Chapter – III

Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons

The contents of this chapter narrates the consequential effects, posed by the partition of India on general public, agriculture, industry, society, education, moveable and immovable property, recovery of abducted women and exchange of prisoners, mental patients apart from the Muslim and non-Muslim population of both the countries. The first part highlights Indo-Pak agreements on evacuee property. The second part onwards elaborates the disruption of agricultural economy of East and West Punjab, also it discusses about the rehabilitation of rural and urban areas, allotment of houses, allotment of agricultural cultivable land according to its fertility to different classes under various schemes. It also discusses the allotment of factories and business sites, shops, continuations of academic education, professional education, certificates of education issues from either side of East and West Punjab, providing jobs and the end of this chapter deals with the recovery of abducted women, prisoners and mental patients.

The passing of the Indian Independence Act (1947) was an epoch making event in the history of India. While the status of an independent nation was accorded to India, it marked an end of three and a half centuries of foreign monopoly on Indian trade besides ending otherwise two centuries of British political power.\(^1\) The declaration of independence brought in its wake transformation in the character of the state ‘from colonial to sovereign’ by inducing a new equation of political and economic power.

Nevertheless, it put simultaneously enormous strains on the polity and the economy of the new ‘nation state’ which became all the more visible when the euphoria of freedom petered out. The happiness of independence was marred by the great division of the country into two parts – ‘India’ and ‘Pakistan’ and the agony caused by it. Punjab had to pay the price of independence in the form of

\(^1\) Section 8(2)(c) of the Indian Independence Act vested the power to act as dominion legislatures in the Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan and authorized them to exercise all powers formerly exercised by the central legislature. N.V. Paranjpe, Indian Legal and Constitutional History, Central Law Agency, Allahabad, 2005, p.373.
partition. It marked the logical culmination of the attempt of the political leadership to pacify ‘the ghosts of communalism’.2

According to official Indian sources, Non-Muslim evacuees vacated 6,729,000 acres of land in West Punjab, alone, wherein 4,307,000 was canal irrigated; and the other land was relinquished by non-Muslims in Sindh, N.W.F.P., Bahawalpur, Baluchistan, and Khairpur. Muslim evacuees from East Punjab and the states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and Kapurthala in India, abandoned 4,735,000 acres of land out of which 1,326,000 acres was under irrigation.3

Indian sources estimated the total value of the left out property by Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan at $8 billion and that of Muslim evacuees property in India at $800 million.4

SECTION - I

At the outset, determined efforts had been made by India and Pakistan to deal with the settlement of the property interests of the refugees in a concerted way. A special meeting of the Joint Defence Council of India and Pakistan, held at Lahore on August 29, 1947, under the chairmanship of Mountbatten, and participated by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.5

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4 Concerning Evacuee Property, Issued by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1950, p.6. Pakistan sources emphatically discount the validity of these figures which are based on property claims filed by Hindu and Sikh refugees and stress that these claims have been described by the Indian Minister of rehabilitation, Mohanlal Saksena, himself as, not worth the paper on which the claims were written. The Hindustan Times, February 10, 1950.
Five days later, i.e., on September 3, 1947, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India issued a joint statement to the people of East and West Punjab, that illegal seizure of property will not be recognized and government will appoint a custodian of evacuee property. At this early stage of the chaotic two-way flight, while it was still regarded as a temporary phenomenon, unconditional and automatic restoration of property to returning evacuees-owners was the central idea agreed upon.

The West Punjab Government issued an Ordinance on September 9, 1947, “to provide an economic rehabilitation” in the province. By this ordinance, the Rehabilitation Commissioner was empowered to “assume possession and control of abandoned lands, business and undertakings; grant temporary leases of abandoned agricultural holdings of the refugees for a term not exceeding one year; permit the occupation of land, abandoned buildings by refugees or other persons”. The Rehabilitation Commissioner could also assume possession or control of any property under the control of the custodian of Evacuee Property. By this ordinance, the Rehabilitation Commissioner could take over non-Muslim property, factories or business concerns in any part of Western Pakistan, even if the owner was staying there and factory or business concern had stopped functioning temporarily or permanently, either due to non-availability of workmen, raw materials or some other reason. It is alleged that the non-Muslim property was openly seized under this ordinance in Pakistan. The Government of India was not even informed about it and this fact came to the light after a long time. The Government of India charged the Pakistan Government the

6 Concerning Evacuee Property, op. cit., p.9.
7 Rehabilitation is the process of reinstating or reestablishing one in the esteem of others. U. Bhaskar Rao, The Story of Rehabilitation, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 1967, p.48.
8 Ibid., p.7.
violation in letter and spirit of the joint statement made on August 29, 1947.9

The matter was taken up at the Inter-Dominion Secretariat level conference held at New Delhi on December 18-20, 1947. The Pakistan representatives suggested that the Indian Government may take similar action with regard to evacuee property.10 The property left by the non-Muslims in West Pakistan was many times more than that of the Muslims in the East Punjab. The Government of Pakistan was fully aware that even if the Government of India took similar action, the net loss would be that of India.

The Conference appointed a committee to investigate the matter and suggest a solution. The Joint Official Committee which met at Lahore on March 22, took stock of the changed situation and proposed that both Dominions could acquire agricultural property on payment of a fair value. A Joint Valuation Board was set up to assess the ‘fair value’.11 The two dominion governments were to set up a Joint Governments Agency to arrange sale or exchange of the evacuee property. The provincial governments were empowered to requisition such property on payment of fair compensation. The Joint Urban Assessment Board was to prescribe the basis for assessing the lease money, prepare a list and give particulars of evacuee urban immovable property and assess the lease money. Accounts of lease money collected by each Dominion were to be exchanged semi-annually so that the rents received could be paid to the evacuees. The governing principle adopted by the official committee was thus to ensure the receipts of rents by evacuee owners who had migrated to the other Dominion, exchange of agricultural property at governmental level, and full facilities for the

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9 In which it was stated that illegal seizure of evacuee property will not be recognised. Ibid.
10 But Pakistan ‘comments’ deny emphatically that such a suggestion was ever made. Ibid., p.11.
11 Fair values was to be determined according to the average of prices prevailing for similar land between June 1927 and June 1947. Ibid.
liquidation of urban immovable property by private efforts at reasonable prices with government assistance.\(^\text{12}\)

The Provincial Governments were responsible for taking all the steps to ensure safety to the evacuee owners and their agents engaged in managing, disposing of and removing their movables. Transport facilities were also provided. Certain special categories of movable properties were given special treatment. Reasonable exchange facilities were given for remittances representing sale proceeds of the evacuee property sold, while customs, export and import controls were relaxed. An Inter-Dominion Commission consisting of Secretaries of the Governments of the two Dominions was set up to supervise and review the working of the agreed arrangements, and an Inter-Dominion Refugees and Evacuees Council was established at ministerial level to resolve matters on which the Inter-Dominion Commission could not reach at an agreement. This scheme worked out by the Joint Official Committee at Lahore was endorsed by the Government of India. The Pakistan Government, however, took a dilatory position, neither rejecting nor accepting the draft prepared with the cooperation of its official representatives. From the outset, the main point of discord has concerned with the method of settling the evacuee property claims. The Indian Government has taken the view that under the existing circumstances ‘the only reasonable solution seemed to be an exchange of evacuee property at Government level’…. Each dominion should assume responsibility for the total value of the evacuee property left behind in its territories, the debtor Dominion paying the difference in value to the creditor Dominion.\(^{13}\) Pakistan held that the evacuee shall have the fullest freedom in disposing of their own properties without any Governmental intervention and the Indian proposal of a Government to Government settlement virtually amounted to extinguishing the proprietary rights of the people

\(^{12}\) Ibid.
\(^{13}\) Ibid.
involved. Wherever it was attempted to leave the disposal of abandoned property to individual transferees, or to compensate them individually, on the basis of evaluation of their particular property by a joint commission representing both the countries the efforts invariably failed. The procedure for such evolution proved to be exceedingly lengthy, highly complicated and controversial.

The Third Inter-Dominion Conference met on July 22, 1948 in Lahore, but it could not come to an agreement. The Government of India alleged that “the Pakistan Government wanted to dodge and not to face the issues squarely”. No agreement could be reached regarding agricultural and urban property. Even for movable evacuee property in the West Punjab, the Government started a drive to seize all of it on one pretext or the other.

From the evidence contained in the official minutes of the Fourth Inter-Dominion Conference which took place in New Delhi on December 6-14, 1948, it appeared that very few of the Lahore Conference (which met on March 22, 1948) decisions were implemented during the six months period elapsed between the two conferences. The exchange of agricultural record was not completed. While considerable progress had been made in the preparation and exchange of revenue records of West Punjab and East Punjab, the records for other areas both in Pakistan and India were being prepared but not yet exchanged. The Joint Assessment Board which was to have prepared complete lists of urban property owners, the rents due for their property, and their assessed values. But it did not complete the list of the said properties.

The Fifth Inter-Dominion Conference held at Karachi on January 10, 1949 and at Delhi in April, 1949, took the decisions

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14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., p.21, The Second Inter-Dominion Conference was held on April 15-18, 1948, but problem of the Punjab was discussed only in the Third Inter-Dominion Conference.
16 Ibid., pp.22-26.
17 Ibid.
regarding agricultural, urban and movable property.\textsuperscript{18} They agreed to exchange copies of revenue records and existing records bearing land prices. It was decided that the evacuee owner would have the right to transfer his property by sale, exchange or otherwise subject to such right as may have been acquired by the provincial or the dominion government as the case may be. Both the Governments agreed to manage through a custodian such evacuee urban immovable property which had not been acquired or requisitioned by it.

The evacuee owner was also given the right to apply for the restoration of his movable property, sell or dispose it off himself or through his agent; and was given facilities to inspect his movables held with the custodian. The Government concerned was to be responsible for taking all necessary steps to ensure the safety of the evacuee owners and their agents engaged in managing, disposing off or removing their movables. In addition, they were to be given all possible transport facilities. It was also agreed that a Joint Committee be set up for the exchange of revenue and other records and to receive complaints and arrange for the redress of such grievances brought to their notice. The Committee was to pay special attention to the facilities regarding the disposal, recovery, restoration and movements of goods pledged with the banks, and goods lying at railway stations, docks and parcels, and underlined money orders or unremitted at the post offices.\textsuperscript{19}

In this Conference the representatives of India suggested that as far as abandoned property on their side of the frontier was concerned, should cover the whole of India. The Pakistan representatives refused to accept this proposal. Their view was that on each side the areas should be confined to only where there had been a substantial movement of the minority population. They accordingly demanded that the areas in India falling under the

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}
evacuee property regulations be confined to East Punjab, East Punjab States, the States of Bharatpur, Alwar, Bikaner, etc. and four districts of United Provinces. The Pakistan Government claimed that an agreement to this effect had been reached at the Karachi Conference and that, “as there had been no substantial movement of the Muslim population from any other area in India, no other area was included”.21

The Indian Government categorically objected to this interpretation and expanded the application of evacuee property regulations to the whole India, with the exception of West Bengal, Assam, Cooch Bihar, Tripura and Manipur.

In order to settle the differences of opinion, high-level Inter-Dominion talks were held at Karachi in the last week of June 1949. The talks ended without agreement and led to an angry exchange of mutual accusations by Pakistan and Indian statesmen.22

N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who led the Indian delegation to the Conference, accused Pakistan of deliberately sabotaging any agreement on evacuee property.

