The people become angry everywhere and your extremist programme has caused a partial madness to some in experienced and illiterate youngs.³⁵ Despite this objection the non-cooperation proposal was put into practice. Chitya Ranjan Das and Lajpat Roy supported it.

The Hindu—Muslim relation degraded from the year of 1923. During this time communal riot had begun at different parts of India. The Musalmans started Communal movements like Tanjim and Tablikh. Side by side the Hindus started Suddhi movement.³⁶ At that time under the leadership of Sri Malabya the meeting

of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in Baranasi. The relation between both communities was becoming gradually bitter. Chitya Ranjan Das concluded 'Hindu—Muslim pact' for Bangladesh. In this pact it was declared that the Muslims were to be given at least 55% Government Service. But this attempt was an actually force.

On 24th May, 1924 Jinnah said in his speech at Lahore Congress of the Muslim League that the Non-Co-operation movement has failed. Now it needs to do such work by which Swaraj can be achieved.³⁷ In the mean time riots took place in Delhi, Gulabarga, Ko-hat, Ellahabad, Kanchra para and Jabbalpur regularly. Gandhiji started fasting against these riots but failed to change the minds of the rioters. It is true that the British Government was responsible indirectly for these riots. They knew as long as the ruled engaged themselves in rift and quarrel, they will stay safely in India. But the terrorist revolutionaries of India at that time did not sit silently. The revolution under the active leadership of Surya Sen had spread at Chattagram of Bangladesh. This movement of Chattagram had inspired the youths of the country to start the movement.

The relations between Hindu and Muslim had degraded from the year of 1926. A large number of people died at the riot of Calcutta. Its influence had reached Rawalpindi and Allahabad. Swami Shradhananda was killed by one stranger. The love and sympathy of Gandhiji, Chittaranjan Das and Lajpat Rai towards the Muslim community was becoming unbearable to the Hindus.

From 1930 a new movement under the leadership of Gandhiji had started again. This movement was called Civil Disobedience Movement. The Dandi expedition and other non-violent activities of Mahatma Gandhi had shaken the British Government very much. In 1933 when Gandhiji and his thirty four associates were arrested, the speed of the movement was decreased. An uncertain condition was created towards the Congress. Gandhiji appealed to his associates to engage themselves in constructive works from now.³⁸ He remarked this seeing the circumstances totally.

According to the Reform Act of 1935 a general election took place in 1937 at which the congress got majority seats in United Province, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Bombay. The Muslim League was totally defeated in this election. It got limited seats among the reserved 482 seats. But the blunder politics, short sightedness and stupidity had augmented the influence of Muslim League within few years very much.³⁹The liberal Muslim leaders like Fazlul Hoque of Bangladesh became more eager to form United Ministry with the congress. But the Congress had cancelled this proposal under the direction of Gandhiji.⁴⁰Consequently, a great destruction occurred in India. After refusing the Congress proposal the Muslim League was summoned to form ministry in the Muslim based provinces. The League, accepting the ministry applied itself for strengthening this weak institution and everywhere of the country the branches of the Muslim League were formed on the basis of terrible communalism. Thus the poisonous tree of Indian partition was planted.

After the defeat of the Muslim League in the election of 1937 Jawaharlal Nehru announced with vanity that there are only two political parties in India--one, the British Government and the other Congress.⁴¹The Muslims became very angry at this remark.⁴² But the League wanted to make a compromise with the congress. After it Nehru demanded the allegiance of the League through Mass propaganda on 31st March, 1937. Jinnah had accepted the challenge. At the Lucknow Congress he said: After it the Muslims will take weapons at every village against Congress propagators.⁴³ The League became active under the leadership of Jinnah. The other Muslim political parties came under the banner of the Muslim League. In that year Jinnah said to Gandhi directly if the Congress should declare itself as the representative of the Hindus, the Muslim League should get recognition as the representative of the Musalmans.⁴⁴ Consequently a great crisis was created in the country.

On 19th February,1938 Subhas Chandra Bose was elected as President of the 51st sammelon of the Congress at Bithal nagar of Gujrat. After Munich Agreement Subhas Chandra Basu had called the mass to form a national movement on the background of imminent Second World War. This call was not

accepted by the disciples of Gandhiji because they became greedy for obtaining ministry and parliamentary power. Consequently a rift took place between Gandhiji and Subhas Chandra Bose. The principle of Gandhiji's supporters was to make Subhas Chandra Bose out of order. They gave votes to Pattavi Sitaramaiya in the election of Tripuri Congress in place of Subhas Chandra Bose. But Subhas won in this election defeating Sitaramaiya. Gandhiji and other Congress leaders had planned to non-cooperate with Subhas Chandra Bose. As a result Subhas Bose had resigned from the post of President and formed another party named Forward Bloc in 1939. In 1938-39 when a rift had begun in the Congress, Jinnah exerted himself to strengthen the Muslim League. The rift between Jawaharlal Nehru and Md. Ali Jinnah had reached the highest peak. Jawaharlal Nehru had remarked that there are many Musalmans in the Congress who are the inspirators of Jinnah.⁴⁵

Gradually, the Two Nation Theory had inspired the Muslim League Versus Jinnah very much. The demand of Pakistan became strong. In the meantime the Second World War had begun. The freedom movement of India took a new shape from this period.

