

COMBINED PUNJAB PERSPECTIVE OF PARTITION

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ABSTRACT

More than one million persons were displaced due to partition of 1947 and these persons were called Refugees in their own country. These so called refugees played an important role in the freedom struggle and suffered a lot just after midnight of freedom when others were in celebrative mood. In the present paper it has been tried to provide the statistics of refugees camps and their administration. It was a big challenge for the administrators of that time to provide succor and relief to large number of population. It became possible with the help of private industry and still many land related issues are unresolved.

KEYWORDS: *Camps, Partition, Refugees, Religion*

I.INTRODUCTION

1.1Refugee Camps

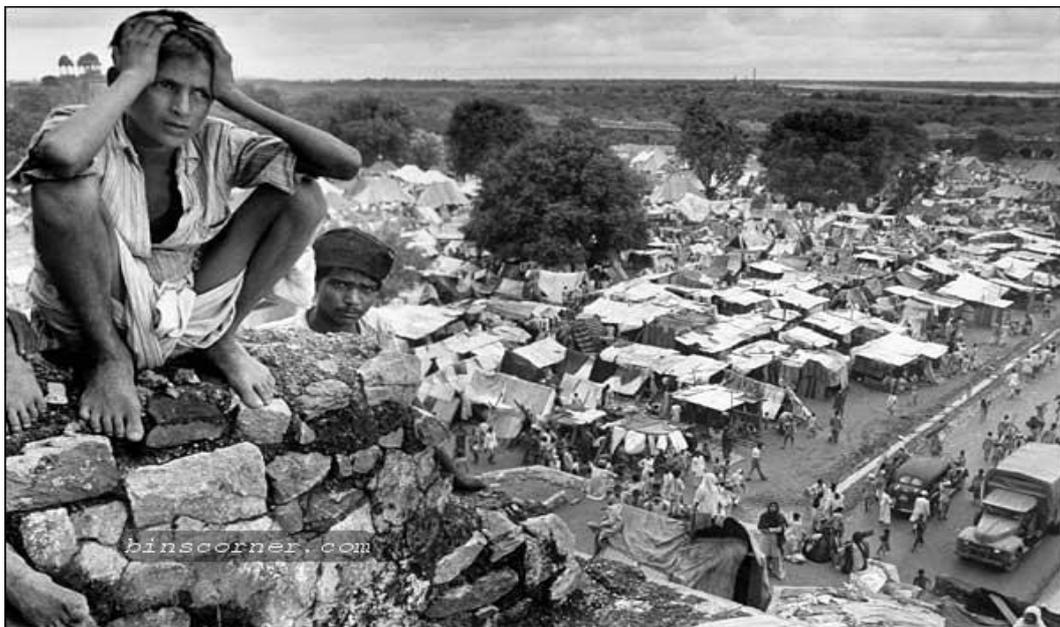
Government of India created a new ministry on 6 September 1947 to look after the evacuation, reception, relief and rehabilitation of refugees.^[1] A large number of refugee camps had been set up by the government in East Punjab, U.P., Delhi, Bombay, the East Punjab State, Jodhpur, Bikaner and other Rajputana States.

In all about 160 refugee camps had come up all over the country, providing temporary shelter to 1250000 refugees. In the East Punjab alone 721396 refugees were accommodated in 85 camps towards the end of December 1947. A total number of 150000 refugees were in camp in Delhi, 113000 in Bombay, 30000 in U.P., 500 in Madras and 1500 in C.P. about 53000 in Rajasthan.^[2] The governments spend large amounts on the camps – their establishment and distribution of food and clothing. The following were some major non-Muslim refugee camps functioning in East Punjab towards the end of Dec. 1947.

Table 1
Number of relief camps in East Punjab^[3]

Upto December 1948 (District)	No. of Camps	No. of Persons
Amritsar	5	1,29,398
Gurdaspur	4	3,500
Ferozepur	5	53,000
Ludhiana	1	25,000
Jullundur	19	60,000

Hoshiarpur	1	11,701
Hissar	3	3,797
Rohtak	2	50,000
Ambala	1	50,000
Karnal including Kurukshetra	4	3,25,000
Gurgaon3363	40	20,000
Total	85	7,21,396



In the initial stage, lodging was provided to the Hindu and Sikh refugees in public buildings of the nature of Dharamshalas, Sarais and educational institutions. In fact, all the educational institutions were ordered to remain closed for three months till the end of February. Thousands of refugees had to fend for themselves on railway platforms, in temples and mosques even without any religious sentiments.

They were soon, there after moved into the houses and Mohallas of Muslim evacuees also, and where these Mohallas constituted recognizable units they were given recognition as camps. But roofed accommodation was not sufficient, big tented refugee camps were organized.^[4] It had originally been planned to have one big camp of capacity upto 500000 at Kurukshetra, and a second line of camps at Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jallundur, Ludhiana and Ambala, The transit camp in the border districts were to serve as feeders to the second line camps and the central Kurukshetra camp.^[5]

The following table shows the various camps which had, at one stage or other, been organized in the East Punjab, indicating the maximum population accommodation in the camps and their nature of accommodation.

