



West Pakistan, East Pakistan, and India

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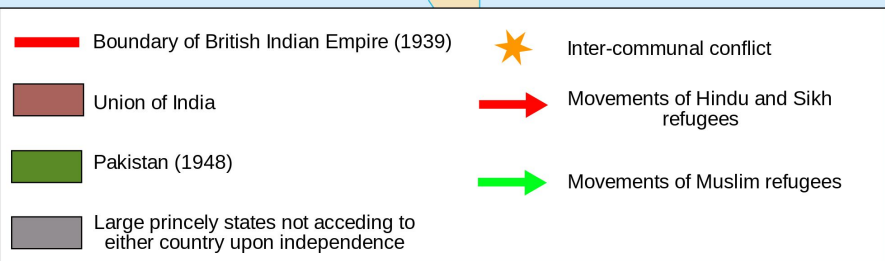
The Partition of India

- In 1947 India was divided into two separate countries which were the Dominion of Pakistan and the Union of India.
- This split occurred as a result of religious and ideological differences which caused cultural divides among citizens and was facilitated by British colonialists.
- The two major groups that the country was broken up into were the Muslims who primarily lived in east and west Pakistan and the Hindus and Sikhs that mostly lived in India.



What Caused Refugees?

- Refugees were created as a result of the Partition
- The partition, in turn, was not caused by cultural differences
- Ideological disparities supposedly based on religious disagreements primarily contributed to the partition of India
- The policies of the British government, history of communal tensions and scarcity of resources facilitated to the division of the subcontinent



- Hundreds of thousands of people fled during the partition, to both sides of Pakistan
- About 1 million people were killed through communal violence
- Because there were now newly independent nations, refugees ended up absorbed in those towns and cities



(WEST) PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Refugee Crisis post-partition



Double Persecution

Some Kashmir natives (referred to as Separatists) believe that the west Pakistani refugees should settle in states that are majority Hindu

- Modern day, 70 years after the conflict, many west Pakistani refugees are still experiencing major issues in their new places of settlement
- Although some of these people have been living there for 60 years, they still can't vote for the Assembly polls. However, they are eligible to participate in national elections
- Refugees are going to the Supreme Court in order to protest these issues, which include denial of permanent resident status, right to education, employment and voting

Current Refugees

Status of refugees

- Almost 80% of the refugees who moved from West Pakistan to the state of Jammu and Kashmir were from the Scheduled Caste community which contributes to their marginalization
- This past December (2015) the UNCHR agreed to look into the issue of about 150,000 West Pakistan refugees who have been discriminated and denied citizenship rights in Jammu and Kashmir since 1947

UNHCR 2015 planning figures for Pakistan

Type of population	Origin	January 2015		December 2015	
		Total in country	Of whom assisted by UNHCR	Total in country	Of whom assisted by UNHCR
Total		2,311,750	2,311,750	2,352,080	2,352,080
Refugees	Afghanistan	1,468,250	1,468,250	1,478,030	1,478,030
	Iraq	60	60	80	80
	Somalia	400	400	500	500
	Various	140	140	180	180
Asylum-seekers	Afghanistan	5,290	5,290	6,270	6,270
	Islamic Rep. of Iran	20	20	30	30
	Somalia	50	50	60	60
	Various	40	40	40	40
Internally displaced	Pakistan	566,900	566,900	590,900	590,900
Returnee arrivals during year (ex-IDPs)	Pakistan	270,600	270,600	276,000	276,000

It is important to note that as of 2015, Pakistan hosts the largest refugee population in the world

Stats about refugees

Source: unhcr.org

The Los Angeles Times

- 1947 erupted with coverage over India's partitioning. However, the issues covered were highly international and political. The media covered on the diplomatic relationships between different states (especially when involving Britain) more intensely than issues regarding the indigenous people of India. This was largely a product of our alliance with Britain.
- As the refugee crisis intensified, the LA Times began to pay more attention to the displacement. But only the sensationalized stories received recognition. Unless a story was violent or focused on an American or European refugee, it was probably buried in the back of the paper.