In 1930, at the Allahabad Congress of the Muslim League Sir Muhammad Ekbal—a great Urdu poet at his presidential Congress demanded a separate Muslim state within India. This state will be formed under the combination of Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. At the same time Chowdhury Rahmat Ali including some Muslim students—the students of Cambridge University had given the same proposal.⁴⁶ But the Muslim leaders did not accept the proposal. After two years Chowdhury Rahmat Ali and his three associates had published a pamphlet of 4 pages named 'Now or Never' (1933) in which they wanted the creation of a separate Muslim State dividing India. The name of this state will be Pakistan—the combination of five provinces namely Punjab, Afghan Pradesh, Kashmir, Sindhu Pradesh and Baluchistan.⁴⁷ But this proposal was also rejected by the 2nd Round-table conference. At the Third Round Table conference Jinnah and other Muslim leaders did not give much importance to the matter of Pakistan proposal. It was declared in 'Now or Never' pamphlet that their demand was the demand of about three crores of Muslims of West India. According to this pamphlet—the Muslims

of Pakistan are persons of separate characteristics and they can demand a separate state.⁴⁸ The proposal was rejected by the Muslim League. In 1940 that proposal was put into practice. It was an irony of fate. At the Lahore Congress (1940) the proposal of partitioning India was accepted permanently.⁴⁹

This change in the character of Muslim politics did not get any importance on behalf of the Congress and Hindu leaders. The Congress had never tried to draw the League for rejecting the proposal of a separate state through discussion. They had only ended their duty summoning the All-India Muslim Conference in Delhi and nominating Moulana Abul kalam Azad as the President of this conference. In the true sense of the term due to vanity and lack of far-sightedness the Congress did not recognize the Muslim League as only a local institution and did not also recognize Jinnah as an undisputed leader of this community, But the time was over when they were compelled to give recognition to the Muslim League.

The plan of partitioning Bengal was not the attempt of partitioning India.⁵⁰ But the possibility of this plan to put into practice created a gap between the Hindus and Muslims whole heartedly. Consequently, the matter of partioning India was never avoided. The terrorist mentality of the Muslim League and the obstinate mentality of the Congress leaders were solely responsible for it.

Sir Theodor Morison—the principal of Aligarh College had remarked in a pamphlet “If fifty lakh Muslims are habilitated in Northern India, a national consciousness will be created and consequently the problem of the Muslims will be solved”. In 1890 Abdul Halim Sairai at first proposed a separate landscape for the Muslims. In 1917 an international socialist sommelson was summoned at Stockholm at which two Indian representatives named Abdul Jabber and Abdul Sattar had remarked the same. In 1921 Nadir Ali—an ardent supporter of British rule had published a pamphlet in which he had remarked the partition of India was the only way to the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem. After three years Moulana Muhammad Ali had delivered a lecture at Aligarh saying that India will be divided into two parts—Hindu Bharat and Muslim Bharat if Hindu—Muslim problems are not to be solved. At that year a meeting was held at Lahore in which the Federal

type of administration was proposed in exchange of unitary administration in India. In 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai had planned the same in which four Muslim states were to be created in North-Western frontier province, Punjab, Sindh and East Bengal. Sir Muhammad Shahnawaj of Punjab League wrote a book entitled 'Confederacy of India'. The book offered the partition of India into five parts named Sindhu tract, Hindu Bharat, Rajasthan, Deccan, and Banga. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan—a contemporary Chief Minister of Punjab wrote a pamphlet namely 'Outlines of a scheme of Indian Federation' in which he proposed the creation of an Indian Confederation under the combination of seven separate tracts. Khalikujjaman had placed a plan of Indian partition to the then Indian Secretary Lord Jetland and his assistant Kornel Muirhed on March 1939. This plan was accepted by the committee of the League Working Committee on 4th February, 1940 and paved the way of creating two separate states—Pakistan and India.

Two professors of Aligarh University named Sayed Jafar-Ul-Hasan and Dr. Muhammad Afjal Hasan Kadri propagated a plan of Indian partition under the combination of six independent and sovereign states namely Pakistan, Banga, Hindustan, Hyderabad, Delhi, and Malabar. Dr. S.A. Latif in his written book 'The Muslim Problem in India' had also placed a plan of partitioning India into four states for Muslims and six states for Hindus on the basis of six cultural tracts. On 15th November, 1939 Dr. Jakiruddin, Dr. Forman Ahamed and Ubed-Ullah-Durani including Prof. Hasan appealed vehemently to Muhammad Ali Jinnah to form more than one independent Muslim states at Muslim majority tracts. In this context they sent a secret proposal to Jinnah. The committee of Sir Abdullah Harun of Sindhu Pradesh also composed a plan for dividing India. In 1940, when the position was in favour of Pakistan, Chowdhury Rahmat Ali gave another statement from Karachi which was published after as the title named The Millal of Islam and the Menace of Indianism from Cambridge. This statement supported for creation of independent Pakistan state preserving Indian tradition of the Musalmans completely.⁵¹ From the year of 1936 Aga Khan—an ardent supporter of British imperialism played an important role in this respect. He thought that a

new total platform should be necessary for submitting own demand of Indian Musalmans.⁵²

In fact, the Hindu newspaper had depicted Lahore proposal as Pakistan Proposal. In this context Jinnah's personal Secretary Pirjada mentioned Jinnah's statement saying; we did not introduce the word Pakistan. The Hindus gifted this word to us. The Hindus had criticized the Lahore proposal greatly and mentioned it as 'Pakistan Proposal'. As a result this word was introduced.⁵³

Maulana Azad in his books 'India Wins Freedom' gave credit to many persons directly and indirectly namely Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel, Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and partly Gandhiji.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah—Father of Pakistan nation—at a time was the first rank Congress leaders in 1920, Gokhle and Sorojini Naidu were the representatives of Hindu –Muslim unity. One day this so-called Jinnah became anti-Hindu, anti congress and a great orator of Pakistan proposal. After partition Jinnah remarked “partition was the greatest blunder in his life.”