*My own feeling is that Pakistan was not prepared to come to any agreement with us and they took advantage of the synchronization of the publication or our ordinance and laws with the date of the conference for the purpose of finding a plausible excuse for putting off settlement of the two issues.*23

The Indian Government communiqué on this evacuees conference stressed that the general trend of non-official comment on the Conference was severely critical of what was described as the Government of India’s indulgence policy towards Pakistan. The leaders of displaced persons stated that – law or no law – the

20 The princely states of Jind, Patiala, Nabha along with the states of Faridkot, Kapurthala and Nalagarh were made into one unit with the nomenclature of Patiala and East Punjab States Union in 1948. *The Tribune*, April 27, 2008; See also, Gursharan Singh, *History of PEPSU (1948-56)*, Konark, Delhi, 1991, pp.55-56.
Pakistan Government was determined to take over and was in actual practice taking over all non-Muslim property in Pakistan. It was, therefore, stressed that the Government of India should also make its evacuee property law strict.\textsuperscript{24}

The Government of India issued an Ordinance on June 13, 1949, which prohibited transfer of ownership of some urban immovable evacuee property and this was followed by a Pakistan Ordinance on July 26, 1949, on similar lines. A new Central Evacuee Property Ordinance was issued by the Pakistan Government on October 15, 1949, wherein the provisions of the Ordinance were made stricter –

\textit{“any person can become evacuee from Pakistan, even though he continues to live there and has never left the country, so long as his distant relative has gone to India. There was no provision for appeal to any court. It was no longer obligatory on the custodian to notify the property he has taken over....”}

Moreover, under the Ordinance the property was supposed to be vested with the custodian from March 1, 1947, about six months prior to the partition of the country.\textsuperscript{25}

The Indian Ordinance of October 18, gives a conservative definition of the term ‘evacuee’. It provides that a person shall be declared evacuee only if he has personally acquired the property, by way of allotment or by illegal means, by any right, by interest, or benefit from evacuee property in Pakistan. The property of a person (of Muslim faith) whose heirs have moved to Pakistan while he himself remained in India is not being considered an evacuee property. In case of business partnerships, if a partner of a Muslim firm in India has gone to Pakistan, only the share of that partner is declared as evacuee property; and even that may be handed over to the partner remained in India for the purpose of management.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{25} Satya M. Rai, Punjab since Partition, \textit{op. cit.}, p.129.
Responsibility for discovering evacuee property rests with the custodian of evacuee property.\textsuperscript{26} The custodian must serve notice on the party concerned, who has the right to defend his case and can appeal to a District Judge in some cases to the High Court. The custodian is obliged to publish lists of all evacuee property taken over by him. The validity of October 18 Ordinance was due to expire in April 1950.

On February 16, 1950, the Indian Government introduced in the Parliament a draft bill of ‘The Administration of Evacuee Property Act’ to replace the expiring Ordinance.\textsuperscript{27}

The new bill applies to all states of the Dominion of India except Assam and West Bengal. It defines evacuee “a person who left India on account of civil disturbances on or after March 1, 1947; or who is now resident of Pakistan; or who after August 14, 1947 acquired by allotment or by unlawful occupation any property treated as evacuee property in Pakistan”. The bill provides provision to serve notice to persons concerned without holding preliminary enquiries.

Although the problem of immovable property could not be solved, agreements regarding movable property were more or less implemented. In fact, almost the entire immovable property abandoned by evacuees on both sides of the India-Pakistan frontier had been virtually disposed off by the respective Governments. Millions of in-coming refugees, destitute and homeless, for whom there was no other accommodation, were settled on the vacant land and premises. There was no other option open to both Indian and Pakistan authorities.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Joseph B. Schechtman, Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan, \textit{op. cit.}, p.49.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
SECTION – II

The land resettlement operations in the East Punjab can be divided into two parts: (a) Rural, (b) Urban. The urban rehabilitation programme was directly administered by the Central Government with active co-operation of various State Governments. The Punjab Government was also directed by the Government of India to chalk out various schemes for urban rehabilitation. But in case of rural rehabilitation, all powers were delegated to the Government of East Punjab, which was authorized to work out details for the evacuees.29

The Government established a Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jalandhar for rural and urban resettlement in the East Punjab.30 At one stage as many as 8,000 Patwaris worked at Jalandhar. It was a gigantic operation in which the governor, ministers, financial commissioners, two directors general of rural rehabilitation, a large number of experienced revenue officers designated as additional deputy commissioners, revenue assistants rehabilitation, Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars participated.31

To facilitate the work rapidly an Emergency Committee was constituted which took policy decisions on major problems and the progress of the work was reviewed.32 Ajit Prashad Jain, Minister for Rehabilitation, Government of India provided liberal financial assistance to the land allottees. Tarlok Singh was the Director General from September 1947 to December 1948, later on M.S. Randhawa ‘Rehabilitation Commissioner of Punjab’ took over as Director General in January 1948. He re-organized the staff and

29 Of the total number of non-Muslims arriving from the West Punjab 29,50,000 were of rural and 10,90,000 of urban origin. Against these the number of refugees from the East Punjab gone to the West Punjab consisted of 34,50,000 Muslims from the rural areas and 9,00,000 were from the urban area. Millions on the Move: The Aftermath of Partition, Delhi, n.d., p.25.
32 It was mainly on account of guidance and supervision of the emergency committee that the work of rural rehabilitation progressed smoothly.
implemented the complicated schemes of allotment of land in rural and urban areas.\footnote{P.N. Thapar appointed as Financial Commissioner Rehabilitation, \textit{Official Documents}, Rehabilitation Department, East Punjab Government.}

By the end of September 1947, the PEPSU Government announced that the displaced persons from the tehsils of Shahdara and Nankana Sahib in Sheikhupura, Gujranwala district, and those of Pasrur and Daska in Sailkot district would be assisted in settling of the evacuee land. The PEPSU Government in order to settle the displaced persons,\footnote{“Displaced Persons” here means any person, who on account of the Dominions of India and Pakistan or on account of civil disturbances in any area now forming part of Pakistan, has been displaced from, or has left, his place of residence in such an area after the 1st day of March, 1947 and who has subsequently residing in India. \textit{The Displaced Persons Legal Proceeding (No. XXV of 1949) and Displaced Persons Institutions of Suits Act, 1950}.} set up the Relief and Rehabilitating Secretariat in Patiala in 1948. Two separate directors, one each for the rural and urban rehabilitation, were established.\footnote{Patiala and East Punjab States Union Since Inauguration, a publication of Director of Information and Public Relations, PEPSU Government, Patiala, 1951, pp.5, 13-14.} In all the districts, Assistant Directors and Assistant Commissioners of Rehabilitation were appointed. They had under them a team of experienced subordinates including Patwaris.\footnote{Mohan Singh, \textit{The Report on the Working of Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, Patiala}, 1948, p.9.}

In a Press Note issued on the February 7, 1948 with the concurrence of the East Punjab States and the Government of India, the East Punjab Government announced its intention to invite claims to land abandoned by displaced persons. \textit{The East Punjab refugee (Registration of Land claims) Ordinance 1948} was promulgated and corresponding legislation was introduced by the states of Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot.\footnote{Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Notification Dated July 23, 1949, Rehabilitation Department, Patiala; See also, Tarlok Singh, \textit{Land Resettlement Manual}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.8.}

Arrangements for registration of claims were made at the tehsils and sub-tehsils offices. The period for receiving these claims was from the March 10 to the April 10, 1948. In all 5,17,401 persons
filed claims of the land at all centres. These claims were then collected at the Jalandhar Secretariat for analysis and tabulation. The verification was carried out from August 17 up to the end of October, 1948. Centres were allocated at which the claims of individual villages of western Pakistan were verified. A form known as the *Parcha Tasdiq* was devised for recording the results of verification. Verifying officers were directed to read out to persons from any West Punjab village which was under verification the names of claimants. They also asked *Lambardars* and other prominent persons present if they could give information concerning the area, the kind of soil or the nature of rights held by each individual in their village. After clearing possible discrepancies, the verifying officers were to record in the *Parcha Tasdiq* their conclusions about the area, the kind of soil and the nature of rights possessed by each claimant.

In July, however, discussions had taken place between the East Punjab and West Punjab Governments on the exchange of revenue records. It was decided that each government would prepare copies for the use of the other. The Governments of East Punjab and PEPSU, on one side, and the Government of West Punjab on the other agreed to exchange the copies of *Jamabandi* of all evacuee villages of either side. This proved to be a very useful agreement, since the arrival of records gave a firm basis for land allotment work.

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38 As a rule, a village was named against particular centre if the largest number of claims of that village had been registered there. Brochures setting out the verification programmes in detail from the aspect of West Punjab district as well as that of individual districts in East Punjab and East Punjab States were published. For the first time an attempt was made to draw up lists of villages abandoned in Pakistan without knowledge of *hadbast* numbers following in many instances wrong names given by applicants, the lists contained errors, but these were gradually reduced. M.S. Randhawa, Out of Ashes, *op. cit.*, p.72; See also, *The Statesman*, July 25, 1950.


After verification, the claims were again collected at the Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jalandhar. The claims were sorted, categorized, and tabulated so as to give an idea of the requirements for various groups of landholders.

The scheme of temporary allotment of evacuee land was conceived in the September, 1947. It was decided to settle the agricultural displaced persons arriving in India in evacuee villages, where the land and the houses were available as have been vacated by the Muslims.

The temporary allotments of evacuee land were, as a rule, prepared to be given to groups of families rather than the individuals. In the early phase of migration, friends and relatives, because of insecurity and uncertainty about the future, collected together and formed small groups. Government also found it easier to deal with these groups rather than dealing with individuals or single families. Each group selected an intelligent and influential person as their spokesman, who was called the group leader. It was through him that the Patwari of the village or the Halqa revenue officer dealt with that group. Unless the evacuee area of a village was very small, it was rarely that the whole village formed one group because the strength of groups generally did not exceed twenty families. Larger villages contained three to four or even more groups. At the time of the quasi-permanent allotment, a very large number of these temporary allottees were confirmed in the same villages of their temporary allotment, and thus homogeneity was achieved in the rural resettlement.

The Director General of Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab viewed that the group scheme described above was considered to be an expedient to achieve the following objectives:

1. To ensure quick distribution of land.
2. To avoid individuals to claim a specific piece of land.

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41 Concerning Evacuee Property, op. cit., p.9.
42 M.S. Randhawa, Out of Ashes, op. cit., p.95.
3. To enable evacuees from particular villages to live together for security reasons.
4. To enable peasants to pool their resources as far as possible for sowing the *Rabi* and to share the standing *Kharif* crops equally.\(^{43}\)

The main principle of allotment to groups was made by East Punjab Government on August 15, for the current *Kharif* and for *Rabi* 1947-48, as under:\(^{44}\)

1. All agricultural evacuees who had either owned land or held land by virtue of grant, purchase and had been cultivating as tenants in West Punjab were eligible for the allotment of land. Thus, non-cultivating owners could also receive land through allotment.
2. A unit of allotment was fixed for each district or part thereof. A work unit was defined as the area of land which, in given conditions, could be cultivated by a worker assisted by a family of average size.
3. The total area to be allotted to a group would be based on the number of families forming the group, so that there would be a unit for each family to work upon. In case of variations in the number of workers in different families, it was indicated that where, for instance, the unit was 10 acres, additional 3 acres of land could be allowed for every married male adult worker and 2 acres for every unmarried male adult worker. No addition was to be allowed if the number of adult workers in a family was two or less. Additions were restricted to the third, fourth and fifth worker and no additional allotment was

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\(^{43}\) The allottees were obliged to cultivate jointly the area allotted to a group. If a particular allottee at any stage wanted to cultivate his share separately, he was at liberty to have it demarcated. Om Parkash, Social and Economic Survey of Refugee Camps in East Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.41.

\(^{44}\) As soon as people had gone to the land, there would be opportunities for rationalising the groups. The principle of group allotment was specially excluded in dealing with orchards, vegetable gardens and cultivated land in urban areas. Tarlok Singh, Land Resettlement Manual, *op. cit.*, p.3-4.
allowed if the number of adult workers exceeded five. Additional allotments could be given only to actual cultivators and not to uncultivating families.

4. Within the frame work of group allotment, each family would be responsible for the cultivation of a definite piece of land. It was suggested that a *panchayat* representing the members of the group should divide the area allotted into the appropriate number of units, so that each family could get equal share of the productive and less productive land.

