

East Bengal Refugees in Bardhaman District, West Bengal, 1947-58

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Abstract

The article proposed to articulate a study of East Bengal refugees in Bardhaman district of West Bengal, 1947 – 1958. In this connection, attempts have been made to deal with different kinds of camps in this district. Mainly the worksite camps of Bardhaman district and accommodation camps in Bardhaman district have been placed under review. It may be mentioned that worksite camps had a resemblance with other worksite camps of West Bengal. In case of the struggles of accommodation camps, there were some common features – formation of committees, hunger strikes as modus operandi, no caste difference in the committee and the role of women. The article also touched the role of Bardhaman district during the satyagraha of 1958 and 1959.

Keywords – Accommodation Camps, Bardhaman district, East Bengal refugees, leaders, women, worksite camps,

Introduction

The partition of India came with independence, perhaps earlier. Two nations were formed simultaneously – India and Pakistan. As Zollberg says “building new nations is a refugee generating process.”ⁱ

The refugees from West Pakistan and East Pakistan (East Bengal) came to India. The exodus from Eastern Side rushed to West Bengal. There was also an exodus on the western side. But the problem of western side was quickly settled. But the trouble in the Eastern side lingered for long period of time. In case of East Bengal refugees, the government of India was not ready to accept them as its responsibility. Refugee migration continued for various phases.

Initially, the refugees from East Pakistan did not get any attention from the Indian government. There lies a difference between the approach toward the refugees who came through the western wing and the refugees from the Eastern side. The government did not take proper steps for the relief and rehabilitation of the East Bengal refugees. On the government level, it was considered that the refugees would return to East Pakistan after the initial crisis was over. After the convention of 1948, and Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact of 1950, gradually the actual situation emerged. It became clear that the refugees from East Pakistan had come to stay in West Bengal. Primarily, most of the refugees took shelter at Sealdah Station. It became a transit camp. In course of time, the government established camps in various places of West Bengal and gradually shifted the refugees from Sealdah to those camps. But the government had a policy of denial and dispersal toward these camp refugees. The government established camps in various districts. In Bardhaman district too, the government established refugee camps. Prior to the establishment of these camps, some other developments took place in Bardhaman district. We shall discuss them in details in the following sections.

Existing Historiography

The study of the camp refugees in West Bengal can be marked with *Marginal Men* by Prafulla Chakrabarti. He allotted two chapters on the camp refugees.ⁱⁱ In the 1990s, Nilanjana Chatterjee dealt with the question of refugee rehabilitation in her doctoral thesis.ⁱⁱⁱ She wrote an article “East Bengal Refugees”, on the same subject.^{iv} Gyanesh Kudaisya’s article in the book *The Afterlife of Partition in South Asia*, focused on the idea of lower caste refugees who took shelter in government camps.^v Abhijit Dasgupta also penned an article “Unwanted Harijan”. He discussed the issues of Scheduled Caste leadership as well as the issues of Cooper’s camp.^{vi} In the beginning of 21st century, a new genre of historiography emerged in West Bengal’s

academic discussion. Historians began to use memories as source materials. Joshodhara Bagchi and Subhoranjan Dasgupta edited *Trauma and Triump* in two volumes can be mentioned.^{vii} Renuka Roy also wrote an article on the camp refugees. Debjani Dutta and Subhashri Ghosh also wrote an article on the subject.^{viii} Joya Chatterji's *Spoils of Partition* can be mentioned here.^{ix} Further her two articles "Right or Charity"^x and "Dispersal and Failure of Rehabilitation of Refugees"^{xi}, she touched upon the question of rehabilitation of refugees of East Pakistan in camps and colonies. Two articles published by Calcutta Research Group in 2009, written by Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhuri and Ishita De focused on the camp refugees. Cooper's camp was the central theme of both the articles. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay in his book *Decolonization* focused on some aspects of refugee colonies and camps in West Bengal.^{xii} Swati Sengupta Chatterjee in her book *West Bengal Camp Refugees*, dealt with the question of camp refugees.^{xiii} She has also penned several articles^{xiv} on the camps and struggles of the refugees in various districts of West Bengal. This present article is a continuation of her work on the districts.

Methodology

The present author has utilized Intelligence Bureau records from West Bengal State Archives, Newspapers and various books and articles for forming her arguments. There were a few works on the camps of West Bengal. In this article she has micro – studied the camps specifically in the district of Bardhaman.