If we divide Jinnah's political life in four parts, we can see⁵⁴

In the first part, he was an important member of the Indian National Congress, Political disciple of Dadabhai Naoroji and guard of Indian national interest. He did not support separate election system for Muslims because this system will be harmful for national integration. He was not the member of the Muslim League at first. He was elected by the Muslim Election commission and then also became the member of the Muslim League after accepting the membership of Central Assembly and said: I am the member of the Congress with regards to national integration and also the member of the Muslim League for serving communal interest of the Muslims.⁵⁵

In the second part, he had tried his best to make a bridge between the Congress and the League. He had concluded the Lucknow pact (1916) with Tilok jointly. Jinnah's power had raised to the highest peak. This episode was ended when under the leadership of Gandhiji the Congress had accepted Ahinsha Non-co-operation principle. Jinnah wanted reciprocal co-operation not non-co-

operation. He could not accept the principle of Gandhiji.⁵⁶ In the third part he was not the member of the Congress. He established Independent party in the Central Assembly. The members of this party were Hindu, Musalman and Parsi. This party was more independent than the Government and the Congress. At that time (1934) Chowdhury Rahmat Ali had requested Jinnah to be the Convener of Pakistan in the dinner party commencing in England. Jinnah had remarked disappointing him that it was an absurd dream.

In the fourth part, Jinnah had formed Muslim League party breaking Independent party. From this time he gave much importance to Muslim communal interest than national interest. He did not hesitate to say the congress as a Hindu Institution. Gradually he promised that he did not give the Congress to form Government at Central level alone. It will be done with the help of League and on the condition of the League. If it is not possible, he will demand Pakistan in order to secure it he is prepared to fight with the Congress. If the British Government helps the Congress in this matter, he also will fight with the British. He remarked that the Congress supported Muslims. They are the showy boys of the Congress. From then he became a Muslim nationalist, not an Indian nationalist. He had followed blindly 'Two Nation Theory'. India is a land of two nations—Hindu and Muslim. A separate land is necessary for the Muslim. He had created Pakistan betting the game. That was the trick of the Congress. The Congress wanted East Punjab and west Bengal. If it was not possible, Delhi was not safe and the gain of Calcutta city was impossible.

Through same comments of Jinnah we can watch the change of mentality of him from time to time.⁵⁸

1. Hinduder Prati Amader drisstibhangi Hobe Subhecheha ebong Bhatribhavapanna Amader chalak Niti hobe Desher Swarthe Tahader Sange Sahajogita. Dui Bhatrpratim mahat Sampradayer bhitar Jathartha bojhapara ebong hriddyapurna sammandha Prathistita halei Bharatbarsher Jathertha Pragati Sambhavpar⁵⁹ habe, Ahmedabad 1916.

2. Musalmander shartha upeksha karle Kono Bharatbasi kokhono ter swadesher seba karte samartha habe na.⁶⁰ (1931)
3. Amra kono daler Talpibahak habo na. Saman Angshidar rupe Amra kaj karte prastut achi.⁶¹(03.01.1937)
4. Congress pradhanata Hindu pratisthan. (Calcutta April,1938)
5. Amra Bharatbarsher Musalman sampradai Amader Purna adhikar adai karar bapera manasthir kare niachi. Congress ke Hindu punaruthanbader yantre prarinata karer janya jadi kano ekjan baktike dayi karte hai tahale tini haten Mr.Gandhi (Patna; 26.12.1938)
6. Jati Sabder je kano paribasha anusare Musalmanera ekti jati ebong tadher nijasya Basbhumi ,Elaka ebong Rashtra Chai.⁶²(1940)
7. Musalmander Kono matei ami Hinduder Kritadashe parinata karte parina.(peshwar, 24.11.45)
8. Bharatbarsher Samasyar ekmatra Samadhan halo Pakistan (Bombay, July 1946)
9. Akhil Bharat Muslim League biswas kare je Pakistan prapti, nijedher nay sangata dabi arjan, nijeder samman raksha ebong bartamaner Engrejer bhabishater Barnahinduder dasater hat theka praritrان pabar janya Musalman Jatir taraf theke pratakhyā sangrame prabitta haber samay ekhan eshe gache(1946).
10. Aj Amader eman abasthar madhye thele dewar pechhane Congress O England Ubhayeri Jogayog aache. Amader dui dik theke akkraman kara hayeche---Aj Amra Sabgbhidhan O Sagbhidhanik padhyatike bidai janiachhi---ek daler pachane chila khamata O Machinegun ebong apar dal sarbada Aasohojog O Gana Aain amanya suru karer sasani ditto . Eai praristhitir mokabila karte hobe. Amader ekhan pistan ache.(1946).⁶³

But it should be minded Jinnah was not solely responsible for the partition. There were also contribution of Lord Mountbatten and other Congress leaders. It

is that in divided or undivided condition, Bharatbarsha was to be free within 1948⁶⁴.

In the meantime the Second World War had begun in 1939 and ended in 1945. In spite of great personality of Churchill and wartime unique leadership in this war the people of Britain had elected the labour party in the general election. Clement Attlee became Prime minister and Sir Pethick Lawrence was appointed as the Secretary of State for India. The labour party of Britain according to their declared principle took decision to give freedom to India.⁶⁵

On 21st August Lord Wavell declared that the election of Indian parliament will be commenced in the coming winter. Returning from London on 19th September he announced in Delhi the Government will summon a Gana Parishad after the general election. Then the Government also will take step for transferring power. The main participants in the election were the Congress and the Muslim League. The main demand of the league was the partition of India and creation of Pakistan. And the Congress wanted transfer of power as soon as possible.

On 4th December in the House of Lords the Secretary of State for India declared that a parliamentary representative group under the combination of all members will visit India and held a meeting with various leaders about the matter how India will acquire a place of an independent state within British Commonwealth. India will to be get complete independence which was declared at first officially. In December election the Hindus won in the Hindu majority tracts and the Muslims got votes in the Muslim majority tracts.