5. Allotment was subjected to the payment of land revenue cases and water-rates and of rent due to the evacuee owners.

To start cultivation, refugee peasants were advanced loans for purchasing bullock carts, repairing wells, purchasing seeds and repairing their dilapidated houses. During two years – September 1947 to September 1949 – the following assistance by the way of loans and grants was afforded in East Punjab to displaced persons in rural areas.45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of Loan Grant</th>
<th>Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taccavi for seeds</td>
<td>55,71,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taccavi for bullocks</td>
<td>55,77,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taccavi for implements</td>
<td>9,61,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan for repair of houses</td>
<td>97,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan for repair of wells</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan for rural artisan and village servants</td>
<td>5,66,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food loan</td>
<td>79,55,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants for repair of houses</td>
<td>3,25,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants for repaid of wells</td>
<td>1,73,328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The idea of group allotment or equal distribution, “frightened many people”, some of them thought it to be a collective

The rich peasants and landlords felt that they were being deprived of their legitimate rights. They however admitted that exigencies of the time demanded quick distribution; but soon the urge for a permanent settlement based on rights held by individuals in Pakistan started gaining ground in these circles. The temporary allotment benefited the landless agricultural labourers from West Pakistan who were allotted some land till such a time that administrative steps to introduce quasi permanent allotment system was taken.47

From November, 1947 members of the Provincial Relief and Rehabilitation Board began to urge the Government for the necessity of early settlement on land on a permanent basis. The fact that the ownership of land continued to vest both in East and West Punjab in the evacuee owners and no records available were conceded, but the pressure for a permanent settlement continued. Prolonged consideration of this question led to the announcement of decision dated February 7, 1948, to replace the temporary allotment of evacuee lands by a new system of quasi-permanent allotment which would take into account the holdings of displaced persons in West Punjab. The new allotments would not confer rights of ownership or permanent occupancy but the possession of the allottees would be maintained.

Government announced its intention to complete the new system of allotments in East Punjab and East Punjab States not later than May 31, 1949.48 The resettlement of displaced persons on land falls into five phases:

1. Immediate Settlement
2. Consolidation of Temporary Allotment

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46 Ibid., p.80; See also, The Statesman, July 16, 1950.
47 Tarlok Singh, Inner P.C. Documents, 1954 (6 April, 1954); See also, Shruti Sharma, Post Partition Rehabilitation – Social, Economic and Political Perspectives: A Case Study of Delhi, Ph.D. Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p.74.
48 L.R. Nair, Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab, Simla, 1950, p.8.
3. Permanent Settlement on Land
4. Restoration of the Rural Economy; and
5. Reconstruction and Development of the Rural Economy

By the beginning of December 1947, Deputy Commissioner’s reported a total settlement of 190,155 families on an area of 2,072,854 acres of cultivated land. By the end of December 1947, the number of families to whom allotment the land was made reported as 209,106 and the area allotted being 2,394,635 acres. In the beginning of February 1948, and area of 2,581,819 acres was reported to have been allotted to 238,216 families. In the beginning of January 1948, it was found that a number of displaced persons had taken double allotments in more than one district of East Punjab as well as in the states. It happened in such a way that as and when the allotment was made to a group, say a 50 families, some of them after some time moved elsewhere and secured fresh allotments. Therefore, in the middle of January 1948, detailed instructions for the review of allotments were issued and temporary allotments registers were prescribed for all abandoned villages in the province. In the consequence of this scrutiny, the progress report of rural rehabilitation for the fortnight ending March 15, 1948, recorded a total allotments of 2,196,466 acres to 200,233 families from Kharif, 1948 and further temporary allotment to the persons who were not themselves landholders in Pakistan was discontinued, but tenants-at-will who were already in possession of temporary allotments were not displaced until allotments in the scheme of quasi-permanent settlement was completed.49

Fifty three percent of allotment work was completed by 1949. Allotment orders were issued in respect of 44.6 percent area and

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*Khasra* numbers were earmarked.\(^{50}\) It was possible to give possession of vacant land out of the 53.4 percent of land allotted to allottees who received quasi-permanent allotment in villages of their temporary allotment. It was decided to deliver possession of vacant land from January 15, 1950, for cultivation of Sugarcane and Cotton. Additional Deputy Commissioners were sent to the districts along with some *Patwari* staff to supervise the delivery of possession.\(^{51}\)

In the wet areas where the field boundaries disappeared, possession could be given to allottees at the spot after demarcating new field boundaries. Similarly there were some villages where tractor cultivation was carried on and consequently boundaries disappeared. In these villages there was a need of *Killa-bandi*. There were some villages where revenue record was taken away by Muslim *Patwaris* and fresh record could not be prepared because of consolidation of new fields at the spot.\(^{52}\) There were about 1,873 villages which were totally, demolished. Work of leveling ruined sites, demarcation of roads, streets and construction of houses continued for years.\(^{53}\)

Before a scheme of resettlement could be framed, it was necessary to have a unit of value in terms of which different classes of land and rights could be reduced to a comparable basis. The value of a claim was based on three separate factors: the rights held by the person, each right and the class of soil pertaining to each separate

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\(^{50}\) It was felt that unless definite *Khasra* numbers were assigned, the process of allotment would remain incomplete and the scope for delay, corruption and Injustice would Increase. With a view to Implementing this Decision, for the evacuee area of every village in East Punjab and PEPSU, a statement of *Khasra* numbers of evacuee land was prepared for every village, giving against each field, its area, class of soil according to the *Jamabandi* and the latest harvest inspection the rights under which the evacuee held the land and particulars of rent etc.

\(^{51}\) *The Tribune*, January 5, 1950.

\(^{52}\) Ibid.

\(^{53}\) *The Refugee Rehabilitation (Loans and Grants, East Punjab) Act, 1948*, Rehabilitation Department, Chandigarh, p.10; See also M.S. Randhawa, Out of Ashes, *op. cit.*, p.95; Shruti Sharma, Post Partition Rehabilitation – Social, Economic and Political Perspective: A Case Study of Delhi, *op. cit.*, p.74.
item in his area statement. The unit devised for land resettlement operations in East Punjab and PEPSU was standard acre. The comparative value of land was assessed by criteria such as the amount of land revenue assessed per acre, value of gross produce, net profit, sale value, lease value or yield. The yield of wheat assumed at settlement for each class of land in each assessment circle in different districts of West Punjab, East Punjab and PEPSU was taken as the basic point. Wheat was a universal crop for which the requisite yield data was available in settlement reports. Where wheat was of relatively lower importance a rough estimate was fixed between wheat and the local cereal crops. A soil valuation key by setting the value at a number of annas against number of maunds of yields per matured acre assumed at settlement was adopted.

The key gave an approximate value of land according to conditions prevailing at the time of settlement. This was then considered with reference to changes in cropping, developments in irrigation and other factors, such as higher cost of production on land irrigated by wells. The final valuation of each class of land in each assessment circle was fixed after examining other comparative data and detailed discussion. Sixteen annas of value was described as a "Standard Acre". Thus two acres of land valued at eight annas made one standard acre. As a unit of value, therefore, the standard acre can be represented in different areas according to the type and situation of land valued. Similarly full ownership rights were rated at sixteen annas and allowance was made for lesser rights, such as those of occupancy. Something like 2,500 valuations of land in about 400 assessment circles and groups of villages and a very large number of different classes of rights under colony and non-colony

55 Ibid.
tenures were successfully dealt through standard acre.\textsuperscript{57} Calculations were generally made to $1/64^{th}$ of standard acre.\textsuperscript{58}

The final account showed that displaced persons due for settlement in East Punjab could receive in quasi-permanent allotment 2,448,830 standard acres against 3,935,131 standard acres abandoned in West Punjab. The difference of 1,486,301 standard acres (38 percent) had to be adjusted against displaced land holders after considering the distribution of land holders of different grades in Pakistan. It was found that more than 80 percent of the claimants had less than 60 standard acre.\textsuperscript{59}

The proposal to allot every displaced land holder a uniform proportion of area abandoned by him, was however rejected. The second course was to fix a ceiling on the areas in standard acres which could be allotted to any displaced person. To bring meaning to the ceiling, it was necessary to adopt it for petty holders and to deprive many peasants who had better holding and had through enterprise and skill, built up progressive forms in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{60}

A middle course was followed. Accordingly, a compromise formula of graded cuts\textsuperscript{61} was devised. The cut was less in the case of small and middle land holders. The scheme worked on the basis of income-tax schedules.

An allottee owning more than one thousand standard acres received 50 standard acres for every thousand acres abandoned by him. According to Tarlok Singh, “The cuts were based on practical

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{57} For the purpose of evolving the concept of a standard acre as a unit of value of allotment of land, Tarlok Singh worked out an interesting device which apparently appears to be complex but in fact was simple enough to be understood. The productivity of land was the major criterion. “An acre of land which could yield 10 to 11 maunds of wheat was given the value of 16 annas and was termed as a standard acre.
\item \textsuperscript{58} The Standard Acre: Unit of Value for Land Allotment, The Statesman, July 27, 1950.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Graded Cuts (Gap in the Area and the Scheme of Graded Cuts) Land Resettlement Operation in East Punjab by (Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar), p.4.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{61} M.S. Randhawa, Out of Ashes, \textit{op. cit.}, p.81-82.
\end{itemize}
considerations and had no political or reformist objectives. They, nevertheless, put an end to the large holdings which were a conspicuous feature of rural life in West Punjab.”

The following graded system of redistribution of land was adopted by the Punjab Government and the princely states of Punjab.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upto 10 More than</th>
<th>But no more than</th>
<th>Rate of cut</th>
<th>Net allotment of maximum of grade (standard acre)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 10 more than 10</td>
<td>But no more than 30</td>
<td>25 per cent</td>
<td>7 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 30 more than 30</td>
<td>But no more than 40</td>
<td>30 per cent</td>
<td>21 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 40 more than 60</td>
<td>But no more than 60</td>
<td>40 per cent</td>
<td>27 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 60 more than 100</td>
<td>But no more than 100</td>
<td>55 per cent</td>
<td>36 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 100 more than 100</td>
<td>But no more than 150</td>
<td>70 per cent</td>
<td>48 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 100 more than 150</td>
<td>But no more than 200</td>
<td>75 per cent</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 100 more than 200</td>
<td>But no more than 250</td>
<td>80 per cent</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 200 more than 250</td>
<td>But no more than 500</td>
<td>85 per cent</td>
<td>78 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 250 more than 500</td>
<td>But no more than 1000</td>
<td>95 percent</td>
<td>108 ½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The big landlords had to face heavier loss as the scheme implied steeper cuts on higher ranges. The small holders were given maximum consideration. The interest of farmers owing land ranging between 10 and 15 standard acres who formed the backbone of the Punjab peasantry could not be sacrificed.

This graded cut on land holdings had a very great effect on the East Punjab economy. The disparity in area available as compared

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with the area abandoned and the quality of soil and irrigation facilities sharpened a conflict between the land lords and landless tenants. The graded cuts had pruned large holdings and even middle class farmers who were quite contented to get battai in West Punjab found that with their reduced holdings they could no longer afford the luxury of tenant farming and had to adopt farming on their own.\textsuperscript{64}

The following arrangement of resettlement of agriculturists of West Punjab districts was made:\textsuperscript{65}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refugee Land Holders of West Punjab</th>
<th>Resettlement in the East Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore and Non-Colonists from Montgomery District</td>
<td>Ferozepur District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi, Sheikhupura and Gujranwala Districts</td>
<td>Karnal District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahpur and Gujrat Districts</td>
<td>Ambala District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan District</td>
<td>Hissar District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang and Muzafargarh Districts</td>
<td>Rohtak District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Ghazikhan and Mianwali Districts</td>
<td>Gurgaon District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sialkot District</td>
<td>Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The work of allotment of houses was done by the village housing \textit{panchayats} which were set up in each evacuee village. The Patwari of the circle acted as a secretary. The Tehsildar of the Tehsil nominated a Lambardar or any other suitable person as chairman of the Panchayat. The total number of members of the Panchayat, including the chairman was restricted to nine. Three members were selected by Halqa Revenue officer in consultation with the displaced


\textsuperscript{65} Particular areas in the East Punjab states were earmarked for persons belonging to particular districts from West Punjab.

