

Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
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Lecture - 43
Refugee, Desh and Nation – VI

Good morning and welcome back to the lecture series on Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. We are discussing Refugee, Desh and Nation. We have already discussed the journey of the refugee in becoming the citizen, and how problematic, how dual and nuanced identity of the refugee citizen is.

So, we have already, we have also discussed regarding the Bengali refugee's process of resettlement outside of Bengal. So, for the Bengali refugees, the government had devised policies to resettle them (the Dalit refugees)... especially Dalit refugees were encouraged to resettle first in Andaman and then, in the Dandakaranya, and we see a lot of resistance coming from among the refugees, who would not like to go and start a new life, start life afresh in an arid land such as Dandakaranya. Even Andaman was considered as a place far away from Bengal. And so, the Dalit refugees the Bengali refugees actually wanted to stay back in West Bengal in India.

But, we see that the the government's policies have caste and class coloration, and this is something we notice both in the case of the Congress government in West Bengal as well as the Communist Party that came afterwards in 1977. So, we were discussing how a mythical lens is adopted in looking at the government policies for most of the Dalit refugees that came in the tail end of the migration process.

They were part of the third wave of migration. They would look at the policy of resettlement in Andaman, and then in the Dandakaranya through mytho-historical lens. So, in the common parlance, the Dalit refugee would... the Bengali Dalit refugee would say that because they did not have much socio-cultural economic capital, they were being exiled to the Kalapani. So, Andaman had its own history, where all the prisoners would be sent.


And, so, they rued, they moaned that even after the country got its independence, the poorer sections their lives did not matter. They were being sent to, forced to go and settle

in Kalapani, which Andaman was popularly known as, and then Dandakaranya was the land where we see in Ramayana Ram is exiled during his exile... sorry during his exile Ram goes and lives in Dandakaranya.

So, that is another impression that popularly harbored in the minds of Dalit Bengali refugees -- that they are being banished to the Dandakaranya. So, resettlement becomes synonymous with punishment; this is something I was trying to get at.

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Refugee experiences at Dandakaranya

- The novel encompasses the significant aspects of the Dandakaranya project.
- The fact that the larger plan did not take into account the ground realities is explicated in the very opening lines of the text.
- The resettlement plan meant clearing of vast primeval forests, building of roads, schools and hospitals and a new life for hundreds of men and women.
- It also meant a clash between the new arrivals and the local populace: a peasant-tribal confrontation over land. The novel explicitly sets out this simmering discontent.

2

Now, we see Shaktipada Rajguru's seminal work, *Dandak Theke Marichjhanpi*. Shaktipada Rajguru's work *Dandak Theke Marichjhanpi*, it encompasses the significant aspects of the Dandakaranya project. So, the fact that the larger plan did not take into account the ground realities... I was talking about the fiasco happened... the fiasco was the result of lack of communication.. miscommunication between West Bengal State Government and Madhya Pradesh Government as well as the Dandakaranya Development Authority.

So, there was this gap between how the plan was chalked out, and how it was implemented; even some ground realities were not taken into consideration and these gaps, these fallacies/setbacks have been...they have been depicted very explicitly in Rajguru's work. So, the resettlement plan, for example, expected the Dalit refugee, the settlers to clear forests.

So, it was a laborious task to clear forests and then to cultivate and harvest crops in an arid/ semi-arid land. And, then they were expected to build schools, roads, hospitals - basically, they would have to set up a new civilization and then start living there. Nothing was given to them a priori. And, so, there was also this question of colonizing the lands, the question of colonizing the lands of the tribal people.

These lands of forests used to belong originally to the tribals and so, there was this potential conflict between the new arrivals, the Bengalis, and the local populace -- a peasant-tribal confrontation over the land issue. And, the novel deals with, the novel describes this simmering discontent.



So, when we talk of refugee rehabilitation, the chapter of *Marichjhanpi* until a long time remained under-discussed, under-researched, something that no one would mention. It was almost a forgotten chapter. Very few people wrote and discussed about it -- a reason why it was so could be that the lives at stake were those of the Dalit people.

Had it been the loss of the elites, the upper-class and upper-caste people, this would have been an over-discussed, over-researched issue. It is a curious and intriguing observation that research on *Marichjhanpi* is coming up, people have started talking about this forgotten hitherto forgotten chapter of history, only as late as, you know, maybe some 10 - 15 years after the new century started.

So, it is as late as, you know, well into 21st century.. we could say after 2010 and 2011, after the Communist regime was toppled by Trinamool Congress in West Bengal that people have actually at least started mentioning and accepting that so many Dalit people were massacred during this issue, during this event. (Refer Slide Time: 08:16)

The Marichjhapi Episode

- In the history of refugee rehabilitation in West Bengal, **Marichjhapi** is almost a forgotten chapter. Few people have written about it, discussions about it by historians have also been negligible.
- The reason for this can be seen in the presence of a large percentage of marginal communities and lower castes among the refugees who came to Marichjhapi for whom neither the Congress government at the Centre nor the urban middle class of Calcutta had any sympathy. When a Communist government came to power in West Bengal, the status-quo was maintained.
- In 1977, with the Left Front government in power, the refugees who had been rehabilitated in Dandakaranya became hopeful that the new popular government who had always espoused the refugee cause would now help them come back to West Bengal.