Hundreds III as Cholera Strikes India Refugee Camps

Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Sep 12, 1947;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times
pg. 4

Hundreds III as Cholera Strikes India Refugee Camps

Missing Czech Envoy Fleeing to British Haven: [1]

Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Mar 5, 1951;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times
pg. 1

Missing Czech Envoy Fleeing to British Haven

India Massacre of 2000 Told

Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Oct 2, 1947;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times
pg. 1

India Massacre of 2000 Told

The New York Times

- The NY Times covered the Indian-Subcontinent through the lens of a refugee crisis more than that of the partition. However, stories about the crisis were typically put on later pages, just as they would have been in the LA Times.
- The New York Times shared the same biases as other U.S. media sources. In order for a story to make the front pages, the story had to be rooted in American politics or very violent. One story about a Czech envoy seeking asylum made it onto page 4, while the shooting of 130 refugees sat on page 17.

U. S. AND INDIA SIGN EXTENSIVE AID PACT: \$50,000,000 GRANT TO GO INTO ...
By ROBERT TRUMBULL Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
New York Times (1923-Current file); Jan 6, 1952; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 1

U. S. AND INDIA SIGN EXTENSIVE AID PACT

**\$50,000,000 Grant to Go Into
Joint Fund, Primarily for
Agricultural Development**

CZECH ENVOY IN INDIA SEEKS BRITISH HAVEN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
New York Times (1923-Current file); Mar 5, 1951; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 4

CZECH ENVOY IN INDIA SEEKS BRITISH HAVEN

MOSLEMS SAID TO KILL 130 IN REFUGEE CAMP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
New York Times (1923-Current file); Jan 27, 1948; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 17

MOSLEMS SAID TO KILL 130 IN REFUGEE CAMP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The New York Times (cont.)

- Further, an article naming that the amount of refugees exceeded 7,000,000 was saved for page 16, even though this article could have potentially recalibrated how many American's imagined the scale of the crisis.
- Despite these inconsistencies, the New York Times covered the refugee crisis more rigorously than other U.S. media outlets had done. Further, many stories did in fact make the front page (although the standard to make the front was a lot higher for refugees).

GANDHI IS KILLED BY A HINDU; INDIA SHAKEN, WORLD MOURNS; 15 DIE IN ...
By ROBERT TRUMBULLSpecial to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
New York Times (1923-Current file); Jan 31, 1948; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 01

***GANDHI IS KILLED BY A HINDU;
INDIA SHAKEN, WORLD MOURNS;
15 DIE IN RIOTING IN BOMBAY***

Punjab Refugee Numbers Mount: Total Already Exceeds 7,000,000: ...
By ROBERT TRUMBULLSpecial to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
New York Times (1923-Current file); Oct 15, 1947; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 16

***Punjab Refugee Numbers Mount;
Total Already Exceeds 7,000,000***

***Earlier Estimates Doubled, While Many
More Still Wait Movement—Disease and
Crop Loss Are Present Dangers***

Hindu Gunmen Fire on 50,000 Fleeing Moslems: Twelve Refugees Meet ...
Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Sep 22, 1947;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times
pg. 1

**Hindu Gunmen Fire on
50,000 Fleeing Moslems**

**Twelve Refugees Meet Death Before Military
End Fighting by Killing Six of Attackers**



EAST PAKISTAN (BANGLADESH) and INDIA

Events and US Media coverage surrounding the birth of Bangladesh

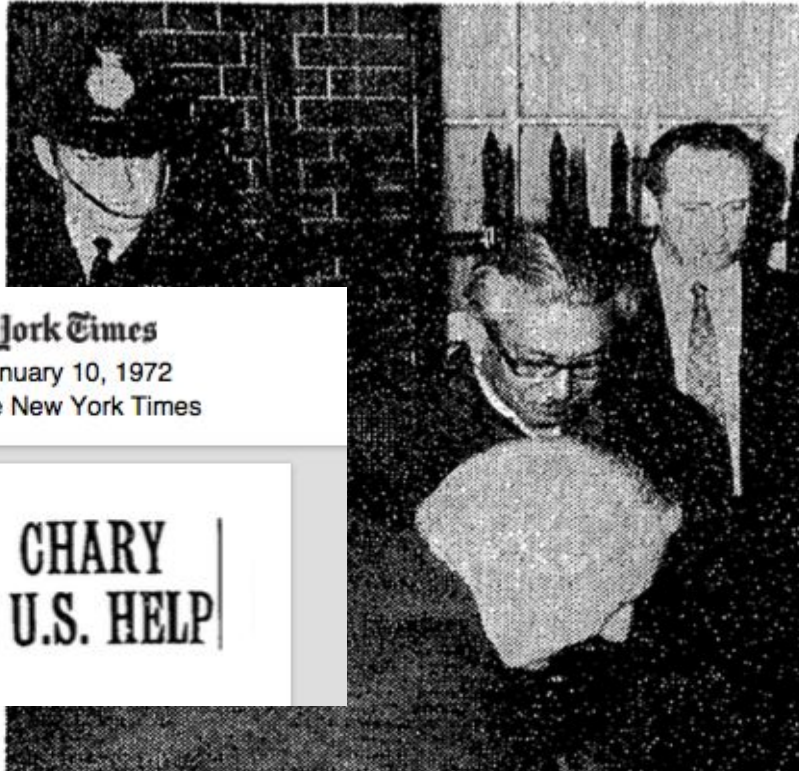
Bangladesh Liberation War & Indo-Pak War of 1971