Table 2^[6]

Population and type of accommodation for relief camp

Camps	Maximum population	Type of Accommodation
AMBALA DISTT.		
Kudlip Nagar	53000	Tented
Gandhi Nagar	14430	Tented (bivouac)
Baldev Nagar	15198	Tented
Mubarikpur	13916	Tented
Auchinleck Barrack	3857	Tented
KARNAL DISTT.		
Kanral camp no. 1	50000	Tented (bivouac)
Karnal camp no. 2	38000	Tented
Karnal Grouped camp	18500	Educational Institution
Panipat	43700	Tented
Kaithal	9100	Tented and Buildings
Shahabad	21000	Tented
HISSAR DISTT.		
Hissar main camp	36729	Tented (bivouac)
Sirsa	6868	Buildings
Hansi	14377	Tented plus Buildings
Bhiwani	12300	Buildings
ROHTAK DISTT.		
Gandhi camp	31325	Tented
Vaish college	22644	Educational Institution
Government college	16081	Tents (bivouac)
Rothak grouped camp	15243	Buildings
Soenpat	28587	Tented (bivouac)
GURGAON DISTT.		
Gurgaon camp	16818	Tented (bivouac)
Palwal	20623	Tented (bivouac)
Rewari	11555	Tented
Faridabad	3863	Tented

Source : Millions Live again, pp. 41, 42.

Sheltered accommodation was a big problem. At least six to seven lakh refugees were to be sheltered during the winter months. Educational institutions provided considerable shelter but alternative accommodation had also to be sought to avoid educational institutions remaining indefinitely closed. Army authorities were approached for

the use of spare barracks, line and rest camps. This was greatly welcome, but was insufficient. The next alternative was tentage. These tents get from the defense ministry. With the help of this tentage than regularly planned camps, with straight, wide roads and crossing and side streets, with water supply and sanitation arrangements, hospitals, kitchen-sheds, bathing places and trench latrines started springing up.^[7]

All educational institutions were to reopen in the beginning of March 1948 and the refuses were shifted to regular camps. These camps were divided into blocks. For each block, there was a separate administrative section which generally comprises of the tent of the Unit Officer and the tent containing the ration depot. In a number of camps, regular kitchen sheds had been constructed for facilitating individual family cooking. There was one central administrative block in every camp. There was also a distinct hospital block in these camps, where there were separate sections for maternity cases, fever cases, and infection diseases. There were in some of the camps industrial and vocational training blocks, where training was imparted to the refugees in various crafts and industries such as weaving, dyeing, calico-printing, spinning, leather work, soap-making, etc. Schools were a regular feature of all the camps.^[8] Wherever electric supply was available, electric street lighting among rows of tents had been provided. In other places kerosene oil lamps were being used for this purpose. Microphone, loudspeaker and radio had been provided in all the camps.^[9]

1.2 Administration of the Refugee Camps

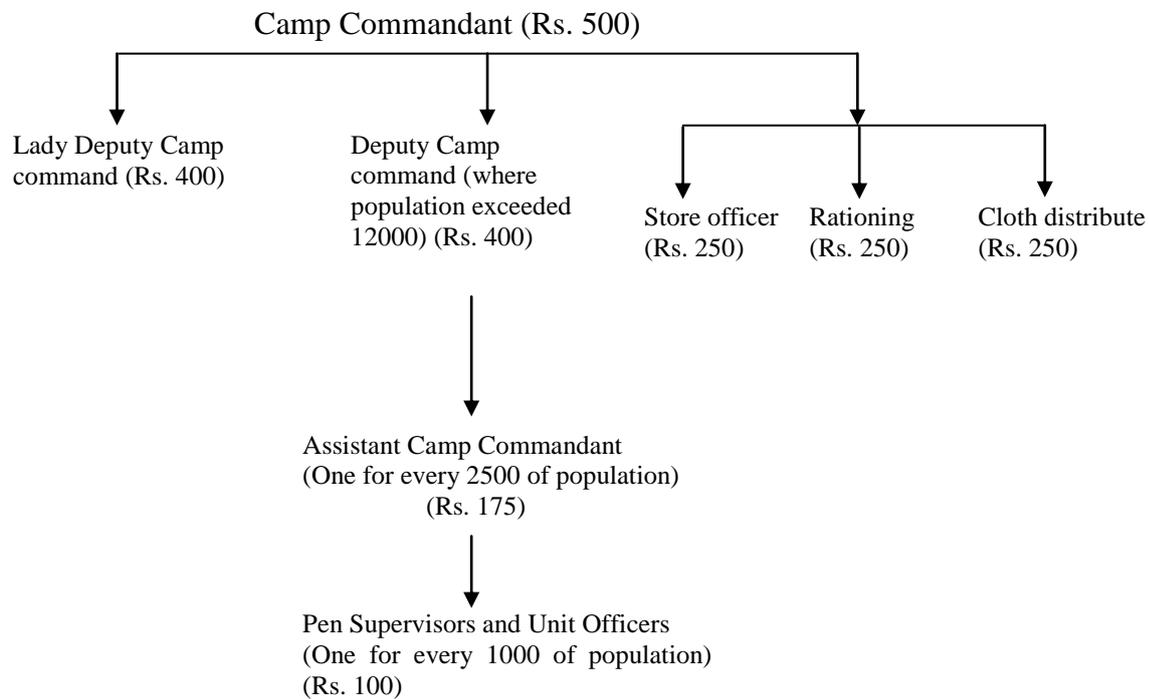
Administration of the whole provinces had been rudely shaken. Attendance in the offices was far from satisfactory. Muslim members of the office establishments had gone away from their post. It was a matter of the greatest difficulty to organize the staff for administrating the camps.