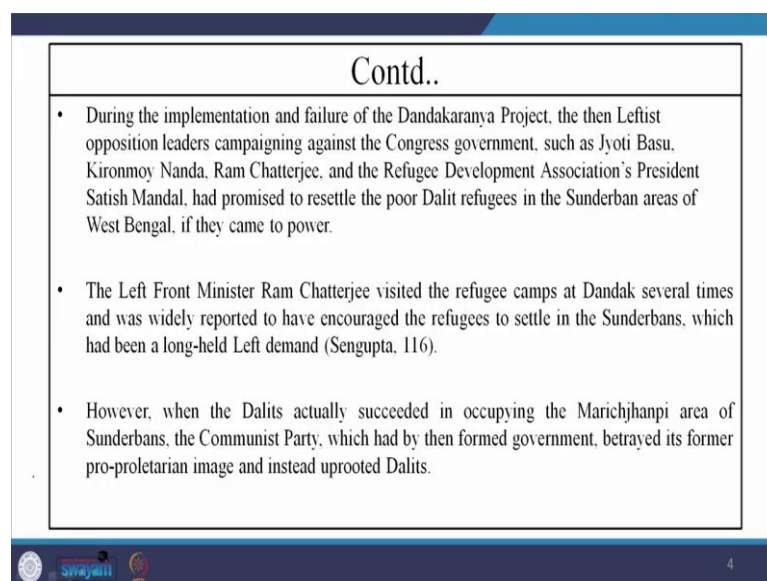
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So, what was at stake like I was saying are the lives and the property of the Dalits, the Untouchables and so, policies were shaped both by the center, the government at the center and by the West Bengal government, the urban middle-class of Calcutta in such a way that I mean a paltry sum, almost nothing (not paltry sum let us say almost a very insignificant share) was doled out to the Dalits, which amounted to almost nothing.

And, so, there was basically.. there was a lack of sympathy for this section of people that migrated as late as in the 1970s and in the 1980s. We have seen how migration happened in Bengal in a spasmodic manner, at different junctures of history. So, different turns of events you know provoked communal riots, and that instigated a fresh exodus of the Hindu refugees from East Pakistan and then after 1971, from Bangladesh.

So, even after the Communist government came to power in West Bengal, the status quo was maintained. In 1977, the Left Front government came into power and the refugees who had been living in Dandakaranya with the sense of discontent were actually hopeful that with the new government, they should be brought back to West Bengal, basically, given some land to resettle in West Bengal.

So, they were hopeful that the new government would embrace some of their demand, some of the their Dalit refugee cause, and they would rehabilitate the Bengali refugees the Dalit Bengali refugees in West Bengal. So, this also has its own history -- why the refugees hoped, why the refugees were optimistic about the Communist government. (Refer Slide Time: 10:45)



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- During the implementation and failure of the Dandakaranya Project, the then Leftist opposition leaders campaigning against the Congress government, such as Jyoti Basu, Kironmoy Nanda, Ram Chatterjee, and the Refugee Development Association's President Satish Mandal, had promised to resettle the poor Dalit refugees in the Sunderban areas of West Bengal, if they came to power.
- The Left Front Minister Ram Chatterjee visited the refugee camps at Dandak several times and was widely reported to have encouraged the refugees to settle in the Sunderbans, which had been a long-held Left demand (Sengupta, 116).
- However, when the Dalits actually succeeded in occupying the Marichjhanpi area of Sunderbans, the Communist Party, which had by then formed government, betrayed its former pro-proletarian image and instead uprooted Dalits.

Swayam 4

During the implementation and failure of the Dandakaranya project, in a large way in a major way it could be seen as a failure or a fiasco, and that is when the Leftist opposition leaders at that time -- leaders, such as Jyoti Basu, Kironmoy Nanda, Ram Chatterjee and the Refugee Development Association's President Satish Mandal -- all these opposition leaders were actually fanning sentiments against the ruling Congress government.

And, they were promising to resettle the poor Dalit refugees back in the Bengal. They would give the Sunderban areas of West Bengal to the Dalit refugees if they came to power. Contrarily, when the Dalit actually occupied.. they succeeded in occupying, when they actually succeeded in occupying the Marichjhanpi area, the Communist party which had by then formed its government in West Bengal, betrayed its pro-proletarian or pro-peasant position, pro-refugee position, and they started uprooting the Dalit refugees.

We see also that Left Front Ministers, such as Ram Chatterjee visiting the refugee camps at Dandak, and he has been widely reported as encouraging the refugees to come and settle in the Sunderbans. So, this was an agenda of the Left as an opposition party.

So, when the Left used to be an opposition in Bengal, the question of Dalit refugee's resettlement in West Bengal was strongly/ vociferously taken up by these leaders in the forefront, but as the popular version goes, they had become turncoat later on. (Refer Slide Time: 13:20)