- Following the partition, the government of West Pakistan soon established authoritarian control of East Pakistan, a period marked by mass repression, resentment, and political neglect and ignorance.
- East Pakistan's increasing demand for self-determination was attempted to be suppressed in West Pakistan's Operation Searchlight, widely regarded today as the 1971 Bangladesh Genocide.
- In response, East Pakistan attempted to secede from the dominion as a new country, Bangladesh, and launched an armed conflict with West Pakistan, called the Bangladesh Liberation War.

Bangladesh Liberation War & Indo-Pak War of 1971

- India initially provided passive support to Bangladesh, offering Calcutta as a location for their Provisional Government and accepting about 10 million refugees.
- Later, India provided active support in the form of the Indo-Pak War of 1971, concluding in the collapse of East Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh's sovereignty.
- In addition to the refugees in India, about 30 million Bangladeshis were internally displaced.
- Since these wars occurred in the period of the Cold War, regional alliances were very complex.

The Western Media was very absorbed in the Cold War Perspective



The New York Times

Published: January 10, 1972

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**BENGALIS CHARY
ON ANY U.S. HELP**

BENGALI ASSERTS ANY AID FROM U.S. MIGHT BE TAINTED

**Foreign Minister Says New
Regime Would Hesitate on
Help From Former Foe**

ENDS FOUR-DAY TALKS

**Sheik Mujib Is Welcomed
in New Delhi, Where He
Stops on Way to Dacca**

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG
Special to The New York Times

This helped highlight how adversely the cold war was impacting the welfare of the refugees

The New York Times

Published: December 19, 1971
Copyright © The New York Times

The United States has called for the withdrawal of the Indian Army from Bangladesh—which the Nixon Administration insists on still calling East Pakistan—but the unfortunate truth is that if the army pulled out right now, the sporadic executions would become full-blown massacres.

President Nixon also continues to enrage the Indians by keeping a task force of the Seventh Fleet in the Bay of Bengal, apparently as a form of pressure on India because of her alliance with the Soviet Union.

Anti-American sentiment is running high here. The American consulate in Calcutta, under heavy police protection, has been besieged by angry demonstrations. "If he doesn't get that fleet out of here," said one American working in Calcutta, "he'll have to use it to evacuate us from India."

India is giving Bangladesh every assistance in getting the country running again, sending in top Bengali administrators from the Indian state of West Bengal to start up the government machinery. India is also trying to secure the release of Sheik Mujib, presumably as part of the price for the repatriation to West Pakistan of the 80,000 surrendered Pakistani troops.

But even if all these efforts are successful and the Sheik takes the reins of power, Bangladesh's infancy cannot be anything but a painful struggle.

It has always been a land of non-stop suffering, with disease rates that require a villager to produce eight children before he can be reasonably sure that two sons will survive, and a per-capita income estimated at about one dollar a week. (Some economists think it is much lower.) In population, Bangladesh is the seventh or eighth largest nation in the world, but its 75 million people are crammed into an area the size of Arkansas.

It is a flat, deltaic country veined by a river system with seven times the flow of the Mississippi—a system that first nurtures the rich jute and rice fields and then destroys them and the people on them with annual raging floods from the monsoon. To raise the people of this land to a half-way decent standard of living would require a massive international aid effort.

The nations that have pledged relief aid for the nearly 10 million Bengali refugees who fled to India to escape the Pakistani repression—and whose repatriation will be another burden on Bangladesh's infancy—will probably honor those commitments. Beyond that, governments that wish to preserve or improve their relations with West Pakistan—such as the United States—will probably drag their feet about recognizing the new state in the east. And this will make manna of the magnitude required by Bangladesh all the less likely to descend.

