

INDIA - PAKISTAN. — Widespread Communal Riots in India and Pakistan. — Mass Flight of Minority Communities. — Controversy on Eviction of Moslems from Assam and Tripura. — The Delhi Home Ministers' Conference.

The gravest communal disturbances since 1950 occurred in East Pakistan and the eastern States of India during the first three months of 1964, leading to large-scale migration of the minority communities from both countries. Relations between India and Pakistan were further embittered by Pakistani allegations that thousands of Indian Moslems had been expelled from Assam and Tripura since June 1962; this was denied by the Indian Government, which claimed that those expelled were illegal Pakistani immigrants. The problem of communal relations and the evictions from Assam and Tripura were discussed by the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan in New Delhi on April 7-11, 1964; but although there was general agreement on the urgent need to maintain communal peace, promote communal harmony, and give the minority communities a sense of security and complete equality, detailed decisions were left to further discussions.

The Khulna and Calcutta Riots.

Following the theft of the relic of the Prophet Mohammed from the Hazratbal shrine in Kashmir [see 19987 A], violent communal rioting broke out on Jan. 3 in the Khulna and Jessore districts of East Pakistan. The disturbances in Khulna began when a procession of 20,000 demonstrators entered the town, and continued until Jan. 9, Hindus being murdered and their houses looted and set ablaze. Few details of the riots were known, as local newspapers were forbidden to publish any information about friction between religious communities except that supplied by the Government. The East Pakistan Government stated that 29 people were killed; Indian Government statements, however, estimated the number of deaths at nearly 200.

As hundreds of Hindu refugees fled into West Bengal to escape the riots, disturbances began in Calcutta and many rural areas of West Bengal. Some of the worst incidents occurred in the border districts; in one frontier village three soldiers were shot dead when a mob attacked a patrol. In Calcutta isolated incidents began on Jan. 6, and within three days had developed into serious rioting.

The disturbances broke out among the thousands of displaced persons from East Pakistan, but they were soon joined by the criminal element in the population, who burned and looted Moslem and Hindu property indiscriminately. Many Hindus asked their lives to protect Moslems from the mob, while Moslems sought their co-religionists who organized retaliatory expeditions.

On Jan. 11, when the riots in Calcutta reached their height, cases of arson were reported and the fire services were unable to fight the fires without armed escorts. The police repeatedly opened fire on Jan. 10-11, and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in the areas of the city worst affected. Two battalions of military police were called in on Jan. 11 from Bihar, Orissa, and Uttar Pradesh, with orders to shoot to kill in all cases of attacks on Moslems, and on the following day troops and police fired on the rioters more than 50 times. Five of the worst areas were occupied by troops and a 22-hour curfew enforced, with the result that rioting in these districts came to an end. On Jan. 13, however, the disorders spread to five other areas of the city; these were also placed under military control and a similar curfew enforced. The situation showed a marked improvement during the next two days, and by Jan. 16 had returned to normal. The curfew, which had been gradually relaxed, was lifted on Jan. 24, and the areas under military control returned on Jan. 29 to normal police jurisdiction.

The Indian Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, stated on Feb. 11 that 208 people of both communities had been killed by mob violence in the riots in Calcutta and West Bengal; that 1,000 more had been killed as a result of police action; that 1,000,000 people had been driven from their homes in Calcutta, 300,000 of whom had since returned, and 84,000 outside the city, 90 per cent of whom had returned to their homes; and that a little over 5,000 Moslems had crossed into East Pakistan. Unofficial reports, however, gave the number of dead as about 500 in Calcutta alone, while according to a statement by the Pakistani Home Minister 53,278 Moslems had crossed the frontier from West Bengal into East Pakistan in January and February. Over 5,000 people were arrested in Calcutta, a number of known criminals suspected of playing an active part in the riots being detained under the Defence of India Rules. The West Bengal Government on Jan. 17 imposed punitive taxes on the areas of the State where disturbances had occurred.

Further rioting occurred in Calcutta and Howrah on March 18, when students attacked schools and colleges which had not closed

in support of the demand for a judicial inquiry into the death of a student killed in police firing on Jan. 10; the laboratories at the Scottish Church College were completely wrecked, and at Howrah five policemen were injured by a mob which was stoning a school. At Belghoria, in the 24 Parganas district of West Bengal, 21 people were killed in an outbreak of violence on March 16.