Left and it's changed approach

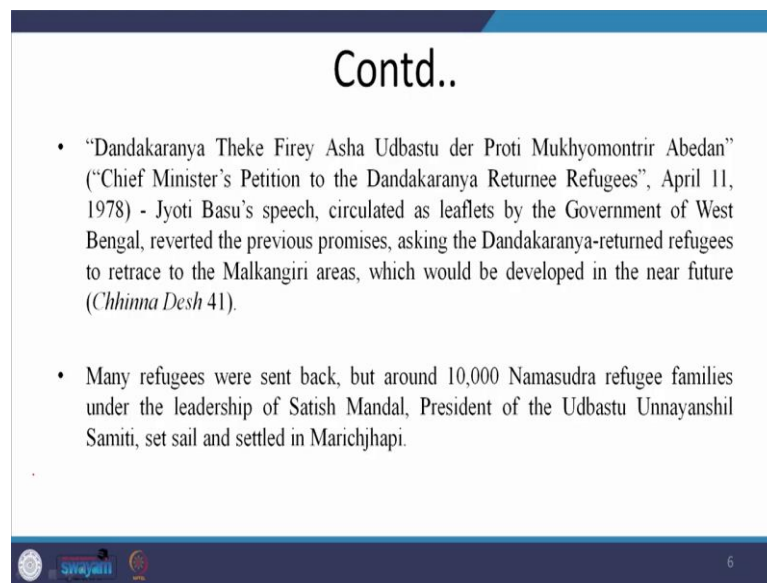
- Left Front policies had changed under the altered circumstances of governance. The new Left Front government in West Bengal, which had come to power with the refugee vote, now urged these people to go back to Dandakaranya, refusing to entertain their demand of settling in West Bengal.
- The Left government's self-perpetuation and reproduction of power through violence unveiled its partisan stance and upper-caste attitudes.

5

So, the Left Front policies had changed under altered circumstances, when they had a government of their own. The new Left Front government came to power.. ironically,

they came to power with a large number of refugee votes and they urged the same refugees, especially from the lower rungs, to go back to the Dandakaranya and refused to entertain their demand of settling in West Bengal.

So, here we see the Left government's self-perpetuation and reproduction of power being accomplished necessarily through violence, and it also reveals their partisan stance, their basic bias towards the upper-class and the upper-caste people, their upper-caste conservative attitudes become obvious. (Refer Slide Time: 14:05)



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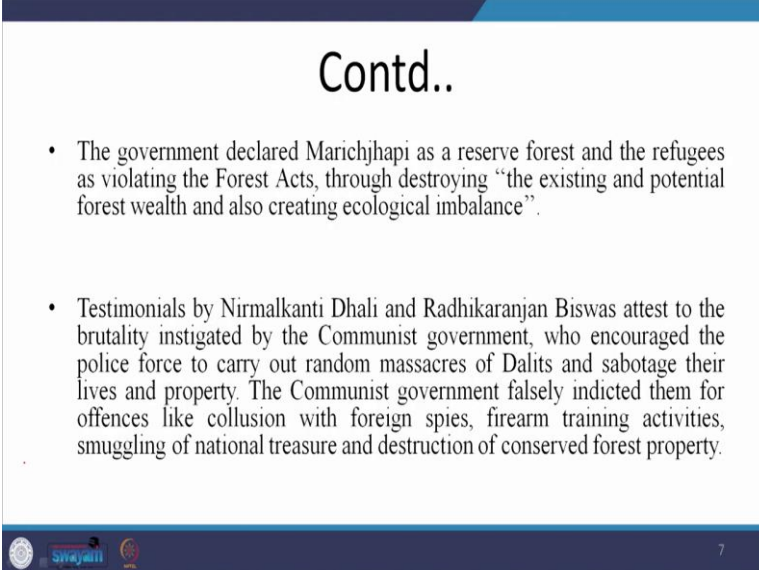
- “Dandakaranya Theke Firey Asha Udbastu der Proti Mukhyomontrir Abedan” (“Chief Minister’s Petition to the Dandakaranya Returnee Refugees”, April 11, 1978) - Jyoti Basu’s speech, circulated as leaflets by the Government of West Bengal, reverted the previous promises, asking the Dandakaranya-returned refugees to retrace to the Malkangiri areas, which would be developed in the near future (*Chhinna Desh* 41).
- Many refugees were sent back, but around 10,000 Namasudra refugee families under the leadership of Satish Mandal, President of the Udbastu Unnayanshil Samiti, set sail and settled in Marichjhapi.

swayam 6

We see, for example, Jyoti Basu's speech being circulated as leaflet by the government of West Bengal. It would be titled "Dandakaranya Theke Firey Asha Udbastu der Proti Mukhyomotrir Abedan," [translated as] "Chief Minister's Petition to the Dandakaranya Returnee Refugees" dated April 11th, 1978, and it basically requested the refugees that had returned from Dandakaranya hoping to get some land in Sunderbans to retrace to the Malkangiri areas;



and, promising them that, you know, those areas would be developed in the near future. What was implicit in these promises was that those areas would be developed through the labor of, you know, through exploiting the labor, free labor of the Dalit refugees.

So, around 10,000 Namasudra refugee families under the leadership of Satish Mandal, who was the president of Udbastu Unnayanshil Samiti, had set sail and settled in Marichjhanpi. (Refer Slide Time: 15:11)



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- The government declared Marichjhanpi as a reserve forest and the refugees as violating the Forest Acts, through destroying “the existing and potential forest wealth and also creating ecological imbalance”.
- Testimonials by Nirmalkanti Dhali and Radhikaranjan Biswas attest to the brutality instigated by the Communist government, who encouraged the police force to carry out random massacres of Dalits and sabotage their lives and property. The Communist government falsely indicted them for offences like collusion with foreign spies, firearm training activities, smuggling of national treasure and destruction of conserved forest property.