\textbf{Refugees land holders of West Punjab}  \textbf{Resettlement in East Punjab States}

- Gujranwala  Patiala, Jind and Faridkot State
- Sheikhupura  Nabha and Patiala State
- Sialkot  Kapurthala State
- Mianwali  Bawal District of Nabha State
- Colonists from Sindh, Bahawalpur, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan  In their home districts if these were in the Punjab States

persons seeking settlement in the village. The *Halqa* revenue officer visited the villages for passing the allotment orders.\textsuperscript{66} One of the Superintending Engineer was appointed as Director of Rural Housing.\textsuperscript{67} The district rural evacuee housing committee was presided over by the additional deputy commissioners of the district. The revenue assistant acted as its secretary. The Committee consisting of Executive Engineer (P.W.D.), District Engineer, Secretary, District Board, District Medical Officer of Health, all Tehsildars, all M.L.A. representing rural constituencies, and two representatives of displaced persons of the tehsil as recommended by the Tehsildars.\textsuperscript{68}

The shortage of evacuee houses in the villages created a formidable problem which could not be solved for a long period. In allotting the population quotas to the various provinces and states in India, the share of the Punjab and PEPSU had been fixed by Government of India at 13 lakhs of urban population for resettlement in their urban areas.\textsuperscript{69}

To ensure fairness in the distribution of houses among the allottees, it was proposed that the size of the land allotment made to a person and the type of houses abandoned by him in western Pakistan should be a major factor to be taken into consideration. For each standard acre of land one mark was to be allowed and, subject to a maximum of 20 marks, houses abandoned in western Pakistan were to be valued at the rate of one mark for each 1000 of the value of the house.\textsuperscript{70}

In each village after their relative rights had been valued, allottees could pick houses according to their place in the village list.

\textsuperscript{66} *The Tribune*, February 19, 1950.
\textsuperscript{67} *The Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) (East Punjab) Act 1948*.
\textsuperscript{68} *The Tribune*, February 19, 1950
\textsuperscript{69} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.15.
\textsuperscript{70} Houses above the value of Rs. 20, 000 were excluded from allotment, as they were to be dealt with according to the terms of an earlier agreement between India and Pakistan. Tarlok Singh, Land Resettlement Manual, *op. cit.*, p.181.
To obviate fictitious statement about the value of houses abandoned in western Pakistan, allottees were required to file an affidavit.\footnote{These instructions wee issued at the end of July, 1950 and did not apply to allotments of houses made prior to this date by village panchayats. \textit{Ibid.}, p.182.}

Substantial houses situated outside the limits of the village \textit{abadi} were also included in the pool of houses for allotment. Preference was given to those allottees in such allotments where colonists had ancestral houses in the villages of allotment or reasonably nearby. Preference in the distribution of evacuee houses was to be given to non-colonists.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

In the villages where there were no constructed houses available at all, sites were allotted to displaced persons with the standard site being one or two \textit{Kanals} according to the area of the \textit{abadi} site. It was proposed to provide one site to allottees of 10 standard acres or less, two sites to allottees upto 20 standard acres, three sites to those holding upto 30 standard acres and four sites to those holding more than 30 standard acres. It was also intended to make a financial grant of Rs. 200 in the shape of building material to allottees holding five standard acres or less and to advance loans of Rs. 500 to persons holding more than five standard acres.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

A model village scheme was also drawn up. The officials of the Public Works Department were required to demarcate sites in villages according to certain type-plans. The plans were provided with suitable roads and paths, open spaces, sites for community buildings, manure pits etc.\footnote{Reviews from the orders of Revenue officers in respect of allotment of evacuee houses in rural areas lie to the following officers according to the value of the houses:}

Of the total number of 1,41,817 evacuee houses there were only 1,11,482 houses which could be allotted. This number included

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Value of Houses & Officers to whom review will lie \\
\hline
House of the value of Rs. 1000 or less & Revenue Assistant, Rehabilitation of the District \\
\hline
Houses of the value of above Rs. 10,000 but less than 20,000 & Deputy Commissioners or Additional Deputy Commissioners of the District. \textit{Ibid.} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
20,000 houses which had been repaired either by the public works department or the allottees themselves. The rest of the houses were either irreparable at heavy cost. Therefore, it was felt better to construct new houses rather than repair at heavy cost. By the middle of December, 1949, 1,10,621 houses, composing 99% of the allotable had been allotted to the displaced families, providing accommodation to 8,90,818 persons. The rest of the houses though not regularly allotted were occupied mostly by the displaced persons. These allotments made under the Punjab Evacuees (Administration of Property) Act, 1948 which was later replaced by the East Punjab evacuee ordinance of 1949. This enactment provided a legal basis for orders of allotment and eviction, empowered to use force in execution of these orders, and bars the interference of civil courts in the form of injunctions, attachment of property etc.

The evacuee gardens were reserved for allotment to displaced garden owners. Horticultural facilities were provided by the government through introduction of a Garden Colony Scheme. Earmarking of certain compact areas in every district was an important step taken by the government in this direction. Educated persons with gardening experience who were ready to undertake the planting of gardens in conformity with official regulations were allotted units ranging from 10 to 20 acres of land. By 1956, the total number of allottees were 112. The allottees in each garden colony were members of co-operative society which looked after general management and ensured gardening was carried on

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75 At the same time provision had been made for appeal and revision by persons aggrieved by the eviction orders. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, op. cit., p.16.
76 These Houses could not take more than six persons per house on the average.
77 Prem Nath, Resurgent Punjab, Director Public Relations, Development Department, Punjab Government, 1956, p.17.
78 A useful scheme of Garden Colonies was introduced by the state at the time of Quasi Permanent Settlement in which 27 large blocks of evacuee land covering 20,000 acres were set apart for allotment to those who were interested in horticulture. Ibid.
according to approved plans. Three-fourth of the area of each garden was to be reserved for fruit gardening, the rest for raising foodgrains, fodder and vegetables.80

The partition also affected the livestock reserves in the Punjab. Out of a total cattle wealth of 215 million in undivided India, 55 million went to Pakistan. Pakistan acquired 7 million sheep and an exportable surplus of fish with its annual catch being 23,00,000 mds as against 182,40,000 mds of undivided India through the legacy of partition.81 On the contrary, there was considerable fall in number of sheeps and goats from 946368 and 1646249 in 1945 to 641093 and 115782 in 1951 respectively in India primarily due to migration of Muslims who kept large heads of sheep and goat.82

SECTION – III

Urban rehabilitation in the Punjab, broadly speaking was the problem of providing about 11 lac displaced persons of urban characteristics with houses and means of livelihood. A part of this population had been accommodated in evacuee houses, but new houses had to be built for the rest. While the government had achieved a large success in new constructions, however, due to shortage of housing and building material the task could not be considered as complete.83

The insufficient number and inferior quality of the houses left by evacuees in the Punjab was the major problem. The urbanite displaced persons who had migrated from the West Punjab were accustomed to a much higher standard of residential accommodation than their evacuee counterparts in the East Punjab. The urbanite left

80 Ibid.
83 *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab* (Official Figures and statistics), Director-General of Rehabilitation (Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar), p.1.
behind 1,54,000 houses in the West Punjab, as admitted by the Pakistan Government.\textsuperscript{84} The number of allotable evacuee houses in the Punjab, on the other hand, was only about 1,10,000 and they were markedly poorer in quality and accommodation capacity. The majority of these evacuee houses were only dingy one room set which on an average could take not more than 6,60,000 evacuees. For the remaining 3,40,000 new houses or plots for houses were to be managed.\textsuperscript{85}

In respect of the accommodation for commercial and industrial purposes, the difference was even more. Against 51,000 shops and business premises abandoned in the West Punjab, the number of evacuee shops in Punjab was only about 17, 000\textsuperscript{86}. In the case of industrial establishments the ratio was 13 against 1 and the Muslims having left only 1100 allotable establishments in the Punjab. These establishments were mostly petty concerns, majority of which were small-working shops in urban areas or flour mills in rural areas. The Industrialists who had migrated from the West Punjab were, on the other hand, running much bigger and equipped factories, including cotton-ginning and textile mills which had no counterparts in the East Punjab. The utility of the evacuee concerns was reduced further by extensive damage caused to the machinery during the local disturbances of 1947.\textsuperscript{87}

The colossal problem confronting the infant Punjab State immediately after the partition was that of accommodating lacs of displaced persons from West Punjab in relief camps. Shelters were provided at different places near the border or at places directly accessible from the border.

\textsuperscript{84} This figure was exclusive of the houses abandoned by the displaced persons who had migrated from N.W.F.P., Bahawalpur, Sindh and Baluchistan, and who wish to resettle in the Punjab. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.14.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Evacuee Houses in Urban Areas of East Punjab}, Official Figures and Statistics, p.4.
\textsuperscript{86} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.14.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Ibid.}
After this the second phase of the work was the provisions of roofed shelter at the earliest for all the people who were huddled together in different relief camps or crowded in the already existing towns and cities.\textsuperscript{88} Urban land i.e. land situated within municipal limits of a town, notified area committee, small town committee but cantonment was excluded from quasi-permanent allotment. Under inter-dominion agreement a scheme of leases of this land was introduced to provide for those who held land within urban areas in West Punjab.\textsuperscript{89} The Punjab Government decided to undertake the construction of cheap mud huts at the sites of the camps in order to provide substitute shelter. On the considerations of utilisation of the maximum possible space of the camp areas, which were provided with the amenities of water supply and electric street lighting, and for reducing the construction cost to the minimum, the huts were designed in the form of partitioned barracks provided with \textit{verandah} on both sides.\textsuperscript{90}

The Government decided to accommodate all the three strata of society according to the social and financial positions. Townships were set up at 14 places for the middle class and the upper class displaced persons who could spend about Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000 in instalments for the houses in these townships or who wanted to set up houses of their own liking in these townships.

Rather more serious was the problem of the lower class displaced persons who had been so much improvised that they could not afford to spend anything for roofed shelter and mud-hut colonies were set up for them.

The cost of these mud huts, with roofs of wooden battens, \textit{Sirki, Sarkanda}, and earth plaster, of roof space 9' x 13' with a provision of a door and a \textit{verandah} to each room. It costed only Rs. 300 per mud hut. Till Jan 1950, nearly 8,000 huts were constructed

\textsuperscript{88} The Tribune, June 24, 1951.
\textsuperscript{89} Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab 1950, Official Pamphlet, pp.IX-XI.
\textsuperscript{90} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.7.
at various places in the province.\textsuperscript{91} In these huts nearly 40,000 people were accommodated.\textsuperscript{92} In December, 1951, the State Government again ordered the construction of 19,088 mud huts.\textsuperscript{93} These were the cheapest specifications which could ensure protection for the occupants. The distribution of mud huts were as follows:\textsuperscript{94}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number of Huts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gurdaspur</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mubarikpur</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohak</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldev Nagar</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malout</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panipat</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dina Nagar</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalandhar</td>
<td>2100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batala</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moga</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonipat</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palwal</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the lower middle class people who could not afford to purchase houses and sites in townships and who did not like to be accommodated in mud huts, the Government evolved the scheme of cheap housing colonies. It was decided to set up houses of cheap specification on 8 marala sites and also to provide such sites for construction by the displaced persons themselves.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{91} The target was to complete the construction of 13,200 mud huts throughout the province before summer 1950, which could accommodate nearly 70,000 persons. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{92} The displaced persons who occupied the huts had been made responsible for keeping them in a good state of repairs. Nearly 4300 refugees from Moga, Hissar Gurgaon and Palwal placed under mud huts till the end of June 1951.
\textsuperscript{93} The Government of India also allotted funds to the extent of 1.05 lacs for the construction of additional mud huts at Palwal and Pathankot. \textit{The Tribune}, June, 24, 1951.
\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Mud Huts in Relief Camps}, Official Figures and Statistics, Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar, pp.3-4.
\textsuperscript{95} The cost of such a house was about Rs. 2300/- each to be paid. Such a house consisted of a room 15x10 feet, one verandah 7x7 feet, one kitchen 7x10 feet, one latrine 4x4 feet and an uncovered bathroom 4x4 feet, partially kacha drains and water supply in the form of hand pumps, where-tubewell water could not be made available. These 10,000 plots provided accommodation to 50,000 persons. The total cost of this scheme was estimated to nearly 72 lacs. \textit{Urban Housing Scheme}, Department of Rehabilitation, Official Pamphlet, pp.3-4.
In these colonies sites were provided for religious buildings and schools. Sites were also provided for service industries, so that these colonies could be self-sufficient to the maximum possible extent. It was hoped that the displaced persons would be able to set up weaving factories Kohlus, carding machines, cotton ginning factories etc. in such colonies. This would not only cater to needs of people living in the colonies but also provide suitable opportunities for earning livelihood for the lower class people.\textsuperscript{96} Up to 1953, 2,885 houses were built in different cities of Punjab.\textsuperscript{97}

The another scheme to provide shelter was the construction of 4,200 houses and laying out of 9800 building in new township colonies\textsuperscript{98} built at various places in the Punjab.