It was at about this time that upon an appeal from the East Punjab government, the home ministry of Government of India sent by air thirty young probationers of the cadre of IAS and IPS.^[10] These officers rallied together the official and non-official effort, gave shape to the camp and helped in the regularization of accounts, and distribution of rations and clothing. The displaced government servants gradually started reporting for duty, and a number of them were put to work in the refugee camps or in the district refugee offices.

For each camp, there was a camp commandant who was the head of the camp administration, responsible for this administration to the Deputy Commissioner of the district. Under the camp commandant, where the population exceeds 12,000, there was a Deputy Camp Commandant. For each camp, there was also a lady Deputy Camp Commandant, whose primary function was to look after the needs of women and children residing in the camp, organize vocational training for women, and also help in organizing camp schools. Below the Deputy Commandant there were the Unit Officer or pen supervisor, whose number again was dependent upon the population strength, there being one unit officer for every 1,000 of the population. Besides these officers in each camp there was one store officer, one rationing officer and one cloth distribution officer.^[11] These officers were responsible for their work. Following is the Camp administration, indicating salaries of the staff.

Table 3^[12]

Camp Administration, Indicating Salaries of the Staff



Other staff in the camps consists of the staff of the medical department and sanitation department. These will find mention at a later stage when problems connected with these departments were studied in greater details.

1.3 Food

Government provided free food, in almost all the refugee camps. Free food, was also supplied to Muslims in India and had to send foodstuffs, sometimes even by air, to non-Muslim camps in West Pakistan. In November 1947, the Government of India laid down a uniform scale of daily rations for refugees.^[13] Additional items were added time to time. The scale of ration in camps is indicated in the table given below.

Table 4^[14]

Enforced Scale of ration in relief camps

Commodity	Ration scale enforced on 17-1-1948
Wheat atta or rice	5 chh. Daily per adult unit
Maize atta	1 chh
Parched gram	1 chh
Dal	½ chh
Vegetables	½ chh
Veg. ghee	¼ chh
Gur or Sugar	½ chh

Salt	¼ chh
Fuel wood	1 Seer
Washing soap	3-2 per month
Match boxes	1 per week per family
Milk	1 Ib. per child under 12 years

In may 1948 the government stopped free rations to those refugees who were not prepared to accept the employment offered to them. Those who were unemployable were allowed to draw free ration.

1.4 Clothing

Clothing was provided free of cost to the refugees in camps. Supply of winter garments like quilts and blankets were to protect against winter. Besides these, cotton cloth and readymade cotton garments were also distributed in camps. A scale of issue of clothing and it was stressed that the free issue of these was to be confined only to destitute refugees. The maximum scale for any one individual was set down as under.^[15]

- i) One *razai*, or blanket, or great-coat.
- ii) One pair of *pyjamas*, or in case of woman *salwar*.
- iii) One shirt or *kurta*, or not more than 3 yds of cloth.
- iv) One *dapatta*.
- v) One *turban* (for Sikh only).
- vi) One *bundi* or jersey.
- vii) A *Gandhi cap* for Hindus.

The government had to send thousands of blankets to various camps in India and non-Muslim refugee camps in West Punjab.

1.5 Medical Relief

In the very early stage the work of medical relief started with voluntary effort organizations. A number of organizations like the St. Johns Ambulance Brigade, helped in this task. The first concrete mode of relief which was then organized was that of mobile dispensaries and mobile sanitary squads. The mobile dispensaries carried a doctor, one or two compounders and the necessary equipment and drugs. The sanitation squads consisted of a sanitary Inspector and a number of coolies and sweepers. The dispensaries rendered first aid, removed the sick to hospitals and also carried out inoculation and vaccination. The sanitary squads cleaned-up routes of columns and sites of the transit camps.^[16]

Each camp has its own hospital, the bed strength of which depends upon the camp population, and which lacks nothing in equipment and medical supplies. The medical organization has at the peak of its work, controlled as many as 32 camp hospitals with, aggregate bed strength of 1730, including 800 beds of the Kurukshetra camp hospitals.^[17] There was one medical store and dispensary in every camp.

1.6 Educational and Training Facilities

In order that the education of refugee children in camps might not suffer, primary and secondary level schools were set up in different camps, and teachers were recruited from among the refugee themselves.^[18] Industrial and vocational training centers were opened in some of the camps by the East Punjab department of industries. At these centre training was imparted in various crafts and vocations such as spinning and weaving, calico printing, tailoring and dressmaking, leather work and dyeing, etc. The department of industries has now in hand a scheme for expansion of this effort, providing for the training of 4,000 men and 2,000 women during the course of next two years.^[19] More training centres were opened in various camps. The training in crafts played an important role in permanent rehabilitation operation.

1.7 Expenditure

Government of India has assumed responsibility for all relief expenditure in the provinces. The budgeted expenditure during seven months for the last financial years, since the beginning of the refugee problem in August, was Rs. 6.21 crores. Out of this the major item was winter and cotton clothing, including quilts, blankets, jersies and other cloth, the cost of which also was estimated to be in the neighborhood of Rs. 2.5 crores. The estimated cost of the feeding of refugees, including the feeding of Muslim evacuees, was Rs. 1.95 crores, but the actual remained near Rs. 1.13 crores. The next major item of expenditure was evacuation, for which railways alone were due an amount of nearly Rs. 80 lakh. Medicines and hospital equipment has cost approximately Rs. 30 lakh.^[20] The provision of accommodation was another important item of expenditure.