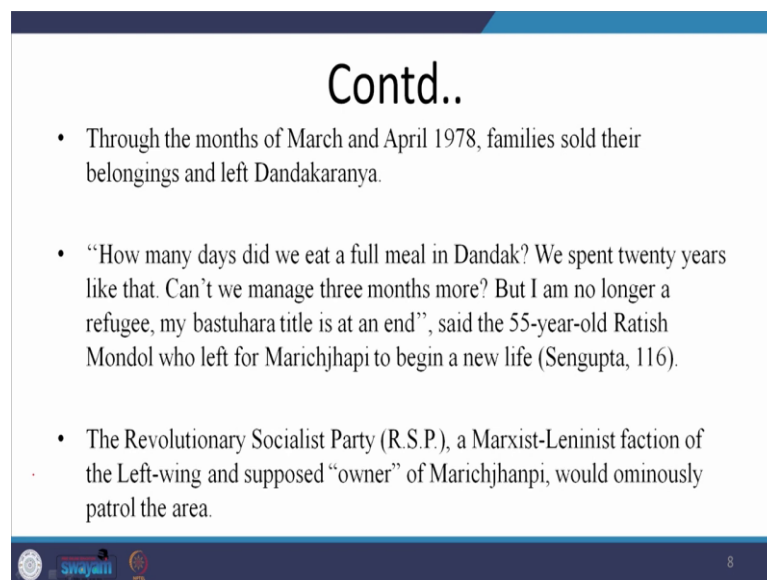
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So, the government declared Marichjhanpi as a reserve forest area, which could not be used for human habitation and so, refugees occupying such areas were seen as tantamount to violating the forest acts through destroying the existing and potential forest wealth and creating ecological imbalance.

We have testimonials by Dalit refugees, who later on wrote their own books -- writers such as Nirmalkanti Dhali and Radhikaranjan Biswas, who attest to the brutality instigated by the Communist government subsequently through encouraging the police force to carry out random massacres of Dalits and sabotage their lives and property.

The government at that time was falsely indicting the Dalits with offenses like collusion with foreign spies, firearm training activities, smuggling of national treasure and destruction of conserved forest property. (Refer Slide Time: 16:23)



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- Through the months of March and April 1978, families sold their belongings and left Dandakaranya.
- “How many days did we eat a full meal in Dandak? We spent twenty years like that. Can’t we manage three months more? But I am no longer a refugee, my bastuhara title is at an end”, said the 55-year-old Ratish Mondol who left for Marichjhapi to begin a new life (Sengupta, 116).
- The Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), a Marxist-Leninist faction of the Left-wing and supposed “owner” of Marichjhanpi, would ominously patrol the area.

swayam 8

So, there were many families that had sold their belongings and started journey for Sunderbans, after quitting their homes in Dandakaranya. So, between March and April, we see this large/ huge exodus from Dandakaranya - a significant population of Dalit refugees making a move to settle in Sunderbans between March and April, 1978.

And, one such person has been recorded as saying (this is a 55 year old Ratish Mondol, who left for Marichjhanpi to begin a new life and he says), "How many days did we eat a full meal in the Dandak? We spent twenty years like that. Can't we manage three months more? But I am no longer a refugee, my bastuhara title is at an end". So, there is this acute sentiment informing the refugees' return to West Bengal.

They would have the sentiment that informed and that created this impetus; this demand for resettlement in Bengal is that once a Bengali lives in Bengal, he is no longer or she is no longer tagged as bastuhara. So, a term like refugee, like bastuhara have their own sense of [indignation]... the weight of taboo that they carry is undeniable, and this is something a lot of refugees were struggling to come out of.

And, so, what instigated, what motivated migration is the fact that one would be able to shed such a taboo title or one would not be seen under such a taboo social marker. Yet, one observes that leaders from the Revolutionary Socialist Party R.S.P which is a Marxist - Leninist faction of the left wing, and who proclaimed that the Marichjhanpi area belonged to them, would ominously patrol the area, they would keep incoming refugees under surveillance. (Refer Slide Time: 18:54)

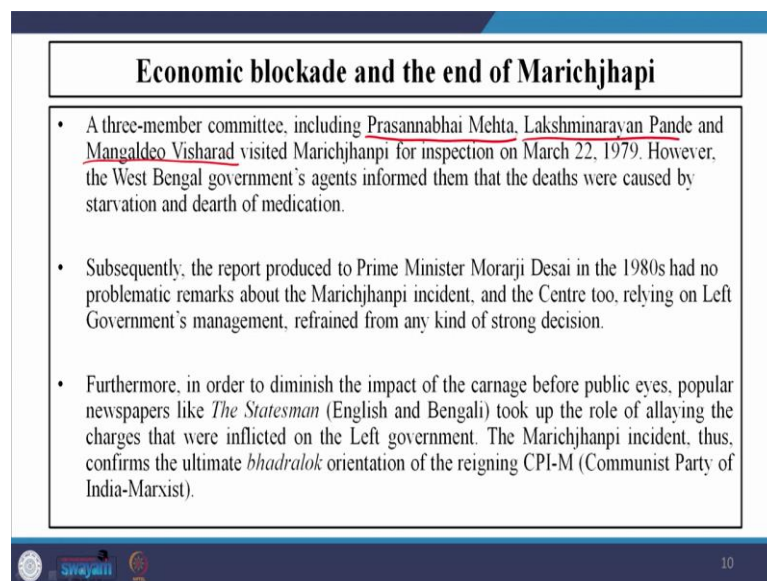
Economic blockade and the end of Marichjhanpi

- On 26 January 1979, government-sponsored goons enacted absolute economic and food blockade of the island to force the settlers to go back. Police launches surrounded the island; the refugees were tear-gassed, their huts, fisheries and tube-wells destroyed. Those who tried to cross the river in makeshift boats were shot at.
- The refugees, armed with carpentry tools and makeshift bows and arrows, were no match for the government forces. The community was tear-gassed, huts were razed, and fisheries and tube wells were destroyed, in an attempt to deprive the refugees of food and water.
- Many died of starvation, and many were killed by police firing. A conservative estimate gave the dead as several hundred men, women and children, who died either through starvation or were shot at and their bodies thrown into the river.