The total accommodation that these townships aim at was 66,000.\textsuperscript{99} Out of 4,200 houses, 2085 were sold till July 1949, and 448 houses were placed at the disposal of the Defence Organization, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation Government of India, for sale to displaced military personnel.\textsuperscript{100}

In these townships, shopping centres were created. In 1950, there were 200 shops in townships in East Punjab.\textsuperscript{101}

Displaced persons who had purchased plots from Government in the new townships of East Punjab, were eligible for house-building loans under the East Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) Act of 1948.\textsuperscript{102} Funds amounting to nearly Rs. 40 lakhs were

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{96} The Tribune, July 22, 1953.
\bibitem{97} Such as Jalandhar, Batala, Ambala, Hissar, Rohtak, Jagadhri, Sonepat, Pathankot, Ludhiana, Karnal, Gurgaon, Palwal, Panipat, Bhiwani etc. \textit{Ibid.}
\bibitem{98} \textit{Ibid.}, January 26, 1950.
\bibitem{99} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.17.
\bibitem{100} The remaining had either been leased out to Government department of displaced persons or laid unoccupied till years. Any displaced person, who already owns a house or a building site at any place in India, either himself or through his wife or his dependent children, was not eligible for the purchase of a house or a site in these townships. From the Financial Commissioner Relief and Rehabilitation, East Punjab Jullundur to Assistant Secretary Government of India, \textit{Ministry of Rehabilitation, Letter No. 10918/U, 12-8-49; See also, The Tribune,} January 26, 1950.
\bibitem{101} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.19.
\bibitem{102} \textit{East Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) Act of 1948.}
\end{thebibliography}
placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners and the Registrar, Co-operative Societies (Rehabilitation), for loans to individuals for construction of houses on the sites in the townships. The displaced persons, who were not in a position to finance their own house construction to any extent, came next in precedence. The loans were advanced on the following scale.

Rs. 3000 - If the area was not more than one canal
Rs. 3500 – If the area was more than one Kanal but less than two.
Rs. 4000 – If the area was more than two Kanals but less than three.
Rs. 5000 – If the area was more than three Kanals but less than four.

The Deputy Commissioner could grant loans upto Rs. 5000/- and may recommend the cases for higher loans to the financial commissioner relief and rehabilitation, who could sanction upto Rs. 10,000. East Punjab Government had laced the following sums at the disposal of the following Deputy Commissioner for house building loans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jullundhur</td>
<td>4,50,000</td>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>6,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>1,70,000</td>
<td>Gurgaon</td>
<td>1,43,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnal</td>
<td>4,00,000</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30,13,400</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The houses and building sites provided in the township colonies were for middle and upper middle classes. The working class and the low income groups accommodated in the two cheap housing

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103 Loans were, in the first place, meant for those persons who can contribute to the cost of construction from their own resources. In their case the maximum amount upto 66 2/3% of the total cost of construction was provided in the form of loans. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, op. cit., p.19.
104 Ibid., p.20.
schemes, one of which aimed at the provision of 6150 building sites at various places in the province and the second aimed at the creation of 10,000 eight-Marla plots, which were as follows:106

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Localities</th>
<th>Plots Where New Townships Colonies had been Built</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pathankot</td>
<td>Julundur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batala</td>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>Jagadhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moga</td>
<td>Panipat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ropar</td>
<td>Ambala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhawani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahbad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3450</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Building plots of eight Marlas each, with a loan of Rs. 500 was advanced to working class for the constructions of a *Kacha Kotha*. This loan came under the scheme of demarcation of 10,000 sites. Nearly 40,000 camp dwellers were provided for this scheme. Under this scheme 9800 sites were constructed and 200 kept in reserve.107

These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batala</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathankot</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagadhari</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohtak</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>9800</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In PEPSU only 27,400 houses were allotable out of the total number of evacuee houses. The number included about 6,400 houses which were repaired by the Public Works Department or by the allottees themselves. The acute shortage of houses made it imperative for the PEPSU Government to immediately take up the issue of repairing damaged Muslim evacuee houses. The Government was extremely slow in sanctioning repairs in the beginning but later the work was expedited to meet the needs of the displaced persons. The PEPSU Government also decided to establish some suburban colonies and model townships in some of its towns.\(^{108}\) A sum of 10.47 lac rupees was sanctioned for construction of houses in Model Town, Patiala.\(^{109}\) An amount of Rs. 2.54 lac was advanced for the construction of a residential complex near Gurudwara Dukhniwaran, Patiala.\(^{110}\)

At Samana, Bahawalpuris were settled in large number and a big sum of money was advanced as loans to them for the repairs of the houses. In Tripuri township, an approximate amount of Rs. 13 lacs was spent and 1,100 houses were built.\(^{111}\) 960 quarters were constructed in the other parts of Patiala, Nabha and Sangrur at a cost of Rs. 15 lacs.\(^{112}\)

A ‘cheap house’ scheme was prepared for the working classes and the low income groups. This scheme aimed at providing building sites at various places in the union. These new colonies of cheap houses were largely created in the vicinity of the ‘Industrial Areas’, which were established in Patiala, Phagwara and Kapurthala.\(^{113}\)

The displaced persons from Bahawalpur state created another serious problem. The rehabilitation ministry at first thought to build a township for 60,000 Bhawalpuria Refugees at Rajpura. But neither

\(^{108}\) Thousand Live Again, Simla, 1948, pp.8-9.
\(^{111}\) Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 12, March 14, 1955, pp.922-923.
\(^{112}\) Ibid.
\(^{113}\) Directorate of Information, PEPSU Government, No. 657, September 16, 1934 (PSA).
adequate water was available in the Rajpura area nor work could be found for such a big population there.\textsuperscript{114}

It was decided to distribute the population to other towns of the union where the refugees could be engaged on gainful occupations.\textsuperscript{115} A population of 10,000 Bahawalpurias was earmarked for Patiala. Of these, some were to be housed in the town itself either by repairing the \textit{Kholas} or in new barracks which was constructed for refugees. The bulk of the population was to be accommodated in a new township in close precincts of the town at Tripuri where 1800 new houses were planned to construct.\textsuperscript{116} Nearly 8,000 Bahawalpuri evacuees planned to settle in Jind.\textsuperscript{117}

400 Houses were planned to be built in Phagwara, a town in PEPSU Union. 100 shops consisted of one room brick structure was built at Phagwara for the rehabilitation of a part of these families.\textsuperscript{118}

The PEPSU Government planned six model townships near Patiala, Phagwara, Basti Nau, Bathinda, Kotkapura and Barnala. According to the plan, displaced persons would either be given building loans or completed houses and the cost of which would be recovered from them in equal instalments spread over a period of 15 years. The sale of houses was made public by auction limiting the bid to the first instalment to be paid.

\textsuperscript{114} From Shri P.N. Thapar, Financial Commissioner, Punjab to C.N. Chandra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Rehabilitation, \textit{D.O. letter no. 3969/S}, dated 12-4-50.

\textsuperscript{115} In this plan the size of the room was proposed to 14x10 feet and of the verandah to 14x7 feet. For this purpose, a sum of 10 lac rupees was sanctioned by the Centre Government. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{116} These houses were planned to construct at a cost of Rs. 27,57,340. From Sudhod Ghosh, Deputy Rehabilitation Advisor to Secretary to the Government of PEPSU, \textit{No. RHB/14(11)50}, Government of India, New Delhi, March 6, 1950.

\textsuperscript{117} Harcharan Singh to Office of Honorary Reground Advisor, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Patiala, \textit{D.O. No. 9HRA}, June 4, 1950.

\textsuperscript{118} Dispersal of 25,000 refugees planned from Rajpura camp as follows:

1. PEPSU Towns 6000
2. Number to be resettled on 10,000 acres of land in the Rajpura area 4,000
3. Number to be moved to Bahawalpura Township in Patiala 8,000
4. Number to be moved to Phagwara 2,000
5. Old and displaced persons including unattached women and children to remain 5000 at Rajpua

Total = 25000
After the first requirement of residential accommodation for a displaced family had been met, the next important step towards effecting its speedy rehabilitation was the provision of business premises where it could pursue its avocation of industry or other professional work. To provide displaced shopkeepers a ready means of earning their living, it was decided to allot evacuee shops and factories only to displaced person. There were all 17,826 allotable shops. All of these were allotted to displaced businessmen from West Punjab. Ejectment of unauthorized persons and transfer in other cases was done from month to month as a result of resurveys. It was an essential condition of eligibility for allotment of a shop or a factory that the refugee was carrying on similar business or industry in West Punjab. Other consideration in making allotment of business premises and shops were as under:

1. That each town should replace essential types of business abandoned by Muslims.
2. That each town should have its proper quota in number and variety of large shops and business houses.
3. That business men from district headquarters, towns and cantonments should be preferred in towns of corresponding character.

The total number of evacuee factories and industrial establishments in the province was nearly 1600 and out of these 1,114 were leased by tenders of auction.

Most of the remaining factories could be leased out, either because there was some dispute pending about them or because they had lost their industrial character due to damage or removal of machinery.

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119 Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab, Allotment of Shops and Factories to urban displaced persons by Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar (Official Pamphelt).
120 Ibid.
121 Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab, op. cit., with a view to ensuring the speedy functioning of the factories, unfinished goods, raw materials, spare parts, tools, fuel and lubricants which were available in the premises of the abandoned factories, were sold to the allottees after evaluation.
With a view to ensuring speedy functioning of the factories, unfinished goods, raw material, spare parts, tools, fuel and lubricants available in the premises of the abandoned factories, were sold to the allottees after evaluation, according to an arrangement arrived at with the custodian of Evacuee Property. The Government of India sanctioned special quotas of coal and steel for the displaced industrialists. Despite these concessions, large number of factories were unable to start functioning soon after they were leased out, because of the acute scarcity of machinery parts, raw materials and skilled labour. Practically all the skilled labour was to be drawn from the Muslims. Machinery was found to be extensively damaged and pilfered during the disturbances of 1947.

To provide financial aid to the poor and middle class displaced persons desirous of rehabilitation themselves in business, the government sanctioned a scheme of Rehabilitation loans and grants. The object of these loans and grants was to help in resettlement of petty traders, shopkeepers, artisans, persons wishing to start small workshops or cottage industries. For an individual the limit fixed for a loan was Rs. 5,000 and for a grant Rs. 500. Bigger loans were given by rehabilitation finance administration of the Central Government which could give loans to individuals upto Rs. 50,000 and to companies upto Rs. 10,00,000.