The total expenditure on refugees from 15 august 1947, to march 1948, excluding the amount spend by private organization has been estimated at Rs. 22 crore by the central government and Rs. 21,44,616 by the East Punjab government.^[21] The major item of expenditure in financial year 1948-49 was feeding and provision of accommodation. There was a provision for construction of over 4,000 new houses in thirteen different colonies in the neighborhood of existing towns of the East Punjab. The remaining expenditure included provision for clothing, medical relief and the various aids to the destitute.^[22]

1.8. Urban Rehabilitation

1.8.1 Problem of Urban Rehabilitation

The task of urban resettlement was essentially different from that of rural resettlement both in its nature and magnitude. There were three major aspects of the problem housing, employment, and commercial and industrial life.^[23]

In Pakistan, property left by Hindus and Sikhs was several times more than the property left by Muslims in India. Another handicap has been the insufficient number and inferior quality of the houses left by evacuees in Punjab. The urbanite displaced persons who have migrated from the West Punjab were accustomed to a much higher standard of residential accommodation than their evacuee counterparts in this province. These urbanites left behind 1,54,000 houses in the West Punjab. The number of allotted evacuee houses in the East Punjab on

the other hand was only about 1, 12,000 and they were markedly poorer in quality and accommodation capacity.^[24]

In respect of the accommodation for commercial and industrial purposes, the discrepancy was even more marked. Against 51,000 shops and business premises abandoned in the West Punjab, the number of evacuee, shops in this province was only about 17000. In the case of industrial establishments the ratio was 13 against 1, the Muslim having left only 1100 allotted establishments in the Punjab.^[25]

Urban rehabilitation in respect of provision of gainful employment to the displaced persons had also been hedged round with many difficulties. The Hindus and Sikhs who had come over from West Pakistan mainly constituted the trading class, whereas the bulk of the urbanite Muslim population of the Punjab consisted of technicians, artisans, craftsman, mechanics, and labourers.^[26] The displaced persons have naturally been desirous of pursuing their previous vocation, but the opportunities for their absorption in the Towns of the Punjab in these professions were very limited. This had obviously made the problem of resettlement of displaced persons very complicated.

A large number of the allotted factories could not start functioning due to the acute shortage of machinery parts, raw material and skilled labourer used to be drawn from the evacuees who have migrated the province. Machinery was extensively damaged during the partition.

At a time of national emergency, the problem of resettling the urbanite displaced persons, therefore, government faced to immediate tasks, the first and for most of which was the provision of housing accommodation and second of which was the acquisition of gainful employment to the people to enable them to earn their livelihood.^[27]

1.9. Housing

The first and the immediate need of the displaced persons, after food and temporary housing in camps, therefore, as to have residential accommodation. For the immediate rehabilitation of urban refugee the government allotted the evacuee houses on a temporary basis. The policy that was laid towards the allotment of these houses was to accommodate in the respective urban areas, only those displaced persons who had migrated from similar urban areas of Western Pakistan. This was done to provide suitable surrounding for pursuit of trades and profession. Of the four million displaced persons who have come over from the West Punjab; nearly 13 lakhs were from urban area. In allotting the population quota to the various provinces and states in India, the share of Punjab and PEPSU was fixed by government of India at 13 lakhs of urbanite population for resettlement in their urban areas.^[28]

The government of East Punjab decided in October, 1947 to allot a scale of space at the rate of 50 square feet of floor area for an adult and 30 for child.^[29] The excess accommodation was to be shared with other families.

The government has inaugurated several new housing schemes for shortage of housing accommodation. These scheme aimed at the provision of housing accommodation to suit persons of all classes, including those who have been accustomed to a better standard of living as well as poorer classes.^[30]

1.9.1 Model Townships

The east Punjab government decided to establish model townships in the 17 towns. The scheme of construction of 4200 houses and the laying out of 9800 building sites in the new township colonies have already been very largely implemented.^[31] These townships have been created outside the various towns of the Punjab, namely Jullunder, Ludhiana, Khanna, Hoshiarpur, Jagadhari, Karnal, Panipat, Rohtak, Sonapat, Gurgaon, Palwal, Rewari, Ambala, and Hisar. The total accommodation that these township aimed at 66,000.

Out of the proposed 4,200 houses, 3,873 have already been constructed in twelve townships. Of these 2123 were sold to the displaced persons. 393 houses were placed at the disposal of the Defense Organization of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, government of India for allotment to the displaced serving soldiers.^[32] The remaining houses have been temporarily utilized for providing accommodation to various government Department and government officers. Some houses have been reserved for provision of essential amenities such as for the establishment of schools, police posts and dispensaries.