On 26 January, 1979, the government-sponsored goons enacted an absolute economic and food blockade on the island, to force the settlers to go back. So, the police launches surrounded the island; the refugees were tear-gassed, their huts, their tube wells, fisheries, their equipments were basically demolished. Those who tried to cross the river in makeshift boats were shot at.

So, refugees were plainly armed with carpentry tools, makeshift bows and arrows and so, there were no match for the government forces that were using guns and ammunition. So, we see that there was this conscious attempt to deprive the refugees of food and water.

And, many died of starvation, some died of police firing and a conservative estimate would give the number of dead men, women and children to be somewhere close to about several hundreds. It is also understood, it is also claimed that the dead bodies of the people that were shot at would be thrown into the river. (Refer Slide Time: 20:30)



Economic blockade and the end of Marichjhapi

- A three-member committee, including Prasannabhai Mehta, Lakshminarayan Pande and Mangaldeo Visharad visited Marichjhapi for inspection on March 22, 1979. However, the West Bengal government's agents informed them that the deaths were caused by starvation and dearth of medication.
- Subsequently, the report produced to Prime Minister Morarji Desai in the 1980s had no problematic remarks about the Marichjhapi incident, and the Centre too, relying on Left Government's management, refrained from any kind of strong decision.
- Furthermore, in order to diminish the impact of the carnage before public eyes, popular newspapers like *The Statesman* (English and Bengali) took up the role of allaying the charges that were inflicted on the Left government. The Marichjhapi incident, thus, confirms the ultimate *bhadralok* orientation of the reigning CPI-M (Communist Party of India-Marxist).

10

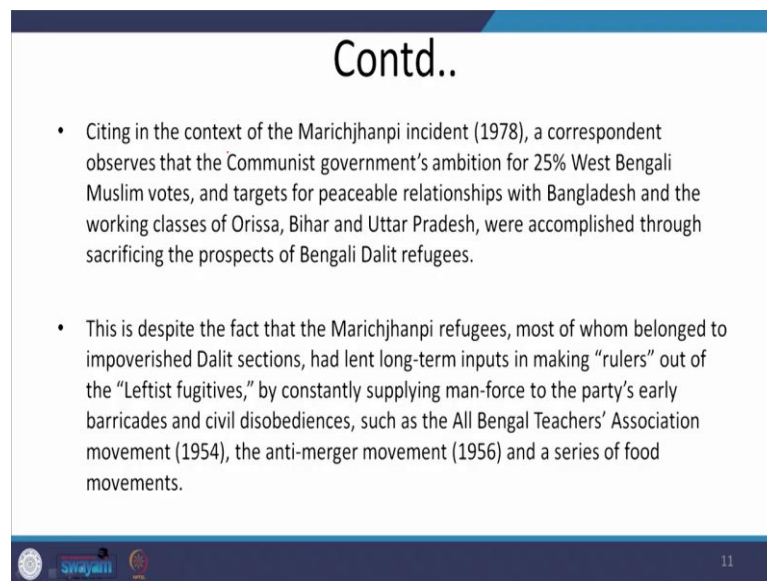
Now, a few months after the incident, a three-member committee was formed, including ministers like Prasannabhai Prasannabhai Mehta, Lakshminarayan Pande and Mangaldeo Visharad, who visited the Marichjhapi area for inspection on March 22, 1979. However, they learn from the West Bengal government that the deaths were mainly caused due to starvation and dearth of medication.

So, a report is prepared based on what this committee learns from Bengal, from the agents of the government, and so, a report is produced to Prime Minister Morarji Desai

in the 1980s stating that nothing problematic was observed about the Marichjhanpi incident.

So, there were no problematic remarks about the Marichjhanpi incident and the centre relied on the West Bengal government, the Left government's management and refrained from taking any strong decision. So, basically the entire chapter of violence was relegated.. it was kind of sent back, it was relegated to an oblivion.

Further, we see collusion of the government with a major popular newspaper like the statesman, both in English and in Bengali, which is said to have taken up the role of allaying the charges...I mean, statesmen would claim that the government was not to be blamed. So, the entire incident of Marichjhanpi confirms ultimate Bhadrak orientation, ultimate elitist orientation and conservative standpoint of the reigning Communist Party in Bengal, in West Bengal. (Refer Slide Time: 23:36)



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- Citing in the context of the Marichjhanpi incident (1978), a correspondent observes that the Communist government's ambition for 25% West Bengali Muslim votes, and targets for peaceable relationships with Bangladesh and the working classes of Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, were accomplished through sacrificing the prospects of Bengali Dalit refugees.
- This is despite the fact that the Marichjhanpi refugees, most of whom belonged to impoverished Dalit sections, had lent long-term inputs in making "rulers" out of the "Leftist fugitives," by constantly supplying man-force to the party's early barricades and civil disobediences, such as the All Bengal Teachers' Association movement (1954), the anti-merger movement (1956) and a series of food movements.