Bardhaman District in the Early Years of Struggle

The exodus started from 1947. On 15th August 1947 an advertisement was published in the Bengali daily *Jugantar* in Calcutta. It called for application from those who had come to West Bengal in search of security and who wanted to build homes in the countryside in the vicinity of the agricultural land. Such land was available in Bardhaman district, about 85 miles from Calcutta.^{xv} Advertisement like this from land development companies multiplied in the following months. Most interesting was that migrants sought exchange of properties between East and West Bengal. Apart from land and residential buildings, they also sought exchanges of proprietorship over entire villages including hundreds of tenants.^{xvi}

In the Kalna subdivision of Bardhaman, a conference was held under the Forward Bloc leader Ramani Chakraborty. He highlighted the miserable condition of the refugees. Moreover he also highlighted government's procrastinating tendencies and corruption. Chakraborty urged the refugees to continue their agitations. Further Amar Basu, another leader, said that the government of India should make arrangements for all the refugees. The government should vigorously attempt to save the lives of lakhs of people who had come as refugees. The conference further announced that Bardhaman was a deficit area. The rate of price of goods was an issue of great concern. The refugees subsequently went to the rehabilitation office to demand paddy at a ration rate. In the conference, the leaders tried to draw the attention of the higher authorities. They took resolutions demanding water supply, relief system in the local refugee *pally* (colony).^{xvii}

Interestingly in Jaturia area of Bardhaman district, the government demanded the repayment of the house building and business loans from the refugees. But at that time the price of agricultural products was running low and trade was facing an economic slump. Therefore the local refugees' economic condition was pretty bad. They appealed to the government to suspend the policy of repayment of loans from the refugees for a while.^{xviii}

Before going into details about the camp refugees of Bardhaman district, we can refer to the table given by Monika Mandal. This table showed the number of displaced persons in various districts of West Bengal. In the year 1951, there were 96000 displaced people in Bardhaman.^{xix}

Establishment of Camps in the Bardhaman District

Before the formation of any definite policy of refugee rehabilitation, the West Bengal government established camps in Bardhaman district during the years 1952-57.

1. Panagarh camp (transit), was established in 1952.

2. Panagarh II (transit), 1954.
3. Kangsha (transit), 1953.
4. Kangshal (transit), 1955.
5. Nawabgarh (transit), 1952.
6. Kashipur (rural, transit), 1952.
7. Ramchandrapur (transit), 1954.
8. Ura (transit), 1954.
9. Sanko (worksite camp converted into transit), 1954.
10. Maheshdanga (worksite), 1954.
11. Palla I-IV (worksite to transit), 1954.
12. Chachai (rural), 1954.^{xx}

Bardhaman District and Worksite Camps' Agitation

A discussion should be made before going into details about two types of worksite camps. The first type of worksite camp was opened to settle the refugees within two months in and around the worksite camp region. In these camps the refugees where they used to work. In such camps the refugees were forced to perform menial works such as earth cutting. In these camps, though they were promised a settlement, but Police *Julum* continued. 15000-20000 refugees were kept in one area. They were paid only Rs. 8-12 as cash dole. There was no arrangement for lavatory. The refugees were also not given paddy at a reduced rate. In all such camp areas, meetings were gradually prohibited. In course of time, conflicts developed between local people and the refugees. Actually the land selected for the refugees (worksite camps) lay in between the Muslim majority villages. The government did not make any attempt for livelihood of the refugees. They did not establish any industry either. They government also did not select land for the rehabilitation of the refugees.^{xxi}

There was another type of worksite camp. It was setup due to lack of space where the refugees had been kept. The refugees were then employed in some projects such as Damodar Valley Corporation. In these cases, the refugees were not kept on the rehabilitation sites. Moreover they were not promised that they would be rehabilitated at the site. In 13 worksite camps the refugees used to cut earth. In these camps the administrators did not maintain any difference between different classes. Only able-bodied, adult refugees got selected.^{xxii}