The 6800 building sites were laid out in the vicinity of the houses which have been constructed in these new townships colonies. Out of these 5048 sites has so far been put to sale. Of these 3438 sites were sold, 274 reserved for the displaced military personnel, and the balance were yet to be disposed of. These building sites were of various sizes, ranging from 16 marlas to 6 marlas, to suit the requirements of the different classes of purchasers.^[33]

These houses and sites were sold under the provisions of the East Punjab refugee rehabilitation act 1948. The sale price of the building sites as the reserve price was determined by the Public Works Department. The mode of sale was by auction, to which the purchaser has the option to bid only for the initial installment, the minimum of which was fixed at 5% of the total price. The balance, after deduction of the initial installment, was payable with interest of 3% per annum in thirty equated half-yearly installments.^[34] Shopping centers were created in these townships. 110 shops which were already completed at various places, and be sold to displaced persons. In 1950 it was proposed to construct only 200 shops.^[35]

1.9.2. House Building Loans

The government also gave house building loans for the construction of new houses. A scheme for giving house building loans was, therefore, been inaugurated. For giving a legal basis to this scheme a new enactment, namely the East Punjab refugee rehabilitation (house building loans) act, enforced. Funds amounting to nearly Rs. 40 lakhs were placed at the disposal of the deputy commissioner and registrar, co-operative societies (rehabilitation), for giving loans to individuals and house building co-operative societies for constructing houses on the sites in the townships. Loans were, in the first place were for those persons who can contribute to the cost

of constructions from their own resources. In their case the maximum amount up to 66.66% of the total cost of construction was being provided in form of loan.^[36]

The displaced person who were not in a position to finance their house construction to any extent, come next in precedence. The loans were advanced on the following scale^[37]:

Rs. 3000 if the area was not more than one kanal.

Rs. 3500 if the area was more than one kanal but less than two.

Rs. 4000 if the area was more than two kanal but less than three.

Rs. 4500 if the area was more than three kanal but less than four.

The application for loans were sanctioned by the deputy commissioners of the districts where the sites were located. The deputy commissioner was authorized to grant loans up to Rs. 5000/- and to recommend the cases for higher loans to the financial commissioner Relief and Rehabilitation, who can sanction up to Rs. 10,000/ Registrar was authorized to sanction loans up to 5000/- per number for the company, firm, cooperative society, associations or body of individuals, as the case may be. The loans was repayable in 30 equal half yearly installments with interest of 4.5% per annum, intense publicity was given to houses building loan scheme by sending notices to every individual purchaser of the building sites, in order to ensure that the construction of his house in not held up because of the non-availability of finances.^[38]

1.9.3 Cheap Housing Schemes

The working classes and the low income groups were accommodated in the two cheap housing 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 numbers of eight Marla plots.^[39]

Table-5

Building Sites for Cheap Housing Scheme

Table-6

(Eight Marla Plots)

Place	No. of Houses	Place	No. of Houses
Pathankot	1000	Batala	400
Batala	700	Pathankot	400
Amritsar	500	Ludhiana	500
Moga	300	Jullundur	1000
Ropar	250	Ambala	700
Bhiwani	500	Jagadhari	500
Hansi	100	Rohtak	1000
Shahabad	100	Hissar	400
Jullundur	1000	Gurgaon	1000
Jagadhari	200	Palwal	800

Panipat	300	Karnal	800
Ambala	700	Panipat	800
Ludhiana	500	Site of the capital	1000
Total	6150	Total	9800

Source : Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, pp. 21-22 (200 KEPT IN RESERVE)

These new colonies of cheap houses were largely created in industrial areas which were established outside some of the important urban areas. These provided accommodation to the laborers and workers who were employed in the factories of the industrial areas.^[40]

1.9.4 Mud Huts

The Punjab Government decided to undertake the construction of cheap mud huts at the site of the camps in order to provide substitute shelter. The cost of these mud huts was Rs. 300/ per mud hut. Government constructed nearly 8,000 huts at various places in the province. The target was of 13,200 mud huts before the summer, which enabled to provide accommodation to nearly 70,000 persons. Nearly 40,000 persons were already been put into the huts which have so far been constructed. These huts were allotted to the displaced persons on the basis of one family per hut. These huts were for scheduled caste and other backward classes persons who were resource less and landless.^[41]

1.10. Gainful Employment (Allotment of Evacuee Shops and Factories)

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 can pursue its industry or other professional work. For this purpose government laid down the policy, that evacuee shops and factories will be allotted only to the displaced persons. It was an essential condition of eligibility that the displaced persons, who claimed allotment of a shop or a factory, were carrying on similar business or industry in the West Punjab.

There were in all 17,826 allotable shops. Of these 17,614 comprising 98.8% already allotted. In order to meet the deficiency in shops, local bodies have been encouraged to build wooden stalls at suitable places along the main roads. Out of nearly 1600 factories abandoned by the evacuees, 1116 factories were allotted to the displaced persons.^[42] The government also made efforts to help displaced industrialists by providing unfinished goods, raw material, spare parts, tools, fuel and lubricants.

1.11. Industrial Townships

Displaced industrialists who were desirous of being rehabilitated in the Punjab, Punjab government decided upon a scheme of development of industrial township outside some important urban areas which have substantial Industrial Potential. A committee set up by the government recommended location of these townships at Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, Sonapat, Panipat, Jagadhari, Khanna, Ropar, Ludhiana, Jullundur and at a place between the capital and Ambala. The target set before the government was the establishment of about 1000 factories with labour potential of nearly 40,000.^[43]

The two chief immediate requirements of the industrialist were the availability of land and electric power for industrial purposes. The scheme completed the very early provision of both these requirement, at the least possible cost. The total area of the land acquired for the other eight industrial townships was 4600 acres, including the requirements of residential and industrial areas with details as under.^[44]

Table-7

S.No.	Township	Acre in Areas
1.	Bahadurgarh	1000
2.	Sonepat	1000
3.	Panipat	1000
4.	Jagadhari	1000
5.	Jullundur	100
6.	Ludhiana	300
7.	Khanna	100
8.	Rupar	100
	Total	4600

In order to enable the industrialists to easily meet their requirements of building material for the construction of factories, department of industries secured sufficient quota of coal for burning 5.5 crore bricks.