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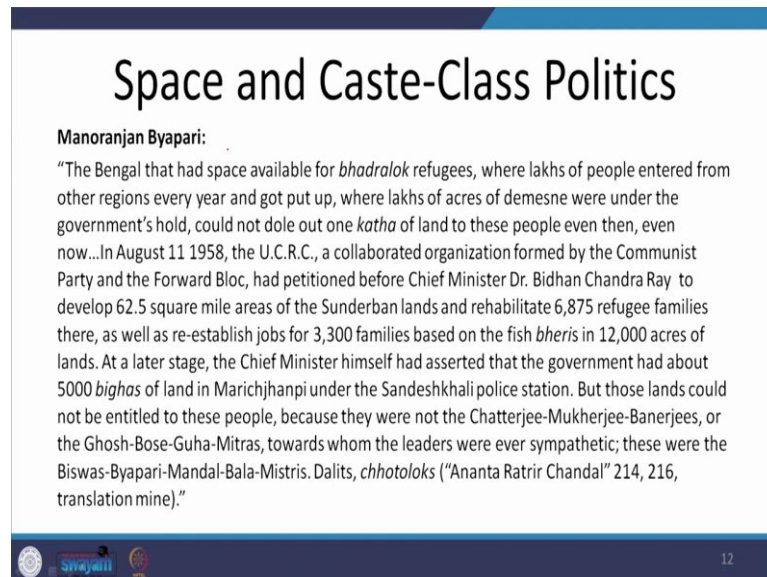
So, Correspondence citing in the context of the Marichjhanpi incident would also argue that the Communist government was disadvantaging the Dalit Bengali refugees at the expense of fulfilling its other ambitions. So, it had the ambition, for example, of winning the West Bengali Muslim's votes, the West Bengali Muslim votes, and then it targeted peaceable relations with the abutting states.

So, it would accommodate working classes that migrated every year to Calcutta... working classes that were originally from Odisha, from Bihar and from Uttar Pradesh. In a bid to do so, as a way of accommodating the labours from adjacent states and winning

the Muslim votes, the government was neglecting the needs, the demands of the Dalit Bengali refugees.

And, this is despite the fact, as some of the Dalit refugee leaders, intellectuals and writers later on state, this is despite the fact that the Dalit sections had traditionally lent support to the leaders that they call as the Leftist fugitives.

They had constantly supplied man force to the party's early barricades and civil disobediences, such as the All Bengal Teachers' Association movement in 1954 and the Anti-merger movement in 1956 as well as a series of food movements. (Refer Slide Time: 24:48)



Space and Caste-Class Politics

Manoranjan Byapari:

“The Bengal that had space available for *bhadralok* refugees, where lakhs of people entered from other regions every year and got put up, where lakhs of acres of demesne were under the government's hold, could not dole out one *katha* of land to these people even then, even now...In August 11 1958, the U.C.R.C., a collaborated organization formed by the Communist Party and the Forward Bloc, had petitioned before Chief Minister Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray to develop 62.5 square mile areas of the Sunderban lands and rehabilitate 6,875 refugee families there, as well as re-establish jobs for 3,300 families based on the fish *bheris* in 12,000 acres of lands. At a later stage, the Chief Minister himself had asserted that the government had about 5000 *bighas* of land in Marichjhanpi under the Sandeshkhali police station. But those lands could not be entitled to these people, because they were not the Chatterjee-Mukherjee-Banerjees, or the Ghosh-Bose-Guha-Mitras, towards whom the leaders were ever sympathetic; these were the Biswas-Byapari-Mandal-Bala-Mistris. Dalits, *chhotoloks* (“Ananta Ratrir Chandal” 214, 216, translation mine).”

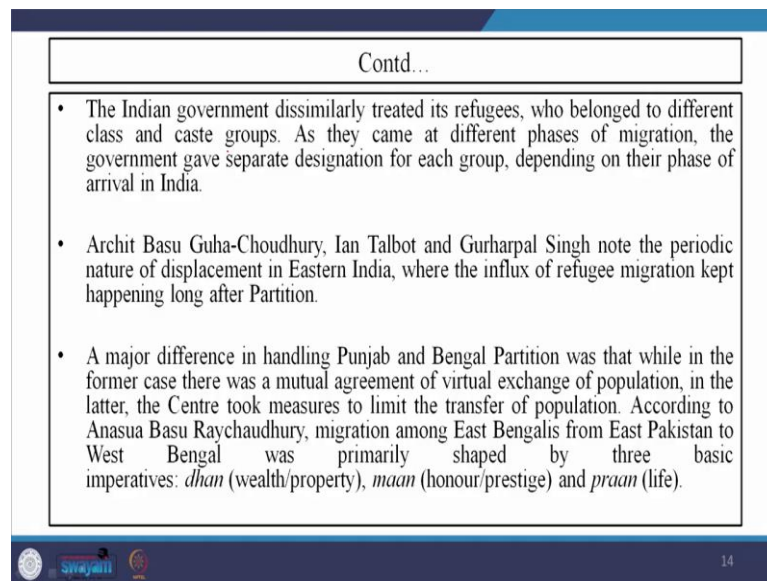
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So, this is an extended quote that I have translated, this is originally in Bengali written by Manoranjan Byapari that debunks the caste-class politics of the different governments in West Bengal - both the Congress and the Communist Party.