On 5th January under the leadership of Robert Richards a parliamentary representative group including ten members came to India. Jinnah said to them that it is necessary to form two institutions for drafting constitution, one for Muslim. Nehru gave a statement saying: if the British Government will divide India, in the sphere of frontier districts general election is very much necessary.⁶⁶

On 24th March, 1946 the Cabinet Mission came in Delhi. Pethick Lawrence—the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A.V. Alexander became present in it.⁶⁷ Both the Congress and the Muslim League

became busy for securing their own interests. Abul Kalam Azad—the Congress president awarded the Mission that before independence an Interim Government will be formed full of responsible sense and this Government will take necessary step for drafting future constitution of India.⁶⁸ Mahatma Gandhi had delivered a speech against Two Nation Theory. On the other hand, Jinnah demanded Pakistan on the basis of Two Nation Theory. At that time the rift between the League and the Congress reached to such an extent on that, the fire of communalism was too hot which had no way to subdue .Even, there was no power of any leader to face it. Consequently in order to keep peace the leaders of all parties wanted rapid relief. India was partitioned into two parts—India and Pakistan. At that moment when the British had prepared himself to quit India and both the congress and the League accepted the policy of compromise, our country was saved from the effect of partition, cry of minority group and above all continuous refugee problem. Due to the greedy mentality of being a dictator of newly born Free State, the leaders of two communities had spread the poison of communalism in the air. As a result the minorities were oppressed and the cry of refugees grew during the later days of independence. Thus a large number of innocent people became victimized due to selfishness of some notable leaders. This example can never be found in the World History Maulana Azad wrote clearly in his book that Ballav Bhai Patel was the innovator of Partition of India.⁶⁹ He had depicted the complex political circumstances in the following:-

“The communal feeling was increasing gradually in the country. The Government was paralyzed due to the fight of the Congress and the League. Patel had submitted Department of economy for fear of losing the Home Department which was the main key of administration. Patel felt that he is unable even to create the post of a peon being a home-member. The Congress members of the Council were at stake. Lord Mountbatten took this opportunity fully. He had absorbed the real power in the name of compromise. He had tried whole-heartedly to make influence on both parties with regard to the creation of Pakistan. The first prey of Lord Mountbatten was Patel Saheb. He was intoxicated towards partition in order to get free from Jinnah’s manner. Mountbatten tried to make him

understand saying that the problem can be solved only through partition as it is impossible to work with the League together. Patel said openly if he gets deliverance giving one piece of India to Jinnah, it will be his aspiration.

The second prey of Batten Saheb was Jawaharlal Nehru. He did not support at first partition of India. But he was very much influenced gradually both by Lord and Lady Mount batten in this matter. Krishna Menan was solely responsible behind the changing of opinion of Nehru. When Azad understood that in the name of partition of the country the leaders in fact were much eager to dig to the grave of the country, he had tried his best to give resistance to this work. But Patel remarked that "we want or do not want, there are two nations in India now. The rift between the Hindus and the Muslims can be stopped only through partition". Patel was becoming a more ardent supporter of partition of India than Jinnah. Nehru then said to Azad that the matter of partitioning the country is inevitable. So it will be the sign of great intelligence to accept it. In the true sense of the term it was not possible for Nehru to avoid Lord and Lady Mountbatten. But Azad said to Nehru to be careful in this respect. He said if they give permission for partition, History will never forgive them. The next generation will say without hesitation that not the Muslim League, the Congress had divided India.

The remaining person was Gandhi, He remarked; the Congress may agree with the partition of the country if it wants, but that will be happened upon my dead body. But after intimate discussion with Mount batten and Sardar Patel Gandhi's opinion was partly changed. He said to Azad; The present condition of India is going into such a way that it seems the partition is inevitable.⁷¹

When Mountbatten noticed that plan of partitioning country was accepted by Patel, Menan, Nehru, and even Gandhiji generally, the question of Bangladesh and Punjab got importance newly. He said as the basis of partitioning country is Muslim majority tracts and the Muslims are minority both in Bangladesh and Punjab, these two provinces will be divided. Azad wanted to defer the matter for at least two years by which the partition will be stopped. But Mount Batten was becoming desperate to solve this problem.

Azad said; before partition the two communities are engaged in riot which will take extreme shape after the partition of India. Mountbatten gave answer that he is fully promising to resist the riot by his military experience. But all know that in post-partition India the communal riots took place day by day. The military experience of Batten Saheb was out of practice. Because military army failed to close the fighting of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Gandhiji felt piteously although he was declared as the Father of the Nation but his relation with other Congress leaders was like a relation between an old father and his sons. There was no way for him without acting like Dhritarashtra. Feeling the whole circumstances applied his extreme weapon that means Fasting.⁷²

Jinnah fully demanded Punjab and Bangladesh for Pakistan. But the Congress demanded to include the Hindu based tracts within India. As a result at last the possibility was created for dividing Bangla and Punjab. Sarat Chandra Basu and Surabardi demanded the undivided independent Bangladesh. Both the Congress and the League did not support. On 10th May, Batten Saheb had published a proposal which was granted by the British Cabinet. Its main theme was, Freedom will be given to every province of India on a fixed day. Then the provinces will join the Hindustan or Pakistan according to their own will. But Nehru protested vehemently against this plan on the argument if this plan was to be accepted, India would break into pieces.

Secondly, a plan was also submitted to Mount Batten by Nehru's one personnel of his Secretariat. The main theme of this plan was that Indian Union will be formed taking Hindu-based tracts and Pakistan consisting of Muslim-based tracts. Punjab and Bangladesh were to be divided and Pakistan will gain Purba Banga and Paschim Punjab. Mount Batten submitted this proposal to Nehru, Patel, Jinnah, Liakat and Baladev Singh. According to the expectation of Menon both parties had agreed to this proposal.