In the Bardhaman district, the Revolutionary Socialist Party(RSP) worked for a long time. Subhomoy Sur reconstituted the *Bastuhara Adhikar Rakhya Samiti*. On 3rd December 1954 about 14-30 refugees gathered at Bardhaman town from Nilpur and Kanchannagar. 400 people from various colonies joined along with them. The refugees from camps and colonies gathered at the court premises. Their leaders were Subhomoy Sur, Sukumar Roy, Tushar Kanjilal, and Atul Das. The demands of the refugees remained unfulfilled for a long time. They as a result became a bit aggressive. A refugee meeting was held near Palla Camp Number III. On 14th January 1956, the leaders of the camp asked the refugees to remain peaceful and fight unitedly to realize their just demands. They also asked the refugees to remain under the RSP's umbrella. They further asked the refugees not to do the work of earth-cutting. Further they stressed on the fact that, refugees were the responsibility of the government. Therefore from the legal point of view, it was the government's duty to feed them. They placed the idea before the refugees not to touch the spade for livelihood. The government on its part, took a decision to stop the dole in the future. Later, a deputation of the refugees was sent to the District Magistrate. The refugees aimed to make the DM understand that earth-cutting was not a suitable work for the refugees. The leaders told the refugees to organize a large meeting of worksite camps on 17th January 1956 and take an oath not to take spade again for livelihood. The leaders used slogans for not touching the spade for livelihood and asked them to remain firm till death.^{xxiii} The volunteers were organized to communicate the situation to other camps. In the meantime, three leaders from the camp were sent to Meghnad Saha, MP, Ambica Chakraborty, MLA^{xxiv} and Renu Chakraborty, MP.^{xxv} The camp leaders asked these Political Leaders to attend the meeting and inspire the refugees with proper guidance for the future line of action. The refugees collected funds.

During this struggle of the worksite camps, not only the RSP leaders but also local Communist Party of India (CPI) leaders also established contact with the refugees of the worksite camps of Bardhaman district. The CPI leaders assured the refugees and made them hopeful of solving the current riddle. In this respect, the name of Benoy Chaudhuri (CPI) can be mentioned. He assured the refugees that he would take up their issue and would meet the District Magistrate (DM) as early as possible.^{xxvi} On the refugees' part, the plan was to stop the vehicles including trains and launch a *satyagraha* until death. If their demands were not fulfilled by the authorities, then the female refugees of the camps would assemble at night to decide their line of action in the event of arrest of their family guardian. The refugees decided that female refugees would obstruct the vehicles carrying the arrested person by lying down on the roads.^{xxvii} During the struggle at Bardhaman worksite camp, the leader of Bagjola of 24 Paraganas, Hemanta Biswas visited the camps of Bardhaman. He asked the refugees not to do any humiliating work for their livelihood.^{xxviii}

*Amongst the important leaders of Palla and Chachai Camps- Deben Basu, Jyotirmoy Biswas, Gour Biswas (Palla Camp No. I), Ganapati Sarkar, Bioy Majumder, Manoranjan Biswas, Dhiren Das(Palla Camp No. II), Naren Byapari, Dhanya Roy, Hari Bala (Palla Camp No. III), Gyan Mallick, Siddheshwar Halder, Mani Biswas (Palla Camp No. IV), Gurudas Biswas, Piyush Lal Roy, Upendra Malakar, Manikanta Bairagi, Adwaita Sarkar (Chachai Camp No. I), Balai Ram Mandal, Jitendra Mandal, Harish Chandra Bairagi, Sanat Chandra Sammadar (Chachai Camp No. II), Natabar Adhikari, Narahari Sarkar, Jatin Bala, Jadav Sen (Chachai Camp No. III) may be mentioned. Amongst these leaders, Gurudas Biswas held the leading position. He established contact with Pran Krishna Chakraborty, the secretary of UCRC (Calcutta). Thus it is evident that the refugees of the said camps were gradually organizing themselves.^{xxix}

The government rehabilitated 264 refugees during the period 1954-55, 242 refugees during 1955-56, and 210 refugees during 1956-57.^{xxx}

Reasons Behind Bardhaman Camps' Agitation

Joya Chatterji held the view that the refugee campaign was linked with a call for state-driven program to achieve an economic reform and greater equality in West Bengal society. The same sense of inclusiveness can be seen in the demands of the refugees specially for the economic rights such as provisions for the relief and full rehabilitation, entitlement of grants until full rehabilitation in a broader way is provided. In their view, relief had wider connotation than dole. It meant free education for children, free medical care, clothing as well clean sanitation in camps. Rehabilitation meant a brick built *pakka* house for the refugees and regularly paid employment.^{xxxi}