So, Byapari says, “The Bengal that had space available for *bhadralok* refugees, where lakhs of people entered from other regions every year and got put up, where lakhs of acres of demesne were under the government's hold, could not dole out one *katha* of land to these people even then, even now...In August 11 1958, the U.C.R.C., a collaborated organization formed by the Communist Party and the Forward Bloc, had petitioned before Chief Minister Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray to develop 62.5 square mile areas of the Sunderban lands and rehabilitate 6,875 refugee families there, as well as re-establish jobs for 3,300 families based on the fish *bheris* in 12,000 acres of lands. At a later stage, the

Chief Minister himself had asserted that the government had about 5000 bighas of land in Marichjhanpi under the Sandeshkhali police station. But those lands could not be entitled to these people, because they were not the Chatterjee-Mukherjee-Banerjees, or the Ghosh-Bose-Guha-Mitras, towards whom the leaders were ever sympathetic; these were the Biswas-Byapari-Mandal-Bala-Mistris. Dalits, chhotoloks” (“Ananta Ratri Chandal” 214, 216, translation mine).

So, this is a quotation from Byapari's work Ananta Ratri Chandal, an essay that he has written. (Refer Slide Time: 27:50)



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- The Indian government dissimilarly treated its refugees, who belonged to different class and caste groups. As they came at different phases of migration, the government gave separate designation for each group, depending on their phase of arrival in India.
- Archit Basu Guha-Choudhury, Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh note the periodic nature of displacement in Eastern India, where the influx of refugee migration kept happening long after Partition.
- A major difference in handling Punjab and Bengal Partition was that while in the former case there was a mutual agreement of virtual exchange of population, in the latter, the Centre took measures to limit the transfer of population. According to Anasua Basu Raychaudhury, migration among East Bengalis from East Pakistan to West Bengal was primarily shaped by three basic imperatives: *dhan* (wealth/property), *maan* (honour/prestige) and *praan* (life).

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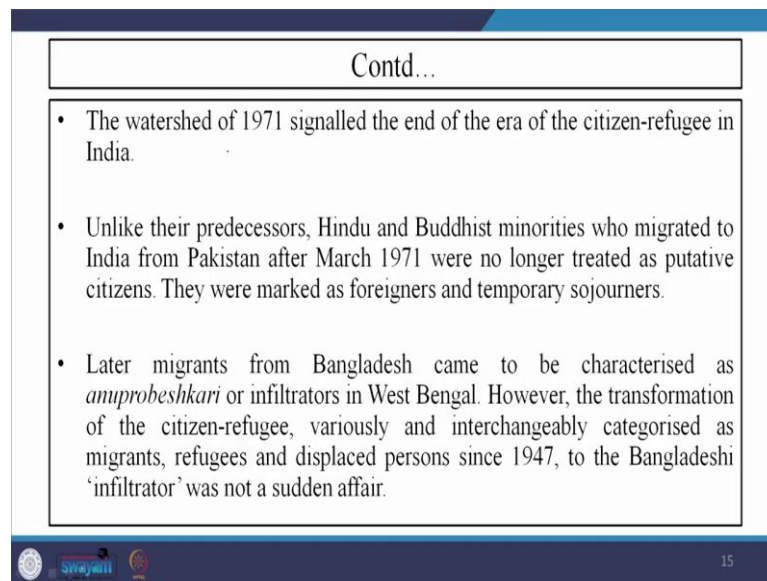
And so, we are coming back to the moot point, which is that the Indian Government had dissimilarly treated its refugees, depending on their class, caste, background. As they came at different phases of migration, policies designed and implemented would also change. The government gave separate designation for each group depending on their phase of arrival in India.

Scholars, such as Archit Basu Guha-Choudhury and Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh note the periodic and staggering nature of displacement from Eastern...you know East Pakistan or Bangladesh to the Eastern India, where this kept happening, the migration kept happening, infiltration kept happening long after partition.

While there is a major difference, like many critics observe, there is a major difference in handling the Punjab and Bengal partitions. In the former case, in the case of Punjab there

was a mutual agreement of virtual exchange of population and it happened in a more organized fashion and almost at once.

And, the center took measures to limit... whereas, in the case of Bengal, the center took measures to limit the transfer of population and so, it kept happening in different decades under different circumstances, and in different contexts. So, a researcher such as Anasua Basu Raychaudhury states that migration among East Bengalis to West Bengal was primarily shaped by three basic imperatives - one was dhan or property, maan or prestige and praan or life. (Refer Slide Time: 30:08)



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- The watershed of 1971 signalled the end of the era of the citizen-refugee in India.
- Unlike their predecessors, Hindu and Buddhist minorities who migrated to India from Pakistan after March 1971 were no longer treated as putative citizens. They were marked as foreigners and temporary sojourners.
- Later migrants from Bangladesh came to be characterised as *anuprobeshkari* or infiltrators in West Bengal. However, the transformation of the citizen-refugee, variously and interchangeably categorised as migrants, refugees and displaced persons since 1947, to the Bangladeshi 'infiltrator' was not a sudden affair.

Swayam 15

So, one understands that the terminology or the expression for this social marker 'refugee' also changes post-1971 war. The watershed of 1971 actually signaled change in the attitude of the Indian people towards the refugees coming from the eastern side, coming from Bangladesh. So, the era of citizen-refugee had ended.