Menon took three hours to make this plan newly. And Batten Saheb took only ten minutes to pass the plan through the British Cabinet. The deplorable fate of a large number of people of undivided India was fixed within only ten minutes. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 'A dream was laid in grave'. The

question arises in this context why the British Government was so eager to divide India before? In this respect Maulana Azad writes, according to the plan of the Cabinet Mission if undivided India became independent, there will be no chance for the British to strengthen their grips in the sphere of trade, industry and economy. On the other hand, the division of India means the creation of separate and independent states named Pakistan. Consequently, there will be an advantage of the British to keep India into their own hands. The Muslim League ruled states will be under the influence of the British forever. Consequently an influence will also be created on the mentality of India specially. There will be no way for India without respecting the British interest as the British out post is situated at the frontier.⁷³ Jinnah was playing his war drum at the eleventh hour. The Muslim League will not reject the demand of Pakistan.⁷⁴ It is the only way of freeing 10crores Muslim.⁷⁵ The political situation of India was like a burning glass. So Mount batten awarded the British Cabinet aware that the Muslim League would take recourse to weapons if the Muslim League demand was not accepted.⁷⁶ This Governor General named Mount Batten was directed by the policy of ‘Vini Vidi Vici’ and paved the way for partitioning India. Consequently the painful cry of a large number of men, women and children had engulfed the air and the sky of India—till then the misery of refugee and oppression towards minorities continued, Lord Mountbatten was solely responsible for this painful situation of India.

There was no end of communal riots and murder at the outset of partitioning the country. Both Punjab and Bangladesh were sunk in the festival of blood then. Jenkins—the then Lieutenant Governor wrote a note in this respect; we think that we are living among those men who are engaged much to destroy themselves.⁷⁷

This is like a modern Jadubansha who are determined much for suicidal destruction. Naturally the minorities left their home from Banga and Punjab. On 4th June,1947 Mountbatten had declared in a press conference that on 15th August,1947 the power will be transferred in place of June,1948. It is interesting to note that Gandhiji said in his prayer sabha: Mountbatten—the British Sarkar

was not responsible for partition. There was no blame of the British Government General in this matter. He was also against partition. If both Hindus and Muslims did not want to live unitedly, what can he do?⁷⁸

On 10th June, the League Council had accepted the 'Mount batten plan'. It was said though Punjab and Bangladesh should be included totally within Pakistan, League will agree to the division of these two provinces. Jinnah was empowered to actualize the transfer of power.

On 14th and 15th June, a meeting of All India Congress Committee was held in Delhi Referring to the Mount batten proposal Govinda ballav Panth remarked; The meaning of rejecting this plan refers 'Commitment of suicide'. Because there was no way without omitting the unnecessary parts. Azad said that no alternative way was there without partition. He believed that Pakistan will not exist on longer. So the divided parts will be united again. Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel and kripalini had delivered speeches in favour of this opinion. But the other Congress leaders like Chaitaran Gidoyani, Purusattam Tandan, Maulana Habijur Rahaman and Dr.Kichlu etc. were against it. Their opinions were (1) Undivided India is more necessary than a strong union. (2)The acceptance of this plan means surrender to envy and brutal power. (3) The value of hope and aspiration of a large number of people is more than the hope and aspiration of the Congress Committee. (4) If partition is held, the condition of both Hindus of Pakistan and Indian Muslims will be at stake. (5) This proposal was self-surrender of nationalism towards communalism. But all protests were in vain. At last the proposal means accepted through vote. About 157 votes were in-favour of it, only 29against it and 32 members were neutral in this matter. Other parties except Hindu Mahasabha had supported the partition at that time. The working committee of the Hindu Mahasabha depended on the undivided India. They took oath for this. They took decision to observe Anti-Pakistan day.

Side by side a Boundary Commission was formed under the leadership of Sir Syrile Radcliffe including two members of both the Congress and the Muslim League to fix the law of dividing Punjab and Bangladesh and put in practice. After the announcement of Radcliffe Royedand mass-murder, robbery and setting of fire

started throughout the whole country. The number of displaced persons was increasing continuously. This is an extreme example of the misery of people in the history of the world.

In the circumstances on 7th August Muhammed Ali Jinnah landed on the capital of newly created state through Karachi airport. He gained the greetings of a large number of people and said to the general of navy named S.M.Assan: jeno amar jibita kale Pakistan dekhe jeta parbo—eman asha Ami kakhono karini—amra ja arjon karechi tar janya Ishwarer prati attanta kritagya hawya uchit.⁷⁹

After partition watching the fear fullness of this incident the then leaders started to give blame to each other. Someone held Mount Batten responsible, someone Jinnah, some one Gandhiji and again someone, Krishna Menan, Sardar Patel –Nehru, Rajendra Prasad—Raja Gopalachari and Kripalani. In this context Annada Sankar Roy writes; The British had divided India. It is not totally true. The Congress became eager to divide the country. It is also true. The Congress leaders persuaded Gandhiji so that he cannot interfere in the matter of partition. Neither Jinnah nor the British were fully responsible for partition. Gandhiji firmly believed that the Hindu Muslim problems will not be solved during the British rule. It will be solved after their departure from India. That is not fully true,⁸⁰ On the other hand according to Mount Batten; Jinnah was the main key of all matters.⁸¹ Hodson says the main hero of other characters of mega-novel named ‘Rejuvenation of Indian Independence was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.’⁸² But we know that Jinnah one day said Pakistan ‘disable and worm-eaten’ which cannot be expected from him. One time the demand of Pakistan was to him like a matter of a trick of treating both the Congress and the British Government. At last Jinnah became much angry at the unexpected communal riots, increasing greediness of the Congress and above all shrewdness of Lord Mount Batten. Pakistan took the shape in practice.