In the camps of Bardhaman, there was no shortage of rebelliousness. In the Gopalpur camp of Bardhaman district, the refugee agitation began in the year 1949. The demands of the inmates were not fulfilled. Further when 1000 refugees were asked to settle in other places, the inmates refused to go to the rehabilitation sites. Their discontent was reflected in the form of looting in the camp employees' kitchen on 24th November 1949. They held the District Relief Officer captive for three days. Consequently the District Magistrate and the Additional Superintendent of Police of Asansol and Deputy Superintendent of Police of *Sadar* had to come to the spot with armed police force. Subsequently the police arrested 9 leaders from the camp. It weakened the momentum of the moment in the camp for some time.^{xxxii}

The Government Policies and Its Aftermath (1954 – 1955)

Here we may discuss the struggle of some camps of Bardhaman district from 1954-57. In this respect one point must be highlighted. In the period from 1950-55, the government had no definite rehabilitation policy. It only focused on the fact that there was no land to accommodate the refugees within West Bengal. The West Bengal government therefore required assistance from the Central government and other state governments for the settlement of East Bengal refugees. From the early 1950s, the government of West Bengal sent the East Bengal refugees to Bihar and Orissa. But even in those states, the question of rehabilitation was not actually put into practice.^{xxxiii}

The East Bengal refugees, who were sent to other states, could not be rehabilitated there. A number of instances may be cited which can prove the cause of their return from those states. In the Charbettiah

camp of Orissa, the government kept the refugees in transit camps for 3 years. Moreover they were mentally and physically tortured. Further, the refugees' cultural identity was not maintained. Bengali was not included even in the school curriculum. Even in some cases, schools were shut down. In Sourashtra, the government sent the women refugees of East Bengal to Permanent Liability Camps. In these camps, they were sexually and physically violated. Some female refugees fled from these camps. Some of them could not be traced at all. West Bengal government was thus forced to bring them back.^{xxxiv}

Struggles at Accommodation Camps in Bardhaman District

West Bengal government was forced to open accommodation camp for deserters from camps and colonies in the Bardhaman district. Ratibati was such a camp. Eventually the deserters from Bihar, Orissa etc, were accommodated in this camp. The refugees of Ratibati camp started demanding cash dole and rehabilitation. Some representatives went to Relief and Rehabilitation Department of the government. The government at that time could not fulfill these demands. It was beyond the capacity of the government to find employment for the able-bodied refugees. Then the refugees decided to take a different path of struggle. In this respect, they received the support from local committee of CPI. Manaranjan Guha Thakurta, a member of the committee, worked amongst the peasants of the Chapui area. He came into direct contact with the refugees.^{xxxv} During this period, the Ratibati camp and Panagarh Airfield accommodation center formed committees to conduct agitation. The hunger strike was a common feature. Another salient feature of the camp was the participation of women.

We can start with the case of Ratibati camp. A committee was formed at the Ratibati camp. The following were the members of the Ratibati committee-

1. President – Satish Chatterjee of Barishal.
2. Gobinda Das of Barishal.
3. Ram Krishna Biswas of Barishal.
4. Narayan Talukdar of Barishal.
5. Bishnu Mali of Barishal.

Aside from Satish Chatterjee who was the president, all the others were members of the committee.^{xxxvi} In the committee, no class distinction was maintained.

In the Panagarh Airfield Accommodation Center, the committee was formed with the following members-

1. Sasadhar Halder (Panagarh camp)- president.
2. Jadav Halder (Panagarh camp) – member.
3. Haripada Dhar (Panagarh camp) - member.
4. Anil Mukherjee (Gopalpur) – member.
5. Manindra Adhikari (Gopalpur)- member.
6. Bireswas Naha (Panagarh)- member.
7. Sudesh Roy (Panagarh)- member.
8. Haripada Bardhan (Panagarh)- member.^{xxxvii}

In this committee as well, no class difference was found.