In the beginning all loans to urban evacuees were granted individually. Later on it was decided that loans, should as a rule be given only to co-operative societies or groups of displaced persons. This was done in order to ensure that loans would be used for the purpose it was given. It was also hoped that this would create

122 L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, op. cit., p.25.
123 The term artisan included smiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, potters, shoemakers and bookbinders.
124 The rate of interest on these loans was 3 percent per annum. The loan together with all interest was repayable by annual instalments in a period of six years. The repayment commenced 24 months after the date of disbursement of the loan. In case the money rent was not applied to the purpose for which it was lent, the loan became immediately recoverable. Ibid.
amongst displaced persons a sense of common interest. In case of the nature of the profession where it would be impracticable for displaced persons to function in co-operative societies or in groups such as, doctors, petty shopkeepers, etc. an exception was allowed.125 Where the government was satisfied the loans were utilized for which it had been applied for, individual loans were sanctioned for organizing co-operative societies among displaced persons and a separate section in rehabilitation department under the additional registrar for co-operative societies had been established with a skeleton staff in July 1949 in order to register societies, majority of which were thrift and credit societies. Other type of societies registered were industrial, multipurpose and dairy societies and loans to these societies were advanced in instalments as and when required up to their maximum credit limits126 The Punjab Government had by the end of November 1949, sanctioned Rs. 1,25,00,00 as loans and Rs. 18,00,000 as grants.127

To create additional employment at important refugee centres, the Punjab Government decided to start a scheme of development of industrial townships outside some important urban areas which had substantial industrial potential or which were expected to gain this potential after the establishment of industries. A committee set up by the government recommended locations of those townships at Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, Sonepat, Panipat, Jagadhari, Khanna, Ropar, Ludhiana, Jullundur and at a place between New Delhi and Ambala.128 PEPSU Government established industrial areas outside

126 Ibid.
128 The Chief Industries which were plan to set up in these areas include, engineering industries, foundries and workshops, radio parts, cutlery, surgical instruments, brass utensils, textiles, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, brass paints and varnishes glass, bonemeal, fruit preservation, hosiery, sports goods, scientific apparatus, stationary goods, oil mills, flour mills, saw and ice mills, pottery, steal rolling, soaps etc.
some important cities and towns such as Patiala, Rajpura, Phagwara, Kapurthala etc. An amount of Rs. 8 lac was also distributed as grants and loans to the settlers in industrial areas in PEPSU.\textsuperscript{129} The loans were granted on the basis of Interim Compensation payable to them under the PEPSU Refugee Rehabilitation (Loans and Grants) Ordinance, 2005.\textsuperscript{130} Loans were also given to those who had received vocational and technical training; inmates of homes or infirmaries who had left such institutions to settle in various vocations; and settlers in the new Township of Tripuri for starting business or industry inside the township.\textsuperscript{131} The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation sanctioned advances to the maximum limit of Rs. 5000, which were granted to traders, shopkeepers and to those persons who started their own workshops and cottage industries.\textsuperscript{132} Displaced persons who bought a \textit{tanga} and a horse to ply the vehicle on hire were given loans upto Rs. 1,000. Other displaced persons were covered by the general loan scheme under which the maximum limit was fixed at Rs. 500.\textsuperscript{133}

Department of industries of the Punjab Government had also started various training centres, in which 4316 trainees, where both boys and girls, were trained. Jullundur gradually became an important centre for manufacture of sports goods where displaced manufactures from Sialkot in West Punjab had concentrated.\textsuperscript{134}

Upto March 3, 1950 loans amounting to Rs. 1,52,11,550 had been disbursed to 20,032 displaced persons for their rehabilitation in

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates}, Vol. IV, No. 11, July 22, 1954, p.767.
\textsuperscript{130} Letter No. 2 F-2(21)4-Misc.-54-5798 of May 12, 1954, Government of PEPSU, Rehabilitation Department (PSA).
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Millions on the Move, op. cit.}, p.76.
\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{134} Nine centres to gave training to displaced girls in tailoring, spinning, toy-making, hand embroidery and knitting were functioning and the number of trainees in these was 1119. In the government Textile Technical Institution at Amritsar, 77 displaced persons got trained in weaving. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.29.
business, industry or profession. Rehabilitation grants amounting to Rs. 15,86,994 were disbursed upto the end of March, 1950 to 10,196 destitute displaced persons.\(^\text{135}\)

The displaced students had suffered a lot due to the weakening financial position of their parents and guardians as a consequence of their forced migration from the West Punjab. Considering the student community a valuable national asset, and also that their studies should not come to a premature termination for lack of financial scarcity of their parents and guardians, a scheme to extend grants and loans to them was started by the government in January, 1948. These loans were distributed to those students who (1) had been compelled to discontinue their studies or training and (2) were such deserving persons who would prove an asset to the community if their education or training was not discontinued. In order to provide relief in the most expeditious manner the heads of departments concerned functioned as the sanctioning and disbursing authorities. Relief to college students and trainees was in the form of loans and to school students of 5\(^\text{th}\) to 10\(^\text{th}\) class in the form of grants, beside other concessions.\(^\text{136}\) Loans were granted in monthly or quarterly instalments basis and not in lump sum. The following were the rates for the loans for students of different classes:\(^\text{137}\)

\(^{135}\) The number of displaced persons under training in the centres organised by the department of Industries was 4050 as detailed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Refugee Boys in 25 centres</td>
<td>– 2,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Refugee Girls in 9 centres</td>
<td>– 1,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Hosiery Trainees at Ludhiana centre</td>
<td>– 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Trainees in Weaving at Amritsar</td>
<td>– 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>– 4,050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{137}\) *Ibid.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Rs. Per Month</th>
<th>Plus Tuition Fees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.A.</td>
<td>36/10</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A., B.Sc., B.Sc. Agri.</td>
<td>37/8</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A., M.Sc.</td>
<td>48/5</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher’s Training Course</td>
<td>51/</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical School Diploma</td>
<td>55/8</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary and Agricultural (Diploma Course)</td>
<td>26/8</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.B.B.S., B.D.S., B. Pharmacy</td>
<td>69/5</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering (Degree Course)</td>
<td>69/5</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering (Technological)</td>
<td>55/6</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.L.B.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relief to the school students was in the form of grants for the purchase of books, apparatus, stationery and for exemption from school and examination fees. In the case of IX and X classes the maximum limit of a grant had been fixed at Rs. 75. In the case of V and VI middle classes it was fixed at Rs. 50. This relief was granted only for the completion of the studies or training which the student or trainee was pursuing at the time of partition and not for higher studies beyond that course, except in the following cases:

1. Students who passed their Matriculation Examination in the 2nd division and wished to pursue engineering, medical or agricultural courses.
2. Students who passed their intermediate examination (Medical), interested to continue their medical course. Students who had passed F.Sc. (non-medical) examination and had secured admission into an engineering college and also interested to complete the engineering course.

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138 L.R. Nair, Relief and rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.38.
(3) Matriculates who wished to join as dispensers – dressers were also eligible to the assistance under the scheme.\textsuperscript{139}

Loans to the students or a trainee were stopped immediately on his failure to pass a recognised periodical examination. For instance students who were studying in the 8th class at the time of the disturbances were assisted only up to the matriculation and those in intermediate up to F.A. or F.Sc. examination.\textsuperscript{140} Exception was, however, made in the case of students who had secured admission to engineering, medical, veterinary or agricultural colleges, recognised by the East Punjab University in which case assistance was continued till completion of the full course. The Punjab Government disbursed to displaced students a sum of Rs. 15,22,000 as loans and Rs. 19,48,000 as grants in the year 1948-49. For the year 1949-50 the budget allocation was Rs. 40 lacs, half of which was as loans and half as grants.\textsuperscript{141} During March, 1950, the Director Public Instructions sanctioned the aggregate amount of Rs. 1,13,948 as grants. The total amount disbursed as grants during 1949-50 was Rs. 16,99,064. The various heads of departments disbursed Rs. 72,128 as loans to displaced students during March, 1950 and Rs. 6,67,328 during the financial year 1949-50.\textsuperscript{142}

A scheme, mutually beneficial to the evacuees and the students, was devised. A large number of students could not take various examinations or their results could not be announced. In order to help the students to come out of the difficulty and make possible voluntary and willing service to the refugees, a scheme of “social service” was started. According to this scheme, a student who worked for at least 70 days in a refugee camp, approved by the Government, was awarded diplomas or certificate for the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{140} \textit{Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab 1950}, Official Pamphlet, pp.20-22.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} \textit{Ibid.}, p.34.
  \item \textsuperscript{142} \textit{Progress Report on Relief and Rehabilitation in the Punjab}, April 20, 1950, Rehabilitation Branch.
\end{itemize}
examinations for which they were entitled to appear or had appeared but the results could not be announced due to disturbances. These diplomas or certificates were considered equivalent to those obtained after passing the examination.\textsuperscript{143}

Even though the situation being completely out of control, the school administration in East Punjab was able to work out a timetable for the conduct of promotional examinations. On December 10, 1947, it was announced that the matriculation examination would not be held as usual in March/ April but from September 1, 1948, and also that there would be no summer vacation in 1948. As for the conduct of 1949 matriculation examination, it would be in the month of May, thereafter, i.e., from 1950, the examination would be held as usual in March/April every year.\textsuperscript{144} The Senate of the East Punjab University met in Jullundur on November 30 presided over by Bhargava. It resolved to provide some relief to the examinees in view of the complete disruption of academic activity. The students who put in three months of social service in the relief camps would be exempted from appearing in one subject in Matriculation, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations in 1947.\textsuperscript{145} For the students of the M.A. examination, appearing in 1947 would have no such provision, but those who were to appear in 1948 would be allowed to forego one paper out of six in lieu of three months of social service.\textsuperscript{146} For medical students, however, things were not so easy. A large number of students demanded that the examination be postponed because most of the students had lost their books. Others demanded that they should be allotted Medical College at Aligarh and also may be sent to distant colleges across India as was being done.\textsuperscript{147}

\textsuperscript{143} Report of the Progress of Education in the Punjab, Simla, 1950, p.4.
\textsuperscript{144} The Tribune, December 11, 1947; January 5, 1948.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., December 1, 1948.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., December 17, 1947.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., December 12, 1947, The Statesman, January 17, 1947.
Despite of all these concessions and financial help, all the refugee students could not find it possible to continue their education. The displaced persons, after their arrival in the East Punjab had to start their life afresh. Many of them had lost all they had. They had, therefore, to harness all available resources to achieve the desired object. The young children came to the rescue of their parents in this hard time and penury and supplemented their paltry earnings. The Board of Economic Enquiry, after making survey in eight towns concluded that nearly 31-40 percent refugee students had to discontinue their studies, because their parents could not afford the expenses of their education. It, however, pointed out that a large number of children would have been “lured to school if fee and other concessions had been freely and readily made available”. Female education was worst affected by the partition, being non-earning members, girls were the first to be retrenched out of the family economy.148

With the liquidation of gratuitous relief in general camps, the care and maintenance of the unattached infirm and aged persons, having nobody to look after them, the Punjab Government had focused their attention on establishment of suitable homes at selected places in the province where such unattached persons could be adequately looked after. Four big-sized homes for the women and children were created at Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Karnal and Rohtak. Jullundur and Hoshiarpur accommodated nearly 2,700 women and children. The unattached women and children from all the relief camps of the province had been given the option to choose any of these four homes for admission. Besides these four big-sized homes, a Seva Sadan accommodated nearly 250 women and children in Jullundur. Similar Seva Sadan were created at Karnal, Ambala, Batala and Ferozepore with the passage of time.149

149 L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, op. cit., p.29.
In these homes education facilities had been provided for the children. Basic education was provided according to availability of adequate trained staff. Various types of industries and crafts, on the basis of cottage industries, including weaving, spinning, knitting, tailoring, embroidery, laundry, toys-making, carpet making, niwar and durrie-making, confectionary etc. were introduced for the women of these homes.