The Congress nominated Mount Batten as the Governor General of Independent India. Because Congress leaders like Azad thought; no change should be done at that time. Barring this, if Mount Batten held this post, a continuation of national and administrative system will be maintained well. And everybody

thought that Pakistan then will follow this principle. But at the eleventh hour everybody was astonished when Jinnah was proposed as the first Governor General of Pakistan. Hearing this news Mount Batten requested the Congress to reconsider their decision and to give appointment to any Indian as the Governor General. But the Congress remained rigid at their decision and installed Mount Batten as the first Governor General of Indian dominion. On the other hand on 15th August, 1947 Jinnah took oath as the Governor General of Pakistan.⁸³ Liakat Ali Khan became the Prime minister. And on 15th August in the morning after taking oath as the Governor General of India the ministry under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru had taken oath by Mount batten.

So the above mentioned background had paved the way for creating a burning question that means Migration problem.

The most tragic scene of independent India was its partition. In order to solve political problem, the two provinces of Bengal and Punjab were divided on 15th August, 1947. As a result there was a large influx of refugee immigration in Bengal whose wave had touched North Bengal deeply.

A partition based on the distribution of majority community usually led to the existence of minority community both in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and West Bengal. This minority community had to face a lot of problems. Millions of people especially Hindus were compelled to flee from their fatherland and live like a slave. Maldah, West Dinajpur, Cooch-behar and Jalpaiguri became overpopulated by the advent of refugees. They came to West Bengal for relief and rehabilitation over a long course of time. These minority Hindus were oppressed in Pakistan by the orthodox Muslims.

After the communal riot of Noyakhali the Hindus generally came from East Pakistan to West Bengal. The number of the people was about two lakh in March, 1948. This number gradually increased to 11 lakh on June in that year.⁸⁵

The second phase of leaving the Country of minority Hindus had begun in 1950. In this year the majority Muslims started rape, murder, dacoity, theft and thereby had deprived the Hindus from their proper right. Leonard Mosle has given

a list of the people who became victimized by communal riots sacrificing themselves for freedom. About six lakh had died. One crore forty lakh of people became homeless. One lakh women became raped. Among them many were sold by auction.⁸⁶ These helpless and wounded people fled to West Bengal in large numbers. We come to know from the Census Report of 1951 that the number of refugees in West Bengal had reached at 35lakh even after the completion of Nehru-Liakat Treaty the arrival of refugees had not stopped.

The third phase of coming of refugees in West Bengal had begun in 1960-61. About 10lakh refugees had come during 1961-65. During this period a large number of minority Hindus were murdered with great cruelty. Consequently the refugees came to West Bengal in plenty. When East Pakistan was transformed into Bangladesh, a lot of changes came there. But the coming of Hindus had not stopped to West Bengal. This is still continuing.⁸⁷

Before partition the Muslims started oppression over the Hindus. A phobia was always working into the minds of Hindus.⁸⁸ These Hindus were influential and aristocratic community of East Bengal. They had great contribution in the freedom movement of India. Both the Hindus and Muslims unitedly fought against the British with a view to freeing their mother land.

After gaining freedom the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus had totally changed. They disrespected the Hindu women. There was no security of Hindus women there. In spite of this the Hindus had stayed at their homeland. If the state administration had helped them, there was an entente between Pakistan administration and anti Hindu Muslims. So in this condition the Hindus were compelled to go towards unknown path and dark future.

The Pakistan Government had also tried to weak the Hindus economically. The east Bengal Minority community gave a statement by which what type of economic oppression had done upon the Hindus, was clearly depicted.⁸⁹

The Hindu doctor, lawyer and shop keeper were boycotted socially. The businessmen did not get permission for doing business. The peasants could not

cultivate the lands of Zaminders. How is it possible for the Hindus to live in the country?

The Udbastu shop-keeper said to the reporters of the Amrita Bazar patrika⁹⁰—The shop of a Musalman was established beside the shop of each Hindu. Pressure was created upon the customers not to sell anything from the shops of Hindus. The Hindu teachers were insulted by the Muslim students. The mental oppression and lack of economic security had forced the Hindus to leave their homelands, although they were unwanted to the Indian Government.

On 16th August, 1948 Sir Jadunath Sarkar had delivered a lecture at the sommelon of Calcutta University Institute. He had pointed out the cause of the Hindus fleeing from East Bengal. He said that the factors behind them leaving home were the religious oppression, unsympathetic attitude towards the Hindus by the Muslims and patriot administration. He had regarded the coming of Hindus from East Bengal as the greatest and mournful migration in world History.⁹¹

Hiranmay Banerjee has divided the refugees of first phase into three parts.⁹² (I) The richest and most enterprising refugee who did not want Governmental help. They had tried to rehabilitate themselves. (II) One type of refugees who had no wealth but they were energetic. They had solved their problem occupying empty land or house. They worked laboriously forgetting rice. (III) The refugees of third category were very poor. They had no education and ability to earn money. They took shelter at Government camp.

The number of refugees of the camp had reached about 70,000 last year in 1949. Most of them were women and children. After partition when a large number of refugees came to West Bengal, both central and State Governments did not take any effective measure. It can be understood from a statement which Prafulla Ghosh—the then Chief Minister of West Bengal sent to Jawaharlal Nehru—the then Prime Minister of India. He wrote that they (the refugees) would return to their homeland after cooling down the atmosphere.⁹³ But they did not come back to their home land. They had begun to come to West Bengal like flood water.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal wrote a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru in order to take necessary steps for their rehabilitation. But Nehru answered that steps should be taken so that the refugees could not come to West Bengal. It is not justifiable. It has become wrong to some Hindu leaders who have come to West Bengal from East Bengal.⁹⁴ We should try to close the process of migration in any way.⁹⁵

In the true sense of the term the refugees came to West Bengal in large numbers and this incident was undoubtedly a great catastrophe. This disaster was hidden into partition on the basis of 'Two Nation'. The refugees did not flee. They were driven by Musalmans. The Prime Minister had no power to solve this burning question. It is a fact that Nehru had opened the door for the refugees to come from West Pakistan to save Kashmir. But he had neglected the refugees of East Bengal whole heartedly. He gave financial help for relief and rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees.