The Dacca Riots. — Mass Flight of Hindus and Tribal Peoples from East Pakistan.

The riots in West Bengal were followed by a new outbreak of communal rioting in East Pakistan. Assaults on Hindus, arson, and looting began in Dacca and the nearby town of Narayanganj on Jan. 14, and spread to the neighbouring villages; a *New York Times* correspondent described one village, Rayarbazar, where hundreds of houses were burnt down, as like "a town in some front line." The victims of the riots included several Moslems who lost their lives while trying to protect Hindus. Troops and police repeatedly fired on the rioters, and Dacca and Narayanganj were placed under a curfew. Only isolated incidents occurred after Jan. 18, the curfew being gradually lifted during the next few days.

According to official Pakistani statements about 150 people were killed in the riots, including those killed by police fire; a Reuter report that at least 1,000 people had been killed was described by the East Pakistan Government as "fantastic, baseless, and utterly mischievous." At least 100,000 people, according to local newspapers, left their homes and took refuge in Government relief camps. The Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, told the *Lok Sabha* on Feb. 25 that about 150,000 people had applied to the Indian mission in Dacca for migration certificates, which had already been granted in 20,617 cases.

In reply to Pakistani allegations that India was "encouraging the minority community to migrate from Pakistan" by the liberal issue of migration certificates, an Indian Note of Feb. 1 completely denied any such intention but pointed out that on human and compassionate grounds the Government of India had to make preparations to receive the refugees in India and to assist as far as possible in their resettlement. The Note spoke of about 80,000 people who had taken shelter in refugee camps set up by the Pakistani authorities in the Dacca area, who needed not only relief and rehabilitation but also "the maximum possible reassurance regarding their security."

The Pakistani reply (Feb. 20) said that India's "policy of inciting" Hindus in East Pakistan to migrate would create "serious complications" and amounted to "interference in Pakistan's affairs." While conceding the "seriousness" of the disturbances, the Pakistani Note maintained that the figures given by India were exaggerated; it pointed out that when "as many as 70,000 Moslems" had approached the Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta during the riots in West Bengal, Pakistan had refused to issue migration certificates to them, which "proved that the Pakistan Government did not want to encourage Indian Moslems to leave their country voluntarily." Alleging that Indian papers and some militant "communal groups" in India had been advocating an exchange of population, the Note said that the Calcutta riots had not been "spontaneous" but "planned and aimed at destroying the homes and means of livelihood of Indian Moslems." Finally, the Pakistani Note appealed to India to let the 50,000 Indian Moslems who had entered Pakistan during the riots return to their homes.

About 75,000 non-Moslem tribesmen crossed the frontier from the Mymensingh district of East Pakistan into the Garo Hills district of Assam during the latter half of January and in February; 20,000 of these were Roman Catholics and 15,000 Baptists, the remainder being animists or Hindus. The refugees told foreign correspondents that they had been driven out by armed raiders, and alleged that their villages had been looted and set on fire with the connivance of the police and their land forcibly occupied by Moslems.

On Feb. 6 the Pakistani police fired on a party of 3,000 refugees, killing two young children and wounding 11 other people. An Indian Note on Feb. 13 described the shooting as "cold-blooded murder" and demanded the punishment of those responsible; the Pakistani reply (March 4) accused the Indian Government of "unsettling" the minority communities by offering them "open inducements" to migrate to India.

According to Indian official statements, over 200,000 refugees from East Pakistan entered India during the first three months of 1964; the rate increased during this period, and by the end of March between 3,000 and 4,000 were said to be crossing the frontier every day. According to subsequent statements by the Indian Minister of Rehabilitation, Mr. Tyagi, this figure had risen by April 27 to 286,000 and by June 1 to 434,000, including 47,900 Christians and 20,000 Buddhists. On June 30 the total had reached 506,224, of whom 307,175 were in West Bengal, 133,585 in Assam, and 65,464 in Tripura; 298,726 held migration certificates issued by the Indian mission in Dacca.