The chief industries which were to be set up in these areas include: Engineering industries, Foundries and workshop, Radio parts, Cutlery, Surgical, Instruments, Textiles, Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals, Brass paint and Varnishes, Glass, Hosiery, Sports goods, Oil mills, Pottery, Shops etc.

For further helping the industrialists to build factories, it was considered necessary that they should be advanced loans. The maximum loans of Rs. 5000 that can be given under the normal provincial loan scheme cannot meet their requirements. It was felt that without the help of the rehabilitation finance from administration of the government of India, this task cannot be achieved.^[45]

1.12. Vocational Training

The displaced persons who have taken shelter in the Punjab were mainly from trading classes, whereas the bulk of the Muslims who have migrated from this province were technicians and labourers. Shortage of numbers of skilled and unskilled labour was in abundance. A large number of vocational training centers were established at various places in the province. The training was imparted in two categories, one being of Engineering trades such as turners, mechanics, welders, moulders, carpenters and bricklayers and other being of the type of important cottage industries and occupational trades such as weaving, leather work, tailoring and manufacture of sports goods.^[46]

Department of industries of the Punjab government also started various training centers, in which 4316 trainees, including both boys and girls, were trained. In 24 centers spread throughout the province training was given to 2847 displaced persons in the various crafts.^[47]

Nine centres for giving training to displaced girls in tailoring, spinning toy-making and hand embroidery and kitting were now functioning and the number of trainees in these was 1119. Training to 1334 persons was also imparted in the hosiery centers at Ludhiana. In the government Textile Technical Institution at Amritsar, 77 displaced persons were trained in weaving. Jullundur was gradually becoming an important centre for manufactures from Sialkot in West Punjab where they have concentrated. This industry already providing gainful employment to nearly 20000 families, and there was still considerable scope for its expansion.^[48] For providing skilled labours for this industry, a training centre for sports goods manufacture was established at Jullundur.

A scheme for the rehabilitation of widows and unattached women, by making available sewing machines to them on hire-purchase system and by giving them a small cash subsidy for their livelihood was also in operation. An expenditure of Rs. 57,000 incurred on the execution of this scheme. The amount advanced to each destitute woman was recoverable in four years in easy installments at the rate of Rs. 6/ per month.^[49]

1.13. General Financial Assistance

Most of the refugees did not start any business or profession on their own resources. For providing financial aid to the poor and middle class displaced persons desirous of rehabilitating themselves in business, industry or profession, a scheme for the issue of small loans and grants was introduced as far back as in February 1948. This scheme was governed by the Punjab refugee rehabilitation (loans and grants) act, 1948, under which a loan up to Rs. 5900/ was admissible to an individual, up to Rs. 20000/ to a group of four or more displaced persons, and up to Rs. 25000/ to a cooperative society. The maximum grant admissible for rehabilitation purposes was Rs. 500/. The grants were given only to destitute persons such as widows and unattached women, to whom assistance in the form of loans was unsuitable. The loans were recoverable, whereas the grants were not recoverable. Loans were granted for the purchase of machinery and equipment and for the expansion of business. Maximum amounts fixed for each class of borrowers are indicated below^[50] :

Table-8

Loans for Purchases of Machinery and Expansions of Business

Traders, Shopkeepers and those persons who wish To start their own workshop or cottage industries	Rs. 5,000
Doctors, Lawyers, Architects and consulting engineers	Rs. 3,000
Purchase of Tonga's	Rs. 1,000
Others	Rs. 5,00

Recovery of loans, which carry interest at 3% to be made in equal annual installments extending over six years, no recovery were being made in the first two years.^[51] Loans, either to individuals or two groups, were given by the Deputy Commissioners who were assisted by non-official urban re-settlement committees for examining the claims and loans to cooperative societies were given by the registrar, cooperative societies (rehabilitation), though the scheme was primarily meant for displaced persons setting in urban areas, it also contained provision for giving of settlement loans upto the amount specified below to rural artisans and village craftsmen.^[52]

Table-9
Loans Amount for Rural Artisans

1.	Shopkeepers of the class of quota and depot holder	Rs. 800
2.	Petty shopkeepers, oil pressers and tailors	Rs. 300
3.	Blacksmiths and carpenters.	Rs. 200
4.	Weavers.	Rs. 150
5.	Potters, tanners and leather workers	Rs. 100
6.	Barkers, sweepers	Rs. 050

1.13.1 Rehabilitation and Financial Assistance to Displaced Students and Trainees

Imparting education was a very important part in the rehabilitation program. The government of India helped students to continue their studies by providing funds and facilities. Government expanded the capacity of the existing institutions, introduced double shifts and started new schools and colleges. Financial assistance was granted in the form of loans to students attending colleges and technical institutions, scholarships and exemption from the payment of fees was also sanctioned for the purchase of books, etc. A scheme to give grants and loans to them were sanctioned by the government as long ago as January 1948. Under this scheme relief to students of colleges and technical institutions took the form of loans on the following scales.^[53]

Table-10
Loans for College and Technical Student

Intermediate	Rs. 40 per Month Plus Tuition Fees
B.A., B.Sc.	Rs. 50 per Month Plus Tuition Fees
M.A., M.Sc.	Rs. 65 per Month Plus Tuition Fees
Agricultural	Rs. 70 per Month Plus Tuition Fees
Law College Students	Rs. 80 per Month Plus Tuition Fees
Medical Students	Rs. 100 per Month Plus Tuition Fees

Relief to school students was given in the form of grants for the purchase of books, apparatus, and stationary including exemption for school and examination fees. In the case of 9th and 10th classes the

examinations limit for a grant was fixed at Rs. 75. In the case of 5th and 6th middle classes at Rs. 50.^[54] This relief was given for the completion of the stage of studies or training which the student or trainee was pursuing at the time of partition and not for higher studies beyond the present course. The loans were repayable within four years from the date of the payment of the last installment and they have to bear an interest at the rate of 2%. In deserving cases the period of repayment was extended to six years.