Nehru and other Congress leaders promised that they will give shelter to those minority people if they are fallen in danger and come in West Bengal. But all promises had sunk into deep sea when the refugees had begun to come to West Bengal.

The intelligentsias of West Bengal were ashamed to describe the communal riot as an addiction of Hindus.⁹⁶ The adverse condition of uprooted men did not touch their heart.

In the year of 1948, under the enterprise of West Bengal State Government, West Bengal Land Development and planning Act was passed by which reacceptance of land for udbastu rehabilitation became possible.

But in the year of 1950 a cruel oppression started on the Namasudras of Khulna, Barisal and other districts. Consequently, many people came to West Bengal again. Purba Pakistan Government did not take any step to save them from oppression. The flow of refugees in 1950 totally destroyed the administrative structure of West Bengal. It was urgently necessary to arrange food and shelter for these painful men.

In order to solve migration problem the central rehabilitation minister named Mohanlal Saxena had summoned a meeting in Calcutta where representatives of West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, and celebrity like Meghnadh Saha were present “Rehabilitation would not be given to the refugees. They will take shelter at relief camp temporarily.”He had hoped if the condition is calm, the refugees will come back to their country.⁹⁷

Under the pressure of a large number of refugees the condition of West Bengal was deplorable. The Central Government thought it as a temporary matter. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the then Chief Minister of West Bengal became angry. On the other hand, the refugees know if they can form any colony by force at barren land, the burden of Dr. Roy’s shoulder must be partly decreased. But it must be done unitedly. A Strong Association should be formed against hired gundas of police and land holders. This necessity gave the birth of the United Central Refugee Council (U.C.R.C).⁹⁸

A new epoch had begun in the history of West Bengal. Side by side the age of Sabha—Samiti, procession and protest of refugees came. Most of the members of the U.C.R.C. were C.P.I. So other communist parties became anxious thinking that the C.P.I workers will grip their hands in this institution. Their idea was not out of suspense, because the number of C.P.I members was enormous at the Central Committee. They had followed the principle of mass—line of Mao-je-Dong. It means from the mass and to the mass.⁹⁹ on this principle they had arranged for taking decision and putting it to practice.

Under the leadership of this type of institution the movement of forming forcible occupied colony had spread in West Bengal like conflagration. Its wave had touched North Bengal deeply. The first part of forming this type of colony ended within one year. The Government was not ready for this incident. At the end of the year of 1950 the number of refugees in West Bengal had reached up to 21lakh.¹⁰⁰

The refugees flow had shocked West Bengal like an epidemic. All enterprises of the Government were spent to face this flow. So easily one by one

refugee colonies were formed. The Government used police force to destroy the colonies. But all ended in vain. In the meantime the Government gave a notice to the refugees of forcibly occupied colonies by which it was declared that the people, who had occupied the lands illegally, were to leave from the land. If they did not do so, they will be evicted from the land. But the refugees refused to obey this notice. They knew that the Government had no power to evict them from land.¹⁰¹

Barring the movement of forming forcible occupied colonies and the rise of communism, the defeat of the Congress in the first by-election created danger at the ministry. Nehru spoke the matter of an Interim Government in this respect.¹⁰² There was a political turmoil and danger at the Ministry of West Bengal from June 1949 to January 1950. In these circumstances the Government had no capacity to stop the movement of forming forcibly occupied colonies. A large number of forcibly occupied colonies sprang up in different districts of North Bengal in this respect. They are as follows¹⁰³:

List of Forcibly occupied Refugee Colonies

Jalpaiguri:

Total Number of Colonies - 39

1. Bhakti Nagar Quarters Colony.
2. Harekrishna Quarters Colony.
3. Saratpalli Quarters Colony.
4. Bankim Nagar Quarters Colony.
5. Yaskst Nagar Quarters Colony.
6. Takur Nagar Quarters Colony.
7. Ananda Nagar Quarters Colony.
8. Mayamaya Quarters Colony.
9. Dacca Udbastu Quarters Colony.
10. Dhumdangi Quarters Colony.
11. Surya Sen Quarters Colony.
12. Niranjan Nagar Quarters Colony.
13. Netaji Nagar Quarters Colony.
14. Pakaghat Quarters Colony.
15. Santi Nagar Quarters Colony (1,2)
16. Asoke Nagar Quarters Colony (1, 2)
17. Ajay Ghosh Palli Quarters Colony.
18. Banarghat Adarsha Palli Quarters Colony.
19. Mala Netaji Bastuhara Colony.
20. Ramkrishna Colony.
21. Bagha Jatin Colony.
22. Indira Gandhi Colony.
23. Bhaga Jatin Colony.
24. Rabindra Nagar Colony.
25. Arabinda Quarter Colony.
26. Hamilton (Rabindration).
- 27.

Bidhan Nagar 28. Ananda Nagar. 29. Bholer Dabri Subar Nagar. 30. Rabindra Nagar. 31. Chitta Ranjan. 32. Thora Danga . 33. Purba Nagar thali. 34. Uttar Nagar thali. 35. Chotta Daldali O Gochamari. 36. Suban Colony. 37. Kunja Nagar. 38. Bijay Nagar Quarters Colony. 39. Daceswari Quarters Colony.

Cooch-behar

Total Number of Colonies-26

1. Patal Khoa 2. Rasmari Colony. 3. Putimari Baksir Bose Colony. 4. Bidhan Upanibesh. 5. New Patakura Colony. 6. Indrajit , Nehru Nagar, Chandan Nagar. 7. Shyam Sundar Colony. 8. Khagribari Colony. 9. Garabanga O Chatwalaka Colony. 10. Gandhi Nagar Colony. 11. Priyaganj Colony. 12. Daceswari No. (1) 13. Ashutosh Palli. 14. Netaji Colony. 15. Ashutosh Palli(2) 16. Ramkrishna Palli. 17. Dubai Block Colony. 18. ShyamSundar Colony. 19. Chakohaka Govt. Jaigir Land. 20. Natker Pur Colony. 21. Banisowar Colony. (Baniswar Colony). 22. Sagirpar gharamara. 23. Gopal Nagar Colony. 24. Daribas Colony. 25. Middle class Colony. 26. Kodal Dhoa-2.