The Pakistani authorities had alleged that a large number of the refugees had left because of "propaganda" and "misrepresentations," and strongly denied that there had been any persecution of religious minorities. It was claimed during the latter half of May and in June that about 2,000 Hindus who had fled to India after the Khulna riots, as well as 1,000 families of the Garo Christians, had since returned to East Pakistan.

Riots in Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh.

The concentration of the bulk of the refugees in West Bengal, where 3,400,000 refugees had already settled since 1947, aroused fears that their presence would provoke new communal outbreaks, and it was therefore decided to disperse them. A conference of Ministers of the Central Government and the Governments of West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra agreed on Feb. 8 to enlarge the area of the Dandakaranya project (a district in south-west Orissa which is being developed to accommodate refugees) by the addition of contiguous areas in Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra.

An unforeseen result of this policy was the spread of communal rioting to a large area of southern Bihar, western Orissa, and eastern Madhya Pradesh as train-loads of destitute refugees passed through these States.

The first outbreak of violence, which coincided with the new outbreak in West Bengal, occurred on March 16 at Chakradharpur (Bihar), where Moslem shops were attacked and looted. On March 18 shops were attacked at Jharsuguda, in the Sambalpur district of Orissa, a 24-hour curfew being imposed on the town on March 20 after Moslems had been knifed and houses and shops set on fire; the rioting spread to other towns in western Orissa, including Sambalpur, Brajrajnagar, Rajnangpur, Sundargarh, and Birmitrapur. In the adjacent area of Madhya Pradesh at least seven Moslems were murdered and 19 injured at Raigarh on March 19, and a violent mob set fire to a bus and two shops; strong police reinforcements were rushed to the town and a dusk-to-dawn curfew enforced.

On March 19 a trainload of refugees passed through the steel towns of Jamshedpur (Bihar) and Rourkela (Orissa) on its way to a camp in Madhya Pradesh. This led to fresh mob violence, and in the ensuing riots in Jamshedpur and its neighbourhood, which continued for several days, 171 people were killed according to initial reports, including seven shot by the police, and 61 injured, all but eight of the victims being Moslems; 148 houses were burnt down and 25,000 people evacuated to relief camps. At Rourkela preliminary accounts put the number of killed at 63, while about 6,000 Moslems had to be removed to places of safety. On March 20 troops and armed police were sent to the town, which was placed under a curfew, and over 500 arrests were made. Order was re-established by March 22, but isolated incidents continued to occur for some days. To avoid similar disturbances in the future the Government ordered that trains carrying refugees should not halt at main stations.

Mr. Nanda stated on April 8 that according to reports received to that date 346 people had been killed and 458 injured in the disturbances at Rourkela, Jamshedpur, and Raigarh, and 400,000 rupees (£30,000) worth of property had been damaged at Rourkela.

From the towns the rioting spread to the forest areas on the border of Bihar and Orissa, where Christian *Adivasis* (aborigines) raided Moslem villages as a reprisal for the expulsion of tribal Christians from East Pakistan. Because of the difficulty of the country, aircraft were used to detect bands of tribesmen moving through the jungle. The police several times opened fire on armed bands; four *Adivasis* were killed on March 29 when a police station in which Moslems had taken refuge was attacked. By the end of March the situation in the countryside had been brought under control, and the curfew was lifted or relaxed in the towns.

Mr. Nanda said in the *Lok Sabha* on March 23 that "misguided and ill-intentioned elements" had utilized the violence roused by the sight of the refugees and their accounts of their sufferings to work up communal passions. The extreme right-wing Hindu organization *Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh* was believed to have been largely responsible for the disorders; its leader, Mr. M. S. Golwalkar, was arrested in Bihar on March 23 and expelled from the State.

Reports in the Indian Press alleged that the local administrations had failed to take the strong action needed, that the mobs had taken advantage of the impotence of the police, and that order had only been restored when troops appeared on the scene. Representatives of the district units of the Congress, the Party

Communist Party, and the *Praja* Socialists in Jamshedpur issued a joint statement on April 16 complaining that the Government had failed to take into preventive detention hooligans and lawbreakers immediately after the start of the riots, and that the rapid deterioration of the law and order situation between March 16 and March 23 the initiative for rescuing members of the community had been entirely left to the political parties, trade unions, and "sane sections of the population." The statement demanded a judicial inquiry into the disturbances in Jamshedpur and other areas. The subsequent imposition of collective responsibility on the other hand, was strongly resented by the three parties, which pointed out that it would only increase communal bitterness and unfairly hurt local people who had risked their own lives to protect Moslems from the mob.