1.14 Re-employment to Employees

As we have seen a large number of refugees were formerly in government or private services. In the early days of the partition, there was no co-ordination between different ministries and government agencies in providing employment to the refugees and this resulted in confusion and delay. The government of India and east Punjab government made efforts to adjust displaced employees in suitable jobs. The central government entrusted this work to the employment exchanges under the control of the directorate general of resettlement and employment in the ministry of labour. Regional director of resettlement and employment, east Punjab in coordination with district employment exchange, did pivotal work in this direction.

It is estimated that 1,74,584 displaced employees from west Pakistan got registered in east Punjab, out of this 61,394 were placed in various types of employment.^[55] We cannot of course overlook that there were a large number of complaints against the whole process of employment and favoritism that was routine in most departments.

The employment exchange placed the displaced persons in various kinds of jobs and employments such as teachers, clerks, nurses, typists, doctors, inspectors, unskilled worker and factory labourers, farm labourers etc.

1.15. Compensation

The rehabilitation process was incomplete unless compensation was granted to displaced persons against their properties left behind in West Pakistan. It was estimated, after much pruning and scrutiny, that Hindus and Sikhs displaced left a property of worth Rs. 600 crore as against evacuee property in India worth Rs. 100 crore only.^[56]

Government of India conceded for the first time in July, 1950 regarding the entitlement of compensation to the displaced persons. It also referred to three resources from which compensation could be paid.^[57]

1. The Muslim property left in India
2. Difference in the value of evacuee property in India and Pakistan that India would get from Pakistan
3. The contribution of the government of India to the evacuee pool.

The government of India could not decide about the policy regarding compensation without any satisfactory agreement with the government of Pakistan. Simultaneously a series of inter Dominion conferences were held between India and Pakistan. The government of India suggested that the two government should agree

upon the basis of valuation of property on the two sides. The debtor country then should pay to the creditor country the difference in value of evacuee property according to the agreed arrangements. The government of Pakistan, however, did not accept the proposal.^[58] In early 1950, the claim Act was passed and displaced persons were invited to present claims in respect of immovable property that they had abandoned in West Pakistan.

The final compensation scheme, visualized the payment of compensation to over 4.5 lakh people. Under the scheme, the government of India acquired all evacuee property value at Rs. 100 crore and contributed Rs. 85 crore in the shape of government built property which had been constructed for the displaced persons.^[59] A “Pool” was thus created to be utilized to compensate displaced claimants for the immovable property left behind by them in Pakistan. The properties to the value of Rs. 1,000 each which accounted for 90% of the evacuee property and 97% of the government built property were declared allotable. They were sold to displaced claimants and non-claimants at the “reserve price”.^[60] The loans advanced towards their purchase were adjusted against their claims. The scheme also laid down priorities in the payment of compensation as follows:^[61]

- i) Maintained allowance grantees
- ii) Inmates of homes and infirmaries.
- iii) Case doles grantees.
- iv) Widows with verified claims in their own names.
- v) T.B. patients
- vi) Disabled persons
- vii) Minors who were orphans
- viii) Residents in foreign countries
- ix) Cancer patients
- x) Women who become widow were subsequent to the filling of claims.
- xi) Claimants who themselves or their dependents were suffering from mental disability.
- xii) Students having verified claims.
- xiii) Claimants whose children were studying abroad
- xiv) Claimants whose children were studying in medical colleges engineering college, architectural or technological institutions in India or in national defense academy.

Full compensation, obviously, could not be paid because there was vast disparity between the property left by the non-Muslims in the west Pakistan as compared that of the departing Muslim in east Punjab. A system of “graded cut” was introduced by which smaller claimants were ensured larger compensation. For example persons with claim up to Rs. 2000 received as much as 66% of this claims; while persons with claims up to Rs. 5,000 received as much as 55.6% to 50% of this claims; while persons with claims up to Rs. 20,000 got 33% of this claims and further a claimant for over a lakh of rupees get only 11.1% of his claim. Maximum limit to claims was Rs. 2 lakhs. The cash payment, however, was to be made up Rs. 10,000 and for the remaining

amount evacuee and government build property or plots were allotted in lieu of verified claims in accordance with a compensation scale. The displaced persons without verified property in accordance with a compensation scale.^[62] The displaced persons without verified claims were given the right to purchase evacuee or government built property.

The rehabilitation and urban resettlement of refugees raised a number of other complicated questions regarding moveable evacuee property and assets. With regard to the transfer of savings, banks deposits and accounts, payment of pension, assets of trusts and operation of safe deposit, the government of the two dominions entered into a numerous agreements. In pursuance of these the west Punjab and east Punjab government decided to permit non-Muslims who had lockers in banks and safe deposit in Lahore to have access to them.