Darjeeling

Total Number of Colonies-17

1. Mahatar Quarters Colony. 2. Durgadas Colony. 3. Dabgram Unnayan-1 4. Dabgram Unnayan-2 5. Deshbandhu Para. 6. Debasis Quarters Colony. 7. Das Quarters Colony. 8. Sramik Nagar Quarters. 9. Udayan Unnayan Colony. 10. Bagha Jatin Colony. 11. Subhas Nagar Colony. 12. B.B.D. Colony. 13. Adarsha Nagar Colony. 14. Natun Para. 15. Prantik Palli. 16. Jyoti Nagar (2) 17. Pati Colony.

Maldah

Total Number of Colonies-38

1. Mangalbari Colony. 2. Khaihata Colony. 3. Gandhi Colony. 4. Char Kasimpur Colony. 5. Khanpur Colony. 6. Baglabari Colony. (Ranir Gard) 7. Bilbari Najib Khan Colony. 8. Buraburi Tala Krishna palli Colony. 9. Pashim Shariman

Golapalli Colony. 10. Adi Ma Colony. 11. Uttar Mahima Gard Kanchan Gard Colony. 12. Govinda pur Colony. 13. Duba Khokan Colony. 14. Kadubari Colony. 15. Chandrail Colony. 16. Belbari Colony. 17. Kutub Sahar Golahar Colony. 18. Gosanibag Colony. 19. Kutub Sahar Colony. 20. Dalla Colony. 21. Prati Danga Colony. 22. Agra Colony. 23. Tohai Colony. 24. Harishchandrapur Aranggachhi Colony. 25. Nanda Palli Colony. 26. Pathar Sasuli Colony. 27. Dharndra ebong Jogipathar Colony. 28. Kachiamore Colony. 29. Chaitangachi Madhya Kendua Colony. 30. Bulbulchandi Rice Mill Colony. 31. Baksi Nagar Colony. 32. Joydebpur Colony. 33. Digal Pagal Colony. 34. Baroa danga Colony. 35. Bangatola Colony. 36. Phuldanga Colony. 37. Chinidanga Colony. 38. Kendua Colony.

West Dinajpur

Total Number of Colonies- 52

1. Pirpukur Colony. 2. High road Kalitala Colony. 3. Netaji Palli Colony. 4. Shaki Nagar Colony. 5. Shilpi Nagar Colony. 6. Mali para Colony. 7. Ma Manasha Colony. 8.1 No. Air port Colony.(paschim) 9. Subhas Colony. 10. Deshbandhu Colony. 11. Santoshi Ma Colony. 12. Karbala Colony. 13. Turbagha Colony. 14. Drivers Colony. 15. Parpatiram Halder Colony. 16. A.K. Gopalan Colony. 17. Pabna Colony. 18. Chhinamasta palli Colony. 19. Haptia Gacch Udbastu Colony. 20. Dhiagadh Colony. 21. Jayaguri Jayapura Udbastu Colony. 22. Hulanu gacchi Udbastu Colony. 23. Mangacchi Udbastu Colony. 24. Chaksubid Harmen Colony. 25. Sanias Colony. 26. Khadimpur Maldar Para Vest Colony. 27. Aatri Colony. 28. Bhatpara Colony. 29. Dangi Patharghata Colony. 30. Dangi Dakshin Colony. 31. Kamal pur Netaji Colony. 32. Aatear Colony. 33. Namadanga Colony. 34. Durgapur Colony. 35. Padma pukur Colony. 36. Jorapani Udbastu Colony. 37. Subandhi gacchi Udbastu Colony. 38. Ratugacchi Udbastu Colony. 39. Tinmile road Udbastu Colony. 40. Tinmile road rail station Udbastu Colony. 41. Adragari (Dakshin) Udbastu Colony. 42. Congress Colony.(Jyoti Nagar-2) 43. Congress Colony. 44. Santragacchi Niranjani Palli Udbastu Colony. 45. Aariagaon Narayan Udbastu Colony. 46. Ananta Nagar Milan Palli Udbastu Colony. 47. Niranjani

Udbastu Colony. 48. Pramod Nagar Udbastu Nagar . 49. Dakshin Kasba Rabindra Udbastu Colony. 50. Harichand Udbastu Colony. 51. Shakti Nagar Colony. 52. Shilpi Nagar Colony.

It is interesting to note that after the Bolshevik Revolution the Proletariats had occupied the places of richmen. Similarly, the victims of independence (proletariats) wanted to stay in West Bengal occupying land by force.

The West Bengal Government arranged Relief camps for these refugees. Some political parties showed sympathy to them and there by wanted to use them as vote bank. Some wanted to send them back to East Bengal through understanding. Some wanted to send them to Orissa and Andaman. The condition of the refugees at that time was like a floating shrub. They were compelled to go from one place to another like the beasts of a zoo. They were running in search of dwelling houses. From 1946 to 1955 these refugees came to West Bengal passing many water courses. Still today this infiltration is continuing at secret routes avoiding passport system.¹⁰⁴ Again I will conclude mentioning the writing of Sri Prafulla Kumar Chakraborty of this chapter. Sri Chakraborty in his book 'The Marginal men' writes, 'The History of the Migration of the Hindus from East Pakistan after partition is one of the most tragic episodes of contemporary history. It is the story of the uprooting of a virile population deeply attached to their beautiful land. It started before partition with the Noakhali riots of 1946 and continues down to this day'.

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