Mr. Frank Anthony (the nominated representative of the Anglo-Indian community) said in the *Lok Sabha* on April 16 that the riots had not been spontaneous outbreaks but an organized expression of entrenched "revivalist" political forces. (Mr. Anthony was believed to be referring to right-wing Hindu organizations such as the *Jan Sangh*, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the *Rashtriya Men* in the pay of these "revivalists," he said, had been responsible for the killing of Moslems, and had incited the tribal people to attack not only Moslems but also the Anglo-Indian community. Alleging that casteism and communalism were more and more infecting the Congress Party, Mr. Anthony added: "Some of your most senior Congressmen here, and under the thinnest of veneers you will find they are akin with the communal bodies of this country." Mr. Anthony's speech aroused violent protests that the Speaker adjourned the House because of the disorder—the first time that such action had been necessary.

In reply to Mr. Anthony, Mr. Nanda said on April 15 that the resources of the State would be utilized to save even a Moslem life, and that he had given instructions to the police to act swiftly and sternly. Emphasizing the existence of a "hooligan" element in all the cities where disturbances had taken place, he said that the *goondas* were a powerful factor in communal incidents, and that special efforts were being made to round them up. He referred to the danger to industrial establishments located in disturbed areas were exposed (e.g. the Tata steel works at Jamshedpur and the Government-owned steel plant at Rourkela), and said that the Government had drawn up a scheme for a centrally organized security force which could be entrusted with security duties in public undertakings and in the more important private industries.

Earlier Communal Disturbances.

On two occasions during the previous three years communal disturbances in India had led to similar disturbances in Pakistan; the Jubbulpore riots of February 1961 [see 17955] were followed by riots in Karachi and in several areas of East Pakistan, whilst clashes between Santhals (a tribal people) and Moslems near Malda (West Bengal) in March and April 1962 were followed by widespread communal disorders in East Pakistan.

Students stoned the offices of the Indian High Commission in Karachi on Feb. 25, 1961, after prominent religious leaders had issued statements alleging that 1,200 Moslems had been massacred and 200 Moslem women raped in the Jubbulpore riots. [According to Indian official sources 55 people were killed in the riots, including rioters killed by police fire.] On Feb. 27 mobs assaulted Hindus and attacked and looted their houses; two people were killed and about 200 injured, including 67 policemen, in fighting between students and the police. In East Pakistan rioting broke out in Khulna on Feb. 26, 1961, and spread during the following week to the Jessore and Rangpur districts; the Pakistani authorities stated that 15 people were killed, three as a result of police fire.

On March 22, 1962, Santhals armed with bows attacked a Moslem village in the Malda district, three Moslems being shot dead and six burnt to death; in further disturbances in the district on April 16-20 five Moslems were killed and 64 people injured. Reports in Pakistani newspapers alleging that over 1,000 Moslems had been killed in the Malda district and 1,000 at Murshidabad [where there had actually been no disturbances of any kind] greatly inflamed passions. In consequence attacks on Hindus began in the Rajshahi district on April 24 and in the next two days later, whilst other incidents were reported from Pabna, Bogra, Khulna, Rangpur, and Mymensingh districts. Troops had to be sent to the Rajshahi district on May 1 to restore order, and 1,908 arrests were made. The only casualty figure published in Pakistan mentioned seven people killed and 10 injured in the Rajshahi district, but Indian sources suggested that the total number of casualties throughout East Pakistan was considerably higher. Four people were killed and six injured on June 15, when the Pakistani police fired on a party of the Santhals who were trying to cross from the Rajshahi district into India.

Expulsion of Moslems from Assam and Tripura.

From June 1962 onwards allegations were repeatedly made by the Pakistani Government that Indian Moslems were being forcibly expelled from Assam and Tripura and driven into East Pakistan. In his letter to President Radhakrishnan of Jan. 13, 1964 [see below], President Ayub Khan stated that 95,613 evicted Moslems had registered with the East Pakistani authorities by the end of December 1963. A commission

appointed by the East Pakistan Government in July 1962 estimated in its report, presented in the following December, that over 95 per cent of the Moslems then expelled were Indian citizens.