This is what the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi had to say on the US Media's selective coverage of violence by Bangladeshi nationalists compared to Pakistan's armed forces.

The Western press, the prime minister continued, had distorted the situation by publishing pictures of the bayonet killings of several persons in Dacca following a rally.

Bangladesh Reprisal Slayings Overplayed, Mrs. Gandhi Says

Drummond, William J

Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Jan 1, 1972;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times

pg. B1

Mrs. Gandhi said she was against killing and the taking of the law into one's own hands, but she said "one must view the killings in perspective."

She said that when 280 Bengali intellectuals were tortured and killed on the eve of the liberation of Dacca, "I didn't see any pictures."

That is not to say that the media was under the influence of the US Government. Instead, it was not afraid to differ, and did not hesitate to recognize Bangladesh as a country

Among those present were Herbert Gordon, the United States consul general in Calcutta, who said he had merely responded to an Indian invitation to be present.

"The American people supported our cause, the American press supported us, but the United States Government, which swears by democracy, has only helped to endanger democracy in our country," he declared. "Instead of giving us food and relief, when our people were being starved and killed, the American Government was sending arms to Pakistani oppressors to kill more of our people."

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The New York Times

Published: February 7, 1972

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The NYTimes wrote against both the genocidal rape committed by Pakistani soldiers and the patriarchy of Bangladesh, regardless of USA's allegiance to either country

To the Editor:

The Times of Jan. 18 reports that 200,000 Bangladesh women are outcasts in their own country as a result of having been raped by Pakistani soldiers because, according to Moslem custom, any woman so defiled becomes untouchable.

It is unthinkable that innocent wives whose lives were virtually destroyed by war are now being totally destroyed by their own husbands. They are refugees from their own families. They are physically alive but no longer count as human beings, having lost all right to consideration and all hope of redress. Rape cannot be undone.

We understand that the Bangladesh Government deplores the situation, but we feel that all governments and all people must speak out against this hideous cruelty. We implore the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights to act on behalf of these unfortunates.

This incident vividly demonstrates the blindness of men to injustices they practice against their own women even while struggling for liberation.

SHELLEY STEINBERG

MARLENE FINE

New York, Jan. 24, 1972

This letter was also signed by nine other concerned women.

Clearly, the media of today could seek inspiration; many issues back then were identical to the issues we face today

For many, perhaps 3 million of them, the decision to cross back over the border will not be their own but that of the Indian government.

India has, in fact, announced that the exodus will begin on Jan. 1. Within three months, according to officials, all 10 million refugees will be back in Bangladesh.

Observers in Calcutta, the center of refugee operations in West Bengal, believe this estimate is preposterous. "In the first place," said one Western observer, "they're not likely to get it moving at all by the new year. In the second place, if they can get the majority of them out of India in nine months to a year, they're going great guns."

Political Purpose

The Indians appear to be announcing their optimistic plans largely for internal political consumption. Most states in India are scheduled to have elections in February and the

The remaining 3 million present a trickier problem. They've already infiltrated the local economies, have not registered with the police, and would be extremely difficult to locate and rout out.

10 Million Refugees Face Return

Simons, Lewis M

Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File); Dec 28, 1971;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times
pg. A4

Except the media back then was probably more responsible!

Refugees in West Bengal: Characteristics

- The majority of refugees in West Bengal were Hindus who came from East Bengal (Franda)
- The educated and upper-class Hindus in East Bengal were the first to leave for West Bengal (Chatterji)
- Majority of the refugees from East Bengal to West Bengal were in family structures (70%) (Pakrasi)
- In 1950, there were already around 1 million refugees. This number grew to more than 2 million by 1951 (Mitra)
- Eventually, there was an estimated 6 million refugees displaced by the Partition (Chatterji)

Effects of the Crisis in West Bengal: Industry

- After the Partition, the industry of West Bengal suffered heavily (Mitra)
 - The severing of communication and transportation caused many of the industries in West Bengal to lack the raw materials that they needed to produce goods
- The jute industry (the largest industry in West Bengal) did not have any materials to produce goods (Franda)
 - Additionally, the jute industry had to pay an exporting tax, which made it expensive to export
- After Independence, the industry in West Bengal suffered further because there were few people who knew how to or had to the authority to manage industry (Bagchi)
- The partition also cut off the flow of talent from East Bengal into West Bengal, and many of the industries suffered from this, as well (Mitra)