In the Ratibati camp, the committee members decided upon a plan to stage a hunger strike. From the time of this hunger strike, the participation of women was noticed. The first hunger strike took place on 26th April 1954. The strike received huge press publicity. On 10th May 1954, the camp committee organized a procession of 1000 refugees to go to the bungalow of the Sub Divisional Officer at Asansol to place their demands. The SDO assured them. During the time of hunger strike, the condition of some of the strikers deteriorated. The SDO and the Superintendent of Police, went to the camp and asked the hunger strikers to withdraw the strike. They assured the refugees that the refugees under the camp super can go to the Relief Commissioner at Calcutta in order to place their grievances and get redressal. But the refugees were not ready to succumb. In course of time, the condition of another striker became critical. But the administration failed to move the striker to the hospital at Asansol. The refugees including womenfolk were ready to resist any action on the part of the Police to remove the strikers. At the end of 1954, the

hunger strikers withdrew the strike.^{xxxviii} In fact, the refugees were struggling for their economic rights. The struggle continued way into the 1950s but it lacked proper coordination.

Refugee Women and the Camps of Bardhaman

During the time of hunger strike, the participation of women became visible. The committee of Ratibati camp selected Shumali Mali, the wife of Bishnu Mali, Shishubala Das, widow of Gobinda Das to take part in the strike.^{xxxix}

Agitation once again started in the Gopalpur camp on 4th May 1957. The camp inmates formed processions, organized meeting and hoisted black flag. They wanted to start a direct action. but this time their agitation failed. The struggle then morphed into a hunger strike from 12th May to 18th May 1957. The committee formed with the members of Panagarh and Gopalpur camps, conducted the strike.^{xl} Thus another feature of the struggle came into the forefront. The modus-operandi was hunger strike. Women also participated in the Panagarh hunger strike. For instance Sukhuda Bala took part in the hunger strike.^{xli} Even minor children participated in the Panagarh camp's struggle. Alladini Majumder also participated in the Gopalpur hunger strike. She was subsequently arrested along with the male refugees. Some female refugees such as Sobharani Das and Nirmala Bardhan, became injured during the refugee –Police skirmish.^{xlii} Binodini Halder was a resident of Asansol camp. According to her, women refugees were politically conscious. They participated in meetings and processions.^{xliii}

The Ex- Minister of Pakistan, Jogendranath Mandal, conducted 'propaganda' amongst the refugees in February 1958. He decided to form a voluntary group. He decided to choose captains from the voluntary group. Amiya Narayan Prachanda appealed to Mandal to select his wife Sushila Bala to lead the women volunteers. Bala was an educated and liberal minded woman. Mandal accepted his request.^{xliv} Some women participated in the refugee *satyagraha* that had taken place in Bardhaman district (March- April 1958). They did so without the permission of their husbands.^{xlv}

In the year 1952, the secretary of the conference, convened by SBBS, invited the Ex-Minister of Pakistan, Jogendranath Mandal to the conference at Bagjola camp. Mandal appeared before the public after a long time. His speech made the public warm up to him. He and Hemanta Biswas worked together in Bardhaman district for a while. A meeting was organized on 23rd February 1958, at Maheshdanga camp of Bardhaman. Mandal, Biswas, Madhab Bhattacharya, and Bisnupada Dyne (Chachai Camp), spoke in this meeting. Members from worksite camps like Chachai and Bagjola, participated in another meeting, held in February 1958, at Chachai camp.^{xlvi}

Mandal worked with the *Sara Bangla Bastuara Sanmelan* till mid-1958. Afterward he formed a separate organization of his own.^{xlvii} His organization came to be known as East India Refugee Council. N.C Chatterjee became the president. Mandal was selected as the working president.^{xlviii}

Jogendranath Mandal kept his hold over the camps of Bardhaman district. The second yearly conference of the EIRC was held on 16th May 1960 at Palla camp. Palla and Chachai regional committee made arrangements for a convention for two days. A large number of representatives from the camps participated in this convention. Mandal presided over this convention.^{xlix}

The Government and Rehabilitation (1954 – 1950)

During the years 1954-55, the government rehabilitated 264 families in Bardhaman district. During 1955-56 – 242 families were rehabilitated by the government. During 1956-57, they rehabilitated 210 families. The following number of refugees was there in the camps of Bardhaman district in 1960-

1. Panagarh Airfield Camp –1256 people
2. Dhatrigram – 1861 people
3. Palla Camp Number I – 1760 people
4. Palla Camp Number II – 1698 people
5. Palla Camp Number III – 1116 people
6. Palla Camp Number IV – 1015 people
7. Chachai Camp Number I – 1328 people