The unattached infirm and aged persons had been lodged in infirmaries set up in the various relief camps of the province. Nearly 900 infirm and aged men and women, some of them being too old and infirm were incapable even to attend to their day to day needs had been lodged in these infirmaries. They were being looked after in these infirmaries on a semi-hospital basis, where the prescribed diet was provided to them.150

The PEPSU Government also set up ‘Home for Destitute Women and Children; at Sangrur and Rajpura after the gratuitous relief camps had been liquidated. As many as 1,100 widows and unattached women from the old camps were accommodated there.151 The destitute women and children were trained in various crafts, such as tailoring, spinning, weaving, hand embroidery, knitting and laundry. The PEPSU Government provided maintenance allowance at the rate of Rs. 18 per month per head to about 1,400 destitute women and old infirm and aged persons in these Homes.152

The influx of teachers from the West Punjab who were more in number than the Muslim teachers from the East Punjab also had to be absorbed. The Government of East Punjab by circular letters on 25 March and 2 June 1948 and 4 May 1950, directed all the heads of departments that while making new appointments, preference should be given to the displaced government servants. All permanent government servants were to be absorbed and supernumerary posts

150 Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, op. cit., p.57.
151 PEPSU Since Inauguration, p.38; See also, The Tribune, September 26, 1953.
had to be created for those who had not been absorbed or were in temporary service in the West Punjab. Similarly, instructions were issued to the local and private bodies to appoint displaced employees of local bodies of the West Punjab. Arrangements were also made to get duplicate certificates from the West Punjab or issue special certificates in lieu of those lost in transit at the time of the partition.\textsuperscript{153}

A number of concessions and relaxations in the matter of employment in Government and public sector undertakings were given to displaced persons. These included age concessions for appearing at the State P.P.S.C. and U.P.S.C. examinations and entry into Government services, fee concession for the submission of applications to the U.P.S.C. etc. and also reservation of vacancies in Government and public sector undertakings. Till 1961, about 0.70 lakh displaced persons were provided jobs through various Employment Exchanges in the Eastern region.\textsuperscript{154}

The rehabilitation and urban resettlement of displaced persons raised a number of other complicated questions regarding moveable evacuee’s property and assets. Regarding the transfer of savings, bank deposits, accounts, payment of pension, removal of assets of trusts and operation of safe deposit, the Governments of the two Dominions entered into an agreement. In pursuance of this agreement the West Punjab and the PEPSU Governments decided to permit non-Muslims to have access to them who had lockers in banks and safe-deposit companies in Lahore. The East Punjab and PEPSU Governments, therefore issued 30 permits a day for this purpose.\textsuperscript{155}


\textsuperscript{154} P.N. Luthra, \textit{Rehabilitation}, Delhi, 1951, pp.28-29.

\textsuperscript{155} \textit{After Partition}, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1948, p.70.
SECTIoN – IV

As a result of the partition of Punjab, the Punjab Mental Hospital, Lahore, became a part of the West Punjab Government. East Punjab and the adjoining States were, thus, deprived of the medical facilities of an up-to-date Mental Hospital. Non-Muslim mental patients numbering about 600 admitted in the Lahore Mental Hospital at the time of partition had to remain there for want of asylum in East Punjab. The East Punjab Government, therefore, felt it absolutely necessary to build a new Mental Hospital of their own and decided to convert the Reformer School, Amritsar, into a Mental Hospital. The construction work started in 1948 and the building of the Mental Hospital was completed in early 1949.\textsuperscript{156} The East Punjab Government authorised the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, at Lahore to release all Hindu and Sikh mental patients of the hospital, who had been declared fit since August 15, 1948.\textsuperscript{157} In order to reserve sufficient accommodation for Lahore patients, government permitted the medical superintendent of the hospital to admit patients provided total number in the hospital at one time did not exceed 100 (this limit later raised to 150) \textsuperscript{158}

The most important event in the working of the Punjab Mental Hospital, Amritsar, in the year 1950, was the transfer of 450 Indian Mental patients from Mental Hospitals in West Pakistan on December 6, 1950. The patients received from Pakistan Hospitals were as follows:\textsuperscript{159}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mental Hospital, Lahore</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Hospital, Peshawar</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Hospital, Hyderabad (Sindh)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{157} The Civil and Military Gazette, January 26, 1949.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., January 26, 1949.
Out of these, 282 Punjabi patients were admitted in the Mental Hospital, Amritsar, while the other 168 non-Punjabi patients were transferred to the Indian Mental Hospital, Ranchi.

At the time of partition on August 15, 1947, the strength of Indian mental patients in the Lahore Mental Hospital was about 650. Out of these, only 317 patients returned to India. It is tragic to note that the remaining Indian patients did not survive due to unfortunate post-partition circumstances. The fate of the patients in the Sindh and Peshawar Mental Hospitals was worst and only 133 were received at the time of exchange.\(^{160}\) The patient included patients from Mental Hospitals, Lahore, Sindh and N.W.F.P. The hardships of these mental patients both men and women suffered at the hands of an unsympathetic administration could be imagined from the fact that more than half of the patients left at the Mental Hospital, Lahore, perished during the period between partition and repatriation.\(^{161}\)

**Recovery of Prisoners**

Another problem caused by the partition of the country was the exchange of prisoners. Several Hindu and Sikh prisoners were imprisoned in Lahore Jail. As a result of partition, the East Punjab was left with inadequate number of jails as all the Central Jails and most of the big district jails were left in the West Punjab. The loss of “all major jail industrial centres, stocks of raw materials and other marketable goods, prisoner’s clothing and bedding, struck a serious blow to the whole system of the prison administration of the state.\(^{162}\) Despite of the serious shortage of accommodation in the Indian Jails, persistent efforts were made by the government to secure earliest repatriation of Hindu and Sikh prisoners from Pakistan keeping in view their reported plight and also to relieve from natural anxiety of

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\(^{160}\) *Ibid.*


\(^{162}\) *Punjab on the March – Police, Jails and Campaign against Corruption*, Simla, 1951, p.5.
their relatives in India. Unfortunately the West Punjab Government was not in a hurry even for the sake of Muslim prisoners seeking repatriation from East Punjab in exchange and continued to postpone the arrangements.

On January 3, 1948, with the efforts of Indian Government, a conference of representatives from India and Pakistan was held at Amritsar, wherein the process of exchange of prisoners was fixed to commence from the January 12. But it could not mature as the West Punjab Government sent an intimation at the last moment that they were not yet prepared for the exchange. Further negotiations were held to reach to an agreement of exchange of prisoners in April and an elaborate plan was worked out for this purpose, including the concentration on exchangeable prisoners from both sides in selected jails and pooling of railway prison vans of East and West Punjab railways for transporting the prisoners from one side to the other.

Before they were sent to Pakistan the Muslim prisoners were kept in Hissar Camp Jail.

Temporary special jails were opened at Jalandhar, Ferozepur at short notice for a short periods to receive non-Muslim under trial prisoners and convicts repatriated from West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan. The special jail at Jalandhar was opened in the end of March, 1948 and closed on 17th May, 1948. It was opened in the Gandhi Nagar Relief Camp which was converted into a jail by constructing a barbed wire enclosure and providing a kitchen, water

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164 An escort party that had gone to West Punjab to bring back Hindu and Sikh prisoners had to come back empty-handed because the West Punjab authorities refused to handover the prisoners unless Muslim prisoners in East Punjab jails were released first. *The Tribune*, January 2, 1948.


supply and other sanitary installations and security arrangements. Under trial prisoners numbering 1397 repatriated from West Punjab were kept in this jail till their cases were reviewed by the District Magistrate, Jalandhar. Except 126 under-trial prisoners involved in very serious offences of murder and dacoities, all others were released. Similarly a separate jail was opened in Ferozepore in September, 1948 for the confinement of Muslim prisoners, who were brought here from other jails of East Punjab and Delhi provinces and Indian states for their repatriation to West Punjab in Pakistan in exchange (West Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh, Baluchistan, Bahawlpur state). The Camp Jail was closed on the November 30, 1948, after 891 Muslim prisoners were sent to Pakistan and 1,315 non-Muslim prisoners repatriated from West Punjab were shifted to other jails in the province and to the District Jail Delhi.\(^{167}\)

After the exchange of 2,870 Muslim prisoners with 2,773 Hindu and Sikh prisoners, West Punjab abruptly discontinued further exchange. This development was taken to both the Dominion Governments and after prolonged negotiations, the remaining exchange was carried out at Ferozepur in October-November, 1948. The number of prisoners exchanged from either side on the two occasions was as below:\(^{168}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. exchange</th>
<th>Non-Muslim prisoners repatriated from Pakistan</th>
<th>Muslim prisoners repatriated to Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Convicts</td>
<td>Under trials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. exchange in April, 1948</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. exchange in Oct./Nov., 1948</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2166</strong></td>
<td><strong>1922</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{168}\) Punjab on the March, op. cit., pp.5-6; See also, East Punjab Liaison Agency Reports, File No. XV/46/129, p.7.
The jail department, in addition, had to recognise jail industries to restore internal economy. The total “pucca” accommodation available in the Punjab jails was sufficient only for about 2,500 prisoners, whereas, the average population of prisoners in the jails was about 8,000. To meet this shortage of accommodation the government ordered an extension of the district jails at Ambala, Ferozepur and construction of a “pucca” district jail at Hissar at the site of Camp Jail. Separate arrangements in addition had to be made for juvenile, adolescent and women prisoners and those suffering from T.B. Temporary arrangements, in the first instance, were made to meet this accommodation shortage by construction of new jails by:

1. Utilizing the Camp Jail at Hissar as Borstal Institution for the confinement of juvenile and adolescent prisoners received from Pakistan.

2. Reserving civil ward situated outside district jail, Ludhiana for the confinement of women prisoner from all over the state and

3. Opening a T.B. sections in a separate enclosure with 30 beds in the Central Jail, Ambala.169

Further, in order to give relief from congestion, two jails were sanctioned, the first in May 1949 and the second in October 1960, in addition to the premature release of 1,590 prisoners order by the Government in celebration of the first Republic of India in 1950.170

**Recovery of Abducted Women**

The painful story of population transfer relates to Hindu and Sikh women abducted and forcibly married to Muslims and to the large number of persons forcibly converted to Islam. The problem of their recovery was one of the great difficulties. It was complicated by

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169 Punjab on the March, op. cit., pp.5-6.
170 Further in order to relieve congestion, two jail deliveries were sanctioned, the first in May 1949 and the second in October 1960, in addition to the premature release of 1590 prisoners ordered by Government in celebration of the founding of the Republic of India in 1950. *Ibid.*
religious and emotional scruples and that the sentiment of orthodoxy was hard to overcome.

According to Clause 2 of the *Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Act, 1949* in India “abducted person” means a male child under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age who is, or immediately before the 1st day of March, 1947, was a Muslim or who on or after that day and before 1st January, 1949 has separated from his or her family and is found to be living with or under the control of any other individual or family in the latter case includes a child born to any such female after the said date.171

The decision to tackle this particular problem was taken during the meeting of both the Prime Ministers at Lahore on September 3, 1947.172 Both the Central Governments and Governments of West and East Punjab wish to make it clear that forced conversions and marriages will not be recognized. On account of the sudden and forced migration of the members of the minority communities, there were left different categories of people to be evacuated. A large number of persons were forcibly converted. Owing to the continuance of disturbed conditions and communal riots, a very large number of women and children were abducted from both sides of the border. The evacuees in the East Punjab and the West Punjab who had recently migrated wanted to recover their relations, movable properties, bank lockers, etc. It was, therefore, felt necessary that there must be some organisation which should be entrusted with such work. The East Punjab Government and the West Punjab Government, therefore, established Liaison Agencies for their respective provinces. Under a Chief Liaison Officer in each state, there were District Liaison Officer (DLO) and each District Liaison Officer was to work in a district placed under him. The East

Punjab Liaison Agency had its headquarters at Lahore and it worked for more than a year. A base camp for recovered Muslim women was to be set up at Jullundur. Though Military Evacuee Organisation and Liaison Agencies had been established in both the Punjabs in September, 1947, nothing was done at the government level to alleviate the sufferings of the abducted women up until December 6, 1947.