About 33,000 evicted Moslems were authoritatively reported to have entered Pakistan from Assam and Tripura. By Oct. 5, 1963, a total of 39,575 (25,883 from Tripura and 13,692 from Assam) had registered with the Pakistani authorities, and on Dec. 2 Mr. Khurshid Ahmed (the Pakistani Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs) gave total registrations as 44,636, while many more were said not to have registered. Thereafter the number of those evicted rose rapidly and on Feb. 21, 1964, Mr. Habbullah Khan (the Home Minister) claimed that over 150,000 Indian Moslems had been expelled.

These allegations were categorically denied by the Government of India, which contended that all the Moslems evicted from Assam and Tripura were Pakistani nationals who had entered India illegally, primarily for economic reasons. Mr. Shastri (then Home Minister) told the *Lok Sabha* on Aug. 14, 1963, that over 26,700 illegal Pakistani immigrants had been detected in Assam between July 1962 and June 1963, over 14,500 of whom had returned to Pakistan after being served with notices to quit; another 9,624 infiltrators had been ordered to leave, but it had not been confirmed whether they had done so.

It was pointed out in the Indian Press that the Government's contention that there had been mass immigration of Pakistanis into India was supported by the 1961 census [see 20126 B].

Mr. Nanda announced on Nov. 13, 1963, that two tribunals composed of retired judges would be set up in Assam, to which all deportation cases would be referred for scrutiny, in order to ensure that no Indian citizen was deported by mistake. It was subsequently announced on Jan. 9, 1964, that the Assam Government had been authorized to appoint as many such tribunals as it considered necessary, in view of the large number of illegal immigrants.

At the opening of the Rawalpindi talks in December 1962 [see page 19543] the leader of the Indian delegation, Sardar Swaran Singh, proposed that in addition to the Kashmir question other important problems should be discussed, including Pakistani immigration into Assam, Tripura, and West Bengal; this was rejected by the Pakistani delegation, which insisted that the discussions should be confined to Kashmir. In reply to subsequent Pakistani proposals for talks at ministerial level, an Indian Note of Sept. 2, 1963, suggested that official-level talks should first be held; the Pakistani Government was reported on Oct. 9 to have refused this proposal and repeated its demand for ministerial discussions.

Mr. Nanda announced on April 15, 1964, a number of measures intended to check illegal immigration. An area of half a mile to the Assam border; police posts would be set up all along the border, which would be marked in some sections by barbed-wire fencing; the security forces guarding the border would be strengthened, refugees from the Garo Hills being recruited for the purpose; new roads would be built to make the security forces more mobile; and the thumbprints of all illegal immigrants would be taken, so that they could be detected if they returned after eviction.

Correspondence between President Ayub Khan and President Radhakrishnan. - The Delhi Home Ministers' Conference.

In a letter of Jan. 13, 1964, to the President of India, President Ayub Khan protested against the Calcutta riots, which, he alleged, had been encouraged by the Indian Government's policy of evicting Moslems.

After stating that 20,000 Moslem refugees had entered East Pakistan from West Bengal, President Ayub Khan wrote: "The East Pakistan Government has taken, and is determined to continue to take, every measure possible to maintain order, but you will appreciate that mass influx of terror-stricken Moslem refugees spreading out into various districts of East Pakistan with their tales of woe could precipitate a very serious law and order situation for the East Pakistan Government. . . . I strongly urge and hope that the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal will immediately take effective steps to restore order in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal.

"I cannot help feeling that in thus taking the law into their own hands, with a view to driving the Moslems out of West Bengal into East Pakistan, certain elements in the majority community of West Bengal have drawn encouragement from the policy that the Government of India has been following over two years, despite our protests and appeals, to drive out Indian Moslems living in the districts bordering East Pakistan. The number of such refugees who have registered themselves with East Pakistan authorities had by the end of December already reached 95,613. This has now been added 20,000 terror-stricken Moslems who

have crossed over into East Pakistan from riot-affected areas in West Bengal. I am sure that you will recognize the gravity of the situation which has been created for my Government, and I trust that your Government will take effective action immediately to restore order and peace in West Bengal, such as would create a sense of security in the minds of the Moslem minority and enable these refugees to return to their homes. . . ."

