The grist mill of communal disturbances since 1950 occurred in India and Pakistan. - Mass Flight of Minority Communities - Controversy on Eviction of Moslems from East Bengal and Tripura. - The Delhi Home Ministers' Conference.

The government of the Indian state of West Bengal passed a resolution in 1954 declaring that a large-scale migration of Moslem refugees into the minority communities from both countries. Relations between India and Pakistan were further complicated by the evacuation of 2,000 demonstrators deported from Assam and Tripura since June 1962; this was denied by the Indian Government, which claimed they were expelled illegal Pakistanis. The Home Minister of West Bengal and the Home Secretaries from Bangladesh was declared to be 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 authority, detailed decisions were left to further discussions.

The Khulna and Calcutta Riots.

Following the theft of the relics of the Prophet Mohammed at the Hazrat Shahidur Rahman shrine in Khulna, violent communal rioting broke out on Jan. 3 in the Khulna and nearby districts of East Pakistan. The disturbances at other places continued and 20,000 demonstrators sought to enter the town, and continued until Jan. 9. Hindus being ordered and their houses looted and set ablaze. Few details appeared in newspapers, and it is not possible to establish any information about friction between religious communities except that supplied by the Government. The Pakistan Government stated that 20 people were killed; the West Bengal government, however, estimated the number of deaths at nearly 200.

Hundreds of Hindu refugees fled to West Bengal to escape the riots, disturbances began in Calcutta and many other areas. The West Bengal Hindus were attacked and their homes burned in the border districts; in one frontier village three Hindus were shot dead when a mob attacked a patrol. Calcutta also registered a new peak on Jan. 9, 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 Hindus in the local Shankar Bazaar, who were attacked by the police. The police repeatedly fired on Jan. 10-11, and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed. The disturbances lasted five days, and the rioters were arrested after the curfew ended. The Mahabirpur police were held responsible for the violence, and the government imposed strict curfew regulations. The disturbances spread to five other areas of the city: the police were placed under military control and a curfew enforced. The situation showed a marked improvement during the next few days, and by Jan. 16 had returned to normal. The curfew, which had been gradually relaxed, was lift on Jan. 24, and the military control was removed.

The Indian Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, stated on Feb. 11 that 20 people of both communities had been killed by mobs in Calcutta and West Bengal; that there had been 300 deaths; that 400 people had been burnt to death; that 5,000 people had been driven from their homes in Calcutta; 600 of whom had since returned, and 3,000 outside Calcutta who had returned to their homes; and that a little over 5,000 Moslems had crossed into East Pakistan. The official reports, however, gave the number of deaths as 400 in Calcutta; and the West Bengal government said that the Pakistan Home Minister's statement was an exaggeration. The West Bengal government claimed that the Pakistan Home Minister's statement was an exaggeration. The West Bengal government said that the Pakistan Home Minister's statement was an exaggeration.

Further riots occurred in Calcutta and Howrah on March 18, as 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 a police firing on Jan. 19; the laboratory at the Christian University, College, at Howrah five policemen were injured by a mob which was stoning a school. At Bhogali, in the 24 Parganas district of West Bengal, 21 people were killed in an outbreak on Jan. 19.


The riots in West Bengal followed by a new outbreak of communal rioting in East Pakistan. Assaults on Hindus, looting and burning began in both Dacca and West Bengal; homes were burnt down as a" "as 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, as the curfew being gradually lifted during the next few days.

According to official Pakistani statements about 130 people were killed in the riots, including 30 in Dacca and 100 in West Bengal. According to local newspapers, left their homes and took refuge in government relief camps. The Indian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Lakshmi Menon, told the Lok Sabha on Feb. 25 that a program had been launched by the Indian mission in Dacca for migration certificates, which had already been granted in 20,017 cases.

According to official Pakistani statistics the number of "exceeding the minority community to migrate from Pakistan" by the liberal issue of migration certificates, an Indian note of Feb. 29 completely denied any such intention but pointed out that "the compassionate grounds the Government of India had to make preparations to receive the refugees in India and 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, and that steps were being taken for relief and rehabilitation but also that the maximum possible reparation was the increase of Hinduism in East Pakistan.