The following decisions taken at the conference between the Government of India and the Pakistan Government held on December 6, 1947, were brought to the notice of all concerned for early compliance.

1. Conversion by persons abducted after March 1, 1947 will not be recognised and all such persons must be restored to their respective Dominions. The wishes of the persons concerned are irrelevant consequently no statements of such persons should be recorded before Magistrates.

2. The Primary responsibility for recovery of abducted persons will rest with the local police who must put maximum efforts in this matter. Good work done by police officers in this respect will be rewarded by promotion or grant of cash awards.

3. The MEOs will render every assistance by providing guards in the transit camps and escort for the transport of recovered persons from transit camps to their respective Dominions.

4. Social workers will be associated with the scheme. They will look after the camp arrangements and receive the abducted persons in their own dominions. They will also collect full information regarding abducted persons to be recovered and supply it to the inspector-General of police and the local S.P.

5. The DLOs will set up Transit Camps in Consultation with the local Deputy Commissioners and the public workers and

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173 Ibid.
174 Ibid.
175 Partition Branch Records, File No. C.F. 119-ER-49.
supply information regarding abducted persons to be recovered.

6. Coordination between different agencies working in the district will be secured by a weekly conference between the Superintendent of police and local MEO Officer, the District Liaison Officer and the Deputy Commissioner. At this meeting progress achieved will be reviewed and every effort will be made to solve the difficulties experienced.\textsuperscript{176}

In East Punjab, Miss Mridula Sarabhai and Mrs. Bhag Mehta organised women workers for recovery work. Such as Rameshwari Nehru, Damyanti Sehgal, Sushila Nayar, Premvati Thapar, Kamlabehn Patel and others.\textsuperscript{177} These social workers were assisted by the police of the country they worked in, including one AIG, two DSPs, 15 inspectors, 10 sub-inspectors and six ASIs.\textsuperscript{178} Soon it was observed that the local police was not helpful. The recovery officers were allowed use the police force of their respective provinces or military from the MEOs of the respective Dominations. The police in general was hostile to the recovery work in both the provinces. This made the recovery work difficult. At places women workers appointed by Mr. Sarabhai and Mrs. Bhag Mehta did not see eye to eye with the District Recovery Officers. All these problems resulted in inordinate delay in the recovery work which caused growing misery to the afflicted women.\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., File No. C.F. 119-ER-49.
\textsuperscript{177} East Punjab Liaison Agency Records, Acc. No. 1406, Amritsar.
\textsuperscript{178} Satya M. Rai, Partition of the Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.123.
\textsuperscript{179} Once their recovery became a strong possibility hundreds abductors tattooed on their hands or breast with slogans like ‘Pakistan Zindabad’ (Long Live Pakistan) or, in the case of Muslim women, the names of their abductors and the dates of their abduction (The abductor’s final insult, perhaps, to the opposite community). Anis Kidwai, \textit{Azadi ki Chhaon Mein (Hindi)}, New Delhi, 1990, pp.156-157; See also, East Punjab Liaison Agency Records, D.O. No. 8312/CLA, 23 January 1948, File No. LXVII/5.
At places, the police officers who were appointed to protect the women themselves committed the worst crime. Two Assistant sub-inspectors of police went to recover a non-Muslim woman from a village in the West Punjab and the unfortunate woman was raped by those very police officers during the night on the way.180 In the meeting of the officers of the East Punjab liaison Agency, it was brought to light that one sub-inspector of police at Kamoke (District Gujranwala) had collected all the non-Muslim girls at the time of the Kamoke train attack and distributed them to his accomplices.181

It appears that in the beginning, both women social workers with local police officers did useful work. But the task was enormous and their time-limit was short. Ultimately, the entire responsibility was given to the East Punjab Liaison Agency, which worked until November, 1948. After that this work was transferred to Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in India wrote to the Chief Secretary, East Punjab, that his daughter aged 13 years has been forcibly kept by one... son of Jat of village Bhoma, District Amritsar. In reply to his request for the recovery of the girl he was informed by the Indian Military authorities that his daughter (copy attached) did not wish to leave her husband.182

The District Liaison Officer, Campbellpur reported that the Deputy Commissioners of Campbellpur and Rawalpindi districts were not handing over the recovered abducted women and girls because they had been handed over to the Azad Kashmir Government. In some cases, the police officers in various districts had openly declared that it was their duty to see that proper regard was paid to public opinion. When recovered, on the statements of the

181 Liaison Agency Records, File No. L-VIII /14/171 (Pt. II).
recovered women and girls were returned to their abductors by the
District authorities.\textsuperscript{183}

These were the problems posed by abducted women, the
children born of their union with the men of the ‘other’ community
posed quite another. The women could be, in many ways, ‘purified’ –
because they had been forced into their situations and brought back
into the family, religious and national folds, but for a child of a
Muslim father and Hindu or Sikh mother was a more difficult issue.
In the debate on this subject, suggestions were made that such
children should be treated as war babies and left behind in the
country in which they were born. Kamlabehn says that the others
argued that where war babies were concerned, was the mothers who
stayed behind after the soldiers left. Other solutions were then
suggested: infants could come along with women to the camps, but if
their families objected, the children would have to find homes for
them. In case of the mother was not willing to keep the child, first
preference for the future custody of the child was to be given to the
abductor. If he also showed an unwillingness to keep the child, it
was to be sent to the state home for children.\textsuperscript{184} Older children were
meant to stay with their natural fathers and unborn children in the
womb would clearly had to be aborted. Abortion was taken up by the
state, and specific hospitals were targeted such as Kapur Hospital in
Delhi. These hospitals made vast amounts of money on abortion
operations. The project was financed out of a special budget allocated
by the state, and this was done at a time when abortion was not yet

\textsuperscript{183} A small percentage of abductors were lovers and protectors, rather than bestial
rapists. Some women feel in love with them. They did not wish to abandon their
India and Pakistan}, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1991, pp.xxxiii-iv; See also, \textit{East
VIII/5.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Ibid.}, vide D.P. No. 563/CLO, 29 December, 1947, File No. vii/2.
legal in India. Kamlabehn Patel corroborated this. She said that pregnant women were taken to Jullundur where they were kept for a period of three or four months—enough time for an abortion—and given medical treatment.

The most peculiar phenomenon with regard to the recovery work of non-Muslim women was that the non-Muslim abducted girls very often refused to be evacuated. They were too afraid of the rigidity of the caste system and were over conscious of having lost their relatives. Several Hindu families refused to accept their daughters as they felt ashamed of their community honour.

So acute was the problem that both Gandhi and Nehru had to issue repeated appeals to Hindus, asking them not to refuse to take the women back into their family fold. In a public appeal made in January, 1948 Nehru said:

“I am told that sometimes there is unwillingness on the part of their relatives to accept those girls and women in their homes. This is a most objectionable and wrong attitude to take up. These girls and women require our tender and loving care and their relatives should be proud to take them back and give them every help”.

While inaugurating the Restoration of Abducted Women’s Week, Prime Minister Nehru said: “We may forget other things but this (abduction of women) will take a long time to forget”.

And Gandhi said,

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186 Ibid.
187 In East Punjab the majority of a group of one hundred and seventy-five Muslim women recovered from Patiala state refused to leave their new homes and threatened to commit suicide if they were forcibly threatened; forty-six of them escaped from the transit camp in which they were being held. S. Gopal (ed.), Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. V, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972, pp.117-121. But sometimes, gratifying to note that the rescued women, by and large, were gladly welcomed by their relatives. Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, op. cit., p.118.
188 The Hindustan Times, January 17, 1948.
189 The Civil and Military Gazette, February 17, 1948; The Times of India, February 17, 1948; The Statesman, February 17, 1948.
“I hear women have this objection that the Hindus are not willing to accept back the recovered women because they say that they have become impure. I feel this is a matter of great shame. That woman is as pure as the girls who are sitting by my side. And if any one of these recovered women should come to me, then I will give them as much respect and honour as I accord to these young maidens”.

For several years afterwards – indeed well into 1955, and up to 1957 – the fate of these women was of considerable concern to the two governments. Constituent Assembly records for the years following 1947 show an ongoing concern with the debate about how many women had been rescued, where the largest number of recoveries had taken place, why other places had done badly and so on. Interestingly, although it was women who were key to the actual recovery operations, the questions were raised mainly by me. The fact that fewer Hindu women were recovered from Pakistan than Muslim women from India became a matter of great concern and figures on how many had been recovered, or concern about the slow rate of recovery, came up often. For example, in answer to a question in the Assembly, following figures were given: from April 1951 to the end of January, 1952 – 1,703 recoveries had been made in India as against 629 in Pakistan. Most of the recoveries, however, had been carried out in the first two years: till December, 1948 some 12,000 women had been recovered from India and 6,000 from Pakistan. This disparity in numbers was a cause of great concern in the assembly and came up for repeated discussions: why were loss of ‘our’ women being rescued and more of theirs? Of course both ‘our’ and ‘theirs’ were understood only in religious terms.

In all, approximately 30,000 Muslim and non-Muslim, women were recovered by both countries over an eight years duration. Although most of the recoveries were carried out between 1947 and 1952, women were being repatriated to both the countries as late as 1956, and the Act was renewed in India every year till 1957, when it

190 Ibid.
191 Parliamentary Debates (Lok Sabha), Ibid., Proceedings other than Questions and Answers, I (Part II) : pp.677-687.
was about to lapse. Recoveries were more or less abandoned in the two or three years period prior to this, largely because Mridula Sarabhai came under some adverse criticism, and resigned. The total number of Muslim women recovered was significantly higher, i.e., 25856 as against 9,336 non-Muslims.192

It is a significant fact that in both the countries a large majority of persons recovered were not those actually included in the lists of missing persons furnished by the respective governments. Not less than 4,415 abducted persons out of 30,355193 were declared as “the non-abduction cases” by the Pakistan Government. The information regarding the abducted women supplied by the Indian Government could not be wrong as it was based on the data collected from the individuals concerned. About 4,191194 abducted persons, that is to say, 13.8 percent of the list furnished by the Indian Government were reported by Pakistan Government to have died in Pakistan. This figure too does not appear to be correct as the corresponding number of the abducted Muslim women who died in India was surprisingly low, viz. 3.3 percent.195

From the figure given above, it would be seen that non-Muslim in East Punjab were as much guilty of this crime of abducting innocent Muslim women in West Punjab. It was, however, claimed by the East Punjab Government that they took up recovery work more honestly in this province than their counterparts in Pakistan.

*The Tribune* reported that most of the women being restored to India by the West Punjab authorities were those who were not saleable.196 A day later *The Tribune* gave more details of how

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196 *The Tribune*, January 22, 1948.
abducted Hindu and Sikh women were being exhibited in the bazaars of Peshawar and Banu. Many of these women were from Mirpur, Rajouli, Kotli, Bhimber... (and) sold for up to Rs. 200. The great majority of rescued women were fairly quickly reunited with their families and gladly welcomed by them, contrary to earlier propaganda. Most meetings between fathers and daughters or husbands and wives were extremely emotions, with many girls breaking down in tears.

The period from 1947 to 1956 was very important in the history of East Punjab. In this period, newly formed Government made every effort to settle down the economic and social issues of the people.

Independence of the country was secured after paying a heavy price of partition. Partition had its disastrous effect on the agricultural economy of the Punjab with West Pakistan notching up a greater share of agricultural land as well as resources. Independence brought with it a change in the dynamics of political power game. It signified the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial masters to the national elite. In the Punjab, rural elites came to wield power in the political set up. As a result, the agricultural development in the state was given a prime consideration.

The political and economic compulsions led the state to divert its energy in the rehabilitation of the province. A series of challenges were posed before the newly formed state. Food crises had to be faced. Rehabilitation process could be accomplished largely owing to the patience, perseverance, will power and mobility displayed by the Punjabis in the character. Since the problem of food crisis was too intense, the state machinery was geared towards agricultural development.

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197 Ibid., January 23, 1948.