In a statement issued on the same day, President Ayub Khan repeated the allegations that certain Indian States were "forcibly pushing Indian Moslems into East Pakistan" and that the Calcutta riots had been inspired by this policy. "I fervently appeal to my countrymen, particularly those residing in East Pakistan," he added, "that as true Pakistanis they should consider it their duty to protect the minority community and to maintain complete law and order, which is the hallmark of any civilized nation."

President Radhakrishnan's reply (Jan. 17) rejected President Ayub Khan's allegations; maintained that the disturbances in West Bengal had been caused by those at Khulna; and suggested that they should issue a joint appeal for communal peace to the people of both countries.

After stating that the Government of India deplored both the disturbances in West Bengal and those which had taken place earlier in the Khulna district and elsewhere in East Pakistan, President Radhakrishnan condemned the violent statements made in Pakistan on the theft of the Hazratbal relic, and especially that made on Jan. 1 by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto [see page 19589]. "Without a shred of evidence the theft of the relic was attributed to Hindus," he observed, "and a communal turn to the Hazratbal incident was thus given in Pakistan from the beginning. . . . Irresponsible and unrestrained statements and accusations against India, and the false cry of 'Islam in danger,' had the inevitable effect of inciting the Moslem population of East Pakistan to take revenge on the Hindus still living in Pakistan. . . . It is the serious incidents in Khulna which led to the influx of refugees from East Pakistan and started the vicious circle and resulted in the disturbances in West Bengal.

"Our Government rejects in emphatic terms the thesis advanced that the disturbances in West Bengal are part of a plot to drive out Indian Moslems," President Radhakrishnan continued. "You have in your message mentioned specific figures of refugees who have allegedly gone from West Bengal into East Pakistan. These evidently must include in large part Pakistani nationals returning to Pakistan in recent months, who had illegally entered areas of India bordering East Pakistan without visas or permits. . . . The Pakistan Government, in spite of repeated requests by the Government of India, have done little to prevent the illegal entry of Pakistani nationals into India. The population of our border districts in Assam and Tripura and West Bengal has been abnormally inflated as a result of the influx of such persons. . . . On the other hand, the influx into West Bengal of members of the minority community from East Pakistan, which has continued unabated ever since the partition of India, is a matter of history. The number of such refugees who have been obliged to flee their ancestral homes in distress because of fear and lack of sense of security is well over 4,000,000. . . ."

"It is my sincere belief," President Radhakrishnan concluded, "that the time has come when our Governments should put their heads together and devise ways and means of bringing to an end the recurring cycle of such incidents and disturbances in both countries. . . . As a first step, I propose that you and I join in an immediate appeal to the people of our two countries for communal peace and harmony. If you are agreeable, my High Commissioner will submit to you a draft of such a joint appeal for your consideration."

President Ayub Khan rejected the proposal for a joint appeal on Jan. 20 but stressed the need for "stern measures" against those responsible for these incidents.

After stating that he could not accept President Radhakrishnan's contentions, President Ayub said: "I do not wish to enter into a controversy at this unfortunate stage of our relationship. It would be most unfortunate if you and I should get involved in an exchange of recriminations. . . . By blaming, and thus impliedly condoning, communal killings and destruction in one country on similar instances in the other, we might unwittingly lend encouragement precisely to those evil forces which it is Government's duty to curb. . . ."

"You suggest that you and I join in an appeal to the peoples of both India and Pakistan for communal peace and harmony. As you know, I have already issued an appeal to my people. I took the earliest opportunity to do so. I do not see how a second appeal by me would have any greater effect. What is required is that stern measures are taken against those miscreants who are responsible for recent incidents in Dacca and Narayanganj and prevent the trouble from spreading. This is what the Government of East Pakistan are doing, with the full backing and support of my Government. I do not presume to advise you on whether or not you should issue a similar appeal to your own people. That is a matter for you to decide. I may, however, reiterate my hope that your Government will ensure that law and order is quickly restored in all riot-affected areas, and that those who have been driven out will be enabled to return to their homes and live there with a full sense of security. . . ."