The Pakistani reply (Feb. 29) said that India's "policy of inducing Hindus in East Pakistan to migrate would create serious complications and amount to "interference in Pakistan's affairs." While acknowledging the "aggravation" 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 Pakistan 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 Indians to leave their country voluntarily."

According to official Pakistani statistics, there were about 50,000 Indians in Dacca and West Bengal who had entered Pakistan during the riots on the return of their homes.

About 75,000 non-Moslem tribesmen crossed the frontier from the Mysore region of East Pakistan into the Garo Hills district of Assam during the latter half of 1964 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 Moslem police fire; a report from the police in the province stated that 3,000 refugees were killed during a month of violence and 4,000 were said to be crossing the frontier every day. According to subsequent official statements on the Indian Ministry of Rehabilitation, Mr. Nanda, his this figure had risen by April 27 to 256,000, and by June 1 to 434,000, including 47,000 Christians and 20,000 Buddhists.

On Feb. 8 the total had reached 400,000, and by mid-January 450,000 had been in West Bengal, 138,535 in Assam, and 65,464 in Tripura; 287,729 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 trial that on June 9, about 1,000 families of the Caro 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 which would therefore be dispelled by numbers. A conference of Ministers of the Central Government and the Governments of West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra agreed on Feb. 5 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 Maharastria.

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 at 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 and 14 Moslems were killed. The next day at the nearby town of Ramgarhi in the Sambalpur district of Orissa, a 24-hour curfew was imposed on the town on March 20 after Moslems had been driven out of the town and shops set on fire; the rioters went on to other towns in western Orissa, including Sambalpur, Brajrajnagar, Rajanagar, Sundargarh, and Birmatrapur. On March 21, refugees at Ats and Atsil were murdered and 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 dust-to-dust 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 62, while about 6,600 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 200 arrests were made. Order was restored by March 21, but the riots continued to occur for some days. To avoid similar disturbances in the future the Government ordered that trains carrying refugees should not alight at stations.

Mr. Nanda stated on April 8 that according to reports received to that date 406 people had been killed and 458 injured in the disturbances at Rourkela, Jamshedpur, and Raigarh alone. Indian property (Rs. 200,000) 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 Advenists (fanatics) 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 Advenists 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 "moratorium" or frozen elements had utilized the violence raised by the sight of the refugees and their accounts of their sufferings to work up communal passions. The extreme right-wing Hindu organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (the Nazi party) had also been largely responsible for the disorders; its leader, Mr. M.S. Golwalkar, was arrested in Bihar on March 28 and expelled from the State.

Reports in the Indian Press alleged that the local administrations had failed to inform the police of the troubles and to take action accordingly. The next day in Parliament, the leader of the opposition, Mr. J.V. Bhatia, asked why the government had not taken action to prevent the Moslems being driven out of the state. Representatives of the district unions of the Congress, the Party

Communist Party, and the Praja Socialist party in Jamshedpur (Bihar) and in the joint statement on April 16 complaining that the had failed to take into preventive detention holding or the offenders immediately after the rioting. The rapid deterioration of the law and order situation between March and May 1947 initiated for rescuing Moslems in the community had been sponsored by the Congress and Muslim League, and "interior sections of the population." The Moslems demanded a judicial inquiry into the deaths, injuries, and other areas. The subsequent collection of evidence on the other hand, was strongly resisted by the authorities which pointed out that it would merely be used to prove the violence of the people who had been wronged and unfairly hurt local people who had risked their own lives to protect Moslems from the violence.