The above account shows that the urban rehabilitation was difficult task, keeping in view the constraints of the government and the prevalent situation. The government paid attention in distributing evacuee houses, shops, and business establishments, giving vocational training, abducted women and paying compensation. New houses tenements, plots were created and mud-houses were built in various townships created for rehabilitation purpose. New townships created at places like Nilokheri, Faridabad, Jullundur, etc. Financial assistance in the grants and loans were also provided. Attention was also paid to reach and restore the abducted women and rehabilitate destitute. Lastly, concentration was also centered around the issue of compensation. It was distributed of graded scale giving preference to the more needy ones.

1.16.Rehabilitation of Women

The rehabilitation of unattached woman and children was essentially an urban phenomenon, and the peculiar nature of the groups required a different way of handling their rehabilitation. A majority of them were illiterate and did not possess any hereditary skills with which they could earn their living. They represented the most helpless victims of the tragedy of the partition who needed urgent and immediate relief.

Women, on both sides of the borders suffered enormously both during and after the partition carnage. Some 100,000 women abducted, mainly in the Punjab.^[63] These were Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women who were raped by men of religion different from their own. Many were killed, many were sold into prostitution. Others were sold from hand to hand. A number of abducted women were taken as wives and married by conversion; still others just went missing. Many among them witnessed the killing of their near and dear ones before or after suffering sexual assault.

Following the position of country the Indian government directly assumed responsibility for two groups of women, the first were those who had some how been separated from their families, picked up while fleeing to safety, taken hostage, or kidnapped; these women were called “abducted”, the second group composed those who had been displaced, disputed widowed, these women were collectively described as “unattached”.^[64]

The government of both the countries raised the issue concerning abducted women in various meeting held between the two. In the meetings of the two Prime Ministries at Lahore on September 3, 1947 it was decided,

“Both the central government and the government of west and east Punjab wish to make it clear that forced conversion and marriages will not be recognized.^[65] Further, women and girls who have been abducted must be restored to their families, and every effort must be made by the Government and their officers concerned to trace and recover such women and girls”.

Refugees’ organization of the East Punjab created a separate section, under the charge of a prominent lady social worker. The function of this section was recovery and restoration of Muslim abducted women from the East Punjab reception and restoration of Hindu and Sikh girls recovered from the West Punjab and the general case of women and children living in the camps.^[66] Comparative statement for recoveries from 6-12-1947 to 31-10-1952 is given below:

Pakistan	Indian Union
No. of non-Muslim women and Children recovered during period	No. of Muslim women and children recovered in the period
A. Punjab (Pakistan) 5,616	A. Punjab (India) 11,129
B. Other area in Pakistan N.W.F.P 459	B. Other area in India Delhi province and other neighboring area 64
Baluchistan 10	
Sind 56	
C. States	C. States
Bhawalpur 592	Patiala and East Punjab State 4934
J. & K : Persons 1593 Recovered after 21-01-1949	J. & K. Persons 482 Recovered after 21-01-1949

For the restored abducted women and children arrangement continue to exist on the same basis as they were organized during the year 1948 when a large number of Hindu and Sikh abducted women were restored to us from the West Punjab. The recovery during the year 1949 from the West Punjab was comparatively very small. For the recovered abducted Muslim women, transit camps were set up at Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepore with a base camp at Jullundur.^[67] The government had accepted the responsibility for the care and maintenance of those “unattached” Hindu and Sikh women and children who had lost their parents or guardians in Pakistan.

In Sept. 1947, the government of India set up a women section in the ministry of relief and rehabilitation Rameshwari Nehru, who had been looking after the evacuation of women and children from West Punjab during the worst disturbance, took over as honorary director of the women section in November 1947, responsible for the care, maintenance and rehabilitation of uprooted women and children from Pakistan. Rameshwari Nehru

recommended that the victims of a struggle be regarded as a victim of war, they should be classed in the category of war widows and war orphans and treated as such.^[68]

The women could be classified into two categories:

1. These whose husbands, son and other bread earners were killed during riots,
2. Those who, though unattached had still some relatives alive; but being out of job, they could not take up the responsibility. The responsibility for the 1st category, Mrs. R. Nehru emphasized, should be taken entirely by the government and of the 2nd category, only up to the time till their relatives became self-supporting.

The government opened a number of homes and infirmaries to accommodate these women. Between 1947-50 eight “homes” and “infirmaries” were established at different places.^[69]

Table-11
Women Houses and Infirmaries in Various Places

Name of home/infirmery	Name of organization running the homes	Sanctioned population
Seva sadan Jullundur	Punjab Government	250
Gandhi vanita ashram	-do-	1500
Mahila ashram Hoshiarpur	do-	1500
Mahila ashram Karnal	do-	1500
Mahila ashram Rohtak	do-	1500
Infirmery Rewari	do-	Not available
Infirmery Khanna	do-	do-
Jainendra gurukul Panchkula	Jian community	1000

The expenditure was met from the grant made by the government of India which was calculated on the basis of the number of inmates residing in these homes at the rate of Rs. 25 per adult had per month. Private institutions provided care and shelter to such women and children.

The functions of the state woman sections were: to formulate scheme for the rehabilitation of women and children, establish homes for them, run production and training centers, organize the sale of articles produced in work centers, run schools arrange for the adoption of orphaned children, give financial or other aid to women, assist in finding employment and finally arrange marriages for them wherever possible.

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