8. Chachai Camp Number II – 997 people
9. Chachai Camp Number III – 1185 people
10. Maheshdanga Camp Number I – 1179 people
11. Maheshdanga Camp Number II – 970 people
12. Maheshdanga Camp Number III – 1216 people
13. Maheshdanga Camp Number IV – 1238 people
14. Maheshdanga Camp Number V – 786 people
15. Gopalpur – 1572 people
16. Panagarh Airfield – 1021 people
17. Ratibati – 930 people.¹

Satyagraha in Bardhaman District (1958 – 1959)

Two refugee organizations operated in West Bengal in the early 1950s - CPI dominated UCRCⁱ and PSP's refugee wing SBBSⁱⁱ. Throughout 1950s, the refugee organizations agitated for the interests of the refugees. The organizations agitated for regularization of squatters' colonies, industrialization of government sponsored colonies and the regularization of exchange property. Thus it is evident from 1954-58, SBBS involved itself with various problems of all types of refugees.

In 1948, the government took the policy of dispersal with a modest scheme. It was a brain-child of Dr B C Roy. The policy was to settle a few hundred refugee families across the Bay of Bengal in Andaman Islands.ⁱⁱⁱ The government took up to build a well- conceived plan of dispersal in 1956. According to Gyanesh Kudaisya the genesis of this plan lay in the ministers' conference where it was decided refugees would get state help and relief only if they accepted rehabilitation outside West Bengal. The year was 1956.^{iv} Towards the end of 1957, the government selected hundred families from Basudevpur and Shiromonipur of Bisnupur (Bankura) for dispersal to Rajasthan. The refugees started a *satyagraha* at Bisnupur camp against this dispersal policy. It gradually morphed into an anti-Dandakaranya struggle. SBBS began the struggle. The *satyagraha* movement continued from 17th March and continued till April 1958. SBBS struggled in Calcutta. It also conducted struggles in the districts and at sub-divisional level. In the Bardhaman district, the Police *lathi*-charged the *satyagrahis*. A large number of the *satyagrahis* courted arrest on 24 March 1958. Gradually the movement transcended the limit of peaceful *satyagraha*. Lawyers and some other people became injured. On the same day, as a protest, a meeting was held at Town Hall Maidan in Bardhaman. Subiman Ghosh MP of Forward Block (Marxist) presided over this meeting. There was another similar meeting. Nearly a thousand were present in this meeting. Naren Chaudhuri (Jana Sangha), Pradip Ghosh (CPI), Subimoy Sur (RSP), Shibesh Ta were also present. Shibnath Banerjee (PSP) presided over this meeting.^{lv} Banerjee urged the refugees to remain peaceful and come to the courtroom on 25th March 1958. Further, he asked the refugees to carry on the movement with greater momentum and join the demonstration at Calcutta on 26th and 27th March 1958.^{lvi} The *satyagraha* movement continued even in 1959. Another *satyagraha* was held on 16th January 1959 in Asansol. The Police arrested two male and seven refugees on the day at Asansol court. A few under-aged boys were allowed to stay with their mother as they were with their mothers at the time of their mothers' arrest. About one fifty female refugees of Bogra camp came to see off the *satyagrahis*.^{lvii} Renu Chakraborty (MP of CPI) went to Asansol to meet the refugees and the people who were in the procession. She held a short meeting to encourage them to continue the movement.^{lviii}

Hunger-Strike in the Camp of Bardhaman (1960)

In the Shibtala camp ,Gopalpur, Bardhaman, 3 inmates became engaged in fasting till death from 23rd February 1960. Gradually their condition became critical. On 3rd March, 3 members of legislative Assembly of West Bengal, met the CM and discussed the overall condition of the camp inmates. During this time of discussion with CM, some camp representatives were also invited to participate. Moreover it was decided that the actual decision would be taken only after the arrival of this group of representatives to Calcutta. Amongst the members of the Legislative Assembly, Binoy Chaudhuri (MLA), Surhid Mallick

Chaudhuri(MLA) and Samar Mukherjee (MLA), met the CM. The camps of Bardhaman organized meetings and processions in support of the demands put by the hunger strikers.^{lix} In the Bardhaman district, the *Satyagraha* of 1958 did not solve the problems of the refugees. The following year (1959), Bardhaman witnessed another *Satyagraha* of the refugees. There remained a large number of refugees in the camps of Bardhaman despite the *Satyagraha*. In 1960, the refugees of the camps of Bardhaman commenced another struggle.