Mr. Frank Anthony (the nominated representative of the Anglo-Indian community) in the Lok Sabha on the riots had not been spontaneous outbreaks but the expression of widespread political violence. Mr. Anthony was to be referred to the right-wing Hindu opposition as the "Gangetic" Hindu, the Hindutva, and the Hindutva of the "rightists," said, had been behind the killing of Moslems, and had instigated the rioting. The attack had not only been confined but had also been spread to over the Anglo-Indian community. Allegations that castigations and communalism were more widespread and infecting the Congress Party, Anthony added; and some of your most senior Congressmen been trampled upon. Violence on the scene of the two first Moslems you will find they are aliens with the worst characters of this country." Mr. Anthony's speech brought violent protest that the Speaker adjourned the House of the disorders the first time in its 40-year history.

In reply to Mr. Anthony, Mr. Nanda said on April 13 that the resources of the State would be utilized to save lives. The Moslem life, and that the administration had dealt swiftly and sternly. Emphasizing the existence of a "gang" (hooligan) element in every city where disturbances had taken place, he stressed that the rioting was not a factor in communal incidents, and that special efforts were being made to clean up the area. He referred to the demand of the Government for industrial absenteeism and the Moslem workers' disturbances and attacks (e.g., the Tula steel works at Jamshedpur and the Government owned steel plant at Rourkela) and that the Government had drawn up a scheme for a centrally organized security which could be entrusted with security duties in public gatherings and the most important places of public worship.

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 1960 were followed in Orissa, Karnataka, and in several areas of East Pakistan, whilst clashes between Sambals (a tribal people) and Moslems near Malda (West Bengal) in June and April 1962 were followed by widespread communal disorders in East Pakistan.

Students stabbed the office of the Indian High Commissioner in Karachi on Feb. 25, 1961, after prominent religious leaders had made statements alleging that 1,200 Moslems had been massacred, 500 Moslem women raped in the Jubbulpore riots. (Accused of abstracting property.) On Feb. 27 mobs assaulted Allahabad and Varanasi; their deaths was about 200 injured, including 57 policemen, including many students and the police. In East Pakistan riots broke out in Khulna on Feb. 25, 1961, and spread to the Jessore and Tangra districts; the rioters stated that 35 people were killed there as a result of police action.

On March 22, 1962, Sambals attacked a Moslem village in the Malda district, three Moslems being killed and six injured. In further disturbances the district on April 18-20 five Moslems were killed and 18 injured. Reports in Pakistani newspapers alleging that over 1,000 Moslems had been killed in the Malda district and Lohurudal (where there had actually been no disturbances) were spread throughout the country in the next few days and large numbers of people flooded into India.

Expulsion of Moslems from Assam and Tripura.

From June 1962 onwards allegations were repeatedly made by the Pakistani authorities that Moslems were being forcibly expelled from Assam and Tripura and driven into East Pakistan. In his letter to President Bhashkar in June 1962, Mr. A. K. K. Deb, the Tripura authorities by the end of December 1963. A committee
the India-Pakistan border in North-East India for a controverted incident in which an intermittent round of fire between Indian and Pakistan forces has been taking place for several days. The Indian and Pakistani forces have been exchanging fire across the border for several days, and there have been reports of casualties on both sides. The situation has escalated, and both countries have deployed additional military forces to the border area.

The Indian government has condemned the violation of the ceasefire agreement and has expressed its concern over the recent incidents. It has also stated that it will take all necessary measures to ensure peace and security along the border. The Pakistan government, on the other hand, has denied any violation of the ceasefire agreement and has accused India of initiating the conflict.

The situation has become increasingly tense, and there are concerns about the possibility of a full-scale military conflict. Both countries have been engaging in talks to resolve the issue, but so far, no significant progress has been made. The international community is also closely monitoring the situation, as a military conflict could have serious implications for regional stability and security.

The India-Pakistan border region is one of the most contentious and sensitive areas in the world. The two countries have been engaged in a centuries-old conflict over the issue of Kashmir, and the border incidents have been a matter of concern for both sides.

In conclusion, the recent border incidents have once again brought to the fore the complex and enduring nature of the India-Pakistan conflict. It is hoped that both countries will work towards a peaceful resolution of the issue, avoiding any further escalation of the conflict.