And, unlike the predecessors, the post-1971 migrants from Hindu and Buddhist communities...these minorities that migrated to India from Pakistan after March 1971, were not treated as putative citizens. The question of offering them citizenship was not considered. They were rather seen as/ marked as foreigners and identified as temporary sojourners that were coming to India only to go back. It was expected that after some time, they would go back.

So, later migrants from Bangladesh came to be characterized with this particular term "anuprobeshkari" or infiltrators in West Bengal, and they were seen (in the common

parlance, although it was not a part of the official language) in the common parlance, there were other words, such as leech, people that had parasitic relation with the host land and then defectors or traitors - people that were...let us say, defectors, traitors and the question of espionage, the charge of espionage was heavily hurled at these refugees that were coming in the later phase.

So, the transformation of the citizen-refugee to the Bangladeshi infiltrator had, however, not happened suddenly. When was it exactly that the citizen-refugee - someone that had prospects of being assimilated, being included and made a part of Indian citizenry suddenly change from the traditional words, such as migrants?

So, there was this sudden transformation from terms, such as migrants, refugees, displaced persons that were being used since 1947 to terms, such as spies, defectors, traitors, infiltrator, leeches, you know, parasites and so forth. And, it was not a sudden affair - we cannot say that the outlook changed all of a sudden.

So, we see that for the latter, for the anuprobeshkari, the post-1971 populace, there was no question of being assimilated, of being integrated into Indian, into the process of becoming an Indian citizen, into the question of being transformed and included as part of citizenry, that was not being considered anymore. So, they were marked and permanently marked as outsiders, who were required to return. (Refer Slide Time: 33:20)

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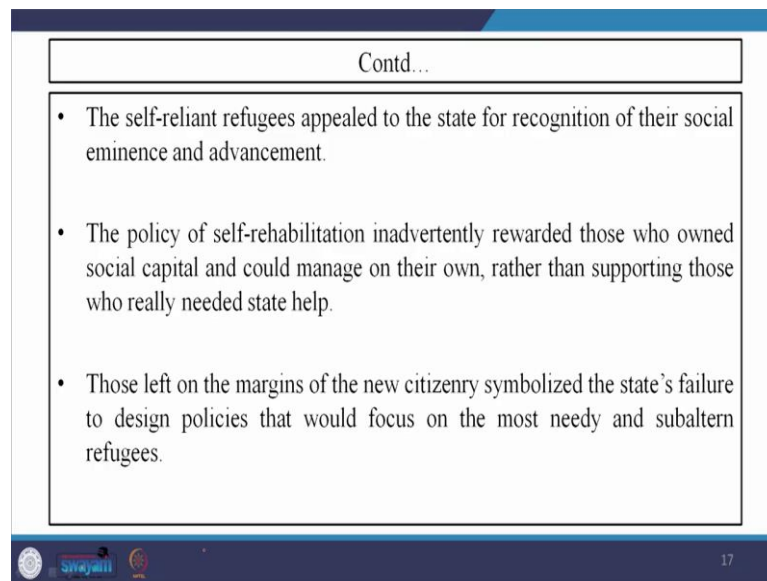
- The regime of rehabilitation in West Bengal was not merely the product of a contestation between the government of West Bengal and East Bengali refugees.
- The government of India played a crucial role in the evolution of this regime. West Bengal's success in adopting a policy that required the Dalit refugees to leave West Bengal in order to access rehabilitation would have been impossible without the active support of the central government (Sen 68).

16

The regime of rehabilitation in West Bengal was not merely a result of contestation between the West Bengal government and the East Bengal refugees. So, the policies that

churned out, that you know came up were not happening only as a result of a dialogue between these Bengali refugees and the West Bengal government.

The Government of India tacitly played a crucial role in the evolution of such policies and so, there was Bengal's success in adopting policies, for example, that were explicitly caste-class biased. This would be possible only through active support from the government at the center. (Refer Slide Time: 35:02)



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- The self-reliant refugees appealed to the state for recognition of their social eminence and advancement.
- The policy of self-rehabilitation inadvertently rewarded those who owned social capital and could manage on their own, rather than supporting those who really needed state help.
- Those left on the margins of the new citizenry symbolized the state's failure to design policies that would focus on the most needy and subaltern refugees.

17

So, the self-reliant refugees appealed to the state for recognition of their social eminence, their contribution to the state-making process.

And, so, it is a paradox that the policy of self-rehabilitation, which should have concentrated and considered more the case of the people that actually needed the state's help, went on to reward and lionize and celebrate the image of a posh section and elite section, which could manage on their own, which had enough and even surplus.

And, so, the refugee's image (like I will discuss in my subsequent lecture), the refugees image - ironically it was shaped through the picture that was presented by this upper, cream section of people and they were being rewarded, they were being celebrated and lionized.

And, so, the policy of state rehabilitation paradoxically tended to reward these sections of immigrants that did not need anything from the state. They were being lionized, they

were being celebrated for their resilience for they were able to fight back and rebound, rather than actually supporting those that were in real need of the state help.

And, so, those that were left on the margins of the new citizenry symbolize the state's failure to accommodate, to design policies that could accommodate the subaltern, the ones at the very bottom of the ladder. We are going to continue our discussion on this topic, but in our next class.

Thank you.