Effects of the Crisis in West Bengal: Social

- Refugees were forced to live in situations that were not acceptable
 - Many refugees were concentrated in rural interspaces of the Calcutta industrial region in hopes of finding employment
- Lack of shelter, ventilation, nutrition, potable water, and space for exercise, community activity, and urban facilities
- Lack of education, health services, and self-reliant employment
- Because many refugees believed their situation was temporary, they did not always try to find the most stable way to live (Mitra)
- Some Muslims migrated to East Bengal, but many stayed in West Bengal
- Hindu came to West Bengal, where they had a higher social status (Franda)
 - Muslims became a religious minority in West Bengal, only 19.85% of the population (Dasgupta)

Effects of the Crisis in West Bengal: Social, contd.

- In 1951, West Bengal had the second highest literacy rate of the major Indian states (24%), but by 1961 it had fallen to fourth (29.8%)
 - This slow growth of literacy was especially prevalent in the female population (Bagchi)
- The percentage of people living below the poverty line in West Bengal, was significantly lower in 1961-62 and 1967-68 than the percentage of people living under the poverty line in India as a whole
 - 1961-62: 62% in West Bengal vs 38.2% in India
 - 1967-68: 80.6% in West Bengal vs 55.8% in India (Bagchi)

Effects of Crisis in West Bengal: Economy and Government

- Along with the hardships placed on industry in West Bengal
 - banks became weak, real-estate activity faltered, cotton textiles, medium and light engineering, chemical and pharmaceutical industries and potteries were also in difficult situations
- The government had little to no systematic or planned spatial rehabilitation
- Political parties took advantage of refugee populations and used that “vote banks”
- The government did little to help the refugees
- The influx of refugees also strained the government’s resources for civic infrastructure, and economic and cultural amenities (Mitra)
- In February of 1967, the Congress Party was defeated by a 14 party coalition in the State Legislative Assembly (Franda)

East Bengali Crisis

- After the partition, 29.5% of the 42 million population was non-Muslim, and of that, 98% were Hindus.
- In 1949 and 1950, there were a huge number of atrocities committed against the Hindu population, from the destruction of their villages to multiple massacres.
- In 1949 Hindu homes were looted and their temples burned down and destroyed.
- Riots starting in February of 1950 killed thousands of Hindus, which resulted in 3,500,000 Hindus migrating from East Bengal into India.
- The most prominent massacres occurred in Kalshira, Dhaka, Noakhali, and Sylhet.
- By April of 1950, over 500,000 refugees had come to West Bengal since January, in addition to thousands more in the states of Tripura and Assam.

East Bengal Crisis (cont.)

- Refugees who fled East Bengal over 60 years ago are still in "temporary" camps.
- Coopers Camp in West Bengal is the oldest refugee camp with over 7,000 refugees.
- Kajal Roy: "India was a dream for us when we left everything behind during partition in 1947. I was 15. We had lands near present-day Dhaka. But as Hindus, my parents were threatened unless they handed over their home to Muslims. So we escaped. We hoped for a new life, for land, for homes. But 60 years on India has given us nothing, not even a nationality. My parents, like I will, died here in the same temporary camp they fled to. I sit here before you a refugee now as I was when I crossed the Bay of Bengal."



THE NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN WEST BENGAL

Naxalites

- The Naxalite movement is a far-left, ideologically Maoist movement that has historically been centered in West Bengal (which had a democratically elected Communist government for more than thirty years).
- It takes its name from the village of Naxalbari in West Bengal, where an uprising occurred in 1967 by an increasingly landless peasantry in opposition to the dispossession and enclosure that was being enforced by the state.
- In the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the movement spread considerably into rural areas, gaining popular support from Adivasis, peasants, and those generally situated at the bottom of the caste system.

The Naxalite Movement & the Production of Internal Refugees

- So-called development in India often takes the form of land dispossession, cultural destruction, and coerced assimilation into the capitalist system.
- Such development occurs at the expense of many, but it particularly affects the Adivasi (a blanket term for South Asian indigenous peoples) and necessitates their transformation into refugees within India's territory.

- The members of the Naxalite movement, in their commitment to resisting such development and ultimately dismantling the Indian state, refuse to be pushed into such a status of statelessness, to be stripped of their land, and to be subjected on a large scale to both “actual” and “cultural” violence.
- Thinking about the Naxalite movement in general (and the Adivasi in particular) in such terms pushes our definition of "the refugee," who gets to be a refugee, and what it would mean to refuse such a status.



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