By Way of Conclusion

Numerous developments took place in Bardhaman district from the early days after partition. In this district, the refugees in reply of an advertisement in the Daily *Jungantar*, went to Bardhaman district, seeking an exchange of property. In this respect, purchase of property also took place. During the years 1948-1960, several new developments took place. In the early days, the political parties held meetings and conventions in Bardhaman district (Kalna Sub-division and Jaturiya area). During the years 1952-57, the government established worksite camps and accommodation camp in Bardhaman district. In this article, agitation and demands of the refugees of this type of camps have been discussed. Moreover the author has highlighted three salient features that were noticeable in the accommodation camp. All these factors ultimately made the refugees struggles of these camps of Bardhaman distinct from other areas.

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^{xv} *Jugantar* Dated 15th August 1947.

^{xvi} *Jugantar* Dated 3rd January 1948.

^{xvii} *Ananda Bazaar Patrika* Dated 5th September 1950.

^{xviii} *Swadhinata* Dated 11th January 1955.

^{xix} Census of 1951-1971, cited by Monika Mandal, *Settling the Unsettled, A Study of Partition Refugees in West Bengal*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2011, p.127.

^{xx} Report on Relief and Rehabilitation Department.

^{xxi} West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Dated 10th June 1958, p.332.

^{xxii} WBLAP, Vol. XV, No. 2, Dated 3rd July-30th August 1956.

^{xxiii} WBSA, IB File.

^{xxiv} WBSA , IB File No - 165/1924.

^{xxv} WBSA, IB File No - 397/1939.

^{xxvi} WBSA, IB File No - 666/1933.

^{xxvii} WBSA, IB File.

^{xxviii} WBSA, IB File No - 353/1924.

^{xxix} WBSA, IB File No - 1483/1932. See also, WBSA, IB File No - 666/1933.

^{xxx} WBLAP, Vol. XXVII, No.1, Dated November- December 1960.

^{xxxi} Joya Chatterji, “Right or Charity”, pp.74-110. See also Joya Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, p.292.

^{xxxii} WBSA, IB File 1483/1932.

^{xxxiii} Swati Sengupta Chatterjee, *West Bengal Camp Refugees*, p.123.

^{xxxiv} WBLAP, Vol. XX, No. I, 1958, p.312.

^{xxxv} WBSA, IB File.

^{xxxvi} WBSA, IB File No. 666/1933.

^{xxxvii} WBSA, IB File No- 1483/1932.

^{xxxviii} WBSA, IB File No-666/1933.

^{xxxix} *Ibid.*

^{xl} WBSA, IB File No- 1483/1932.

^{xli} *Ibid.*

^{xlii} *Ibid.*

^{xliii} Subhasri Ghose and Debjani Dutta, “Forgotten Voices in PL Camp”, in Jasodhara Bagchi and Subhoranjan Dasgupta (eds.), *Trauma and The Triumph*, p.199.

^{xliiv} WBSA, IB File - 96/1950.

^{xliiv} WBSA, IB File No - 353/1924.

^{xlivi} WBSA, IB File No - 96/1950.

^{xlvii} WBSA, IB File No – 64/1930.

^{xlviii} Jagdish Mandal, *Mahapran Jogendranth*, Kolkata: Mahapran Publishers, 2003, pp.54-55.

^{xlix} *Ananda Bazaar* Dated 18th May 1960.

^l WBLAP, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, November – December 1960.

^{li} WBSA, IB File No – 165/1924.

^{lii} WBSA, IB File No – 96/1950.

^{liii} Joya Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, p.134.

^{liv} Gyanesh Kudaisya, "Divided Landscape and Fragmented Identity" in T Y Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya (eds.), *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, London New York: Routledge, 2000, p.150.

^{lv} WBSA, IB File No – 32/1928.

^{lvi} WBSA, IB File No – 820/1946.

^{lvii} Swati Sengupta Chatterjee, *West Bengal Camp Refugees*, p.194.

^{lviii} WBSA, IB File No – 397/1939.

^{lix} *Jugantar*, Dated 5th March 1960.