CHAPTER XV - REHABILITATION.

(1) IMMEDIATE RELIEF.

The events of the Partition resulted into displacing the lives of the Sikhs and the Hindus in West Pakistan. They had to be evacuated to India during 1947 - 48. The Government of India arranged their reception in the Refugee camps all over India. 200 Relief Camps were set up in India during 1947-48 to look after the immediate needs of over 12.5 lakhs of displaced persons from West Pakistan, of which 85 camps were in the Punjab. There were 721,000 refugees staying in the Refugee Camps of Punjab and their distribution was as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 Camps in Amritsar District.</th>
<th>= 1,27,393 Refugees.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot; Gurdaspur &quot;</td>
<td>= 4,500 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &quot; Ferozepur &quot;</td>
<td>= 53,604 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; Ludhiana &quot;</td>
<td>= 25,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 &quot; Jullundur &quot;</td>
<td>= 60,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; Hoshiarpur &quot;</td>
<td>= 11,701 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot; Missar &quot;</td>
<td>= 3,797 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; Rohtak &quot;</td>
<td>= 80,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; Ambala &quot;</td>
<td>= 40,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot; Karnal &quot;</td>
<td>= 3,25,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 &quot; Gurgaon &quot;</td>
<td>= 20,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 7,21,000 "

* Social Organisation in a Refugee Organisation, p.90-1.
These displaced persons were provided with food, clothing, medical aid and other immediate necessities of living. The private relief centres, charitable trusts, benevolent institutions, all over the country came forward to help the refugees. But for the close cooperation of the Ministry of Defence, Transport and Railways, Communications, Food and Agriculture, Health, Works, Home affairs, Information and Broadcasting, Education, Labour and Industry & Supply, this national challenge would not have been adequately met.

The total refugees from West Punjab were 34,07,686 and from North-West Frontier Province were 1,95,059 persons, of which 23,73,753 persons settled in Punjab, 3,55,950 persons in Pepsu, 4,91,717 persons in Delhi and the remaining in other parts of India.

During 1949-50, the Relief Camps for displaced persons from West Pakistan were closed. Expenditure, however, continues to be incurred on educational, medical and public health arrangements in certain townships and colonies.

(2) **Refugees by Livelihood Classes.**

Of the total refugees settled in Punjab and Pepsu, not less than 53% are Sikhs in Punjab, 60% in the Sikh Majority area in Punjab and 58% in Pepsu. The total refugees settled in the rural areas of Punjab and Pepsu are 14,07,841

* Figures from Census Report Punjab 1951.
and 1,87,801 persons respectively (i.e. 41.1% of the West Punjab refugees were settled in rural areas), of which not less than 65% to 75% are Sikhs whereas of the total Sikh refugees in Punjab and Pepsu, not less than 20% are settled in the rural areas of Punjab and Pepsu.

According to Census Report 1951, the displaced persons in Punjab and Pepsu according to livelihood classes are as below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Description</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Pepsu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.</td>
<td>31,301</td>
<td>44,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.</td>
<td>8,69,736</td>
<td>1,25,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.</td>
<td>1,33,196</td>
<td>22,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.</td>
<td>36,863</td>
<td>7,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Agricultural classes.</td>
<td>10,76,096</td>
<td>2,00,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Production other than cultivation.</td>
<td>1,67,304</td>
<td>19,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Commerce.</td>
<td>3,96,451</td>
<td>52,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Transport.</td>
<td>51,679</td>
<td>37,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.</td>
<td>6,84,821</td>
<td>45,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Non-Agricultural Classes.</td>
<td>12,89,821</td>
<td>1,55,220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Census of India Punjab 1951
** Census of India 1951
Total Agriculturists & Non-agriculturists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Pepsu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12,22,981</td>
<td>1,55,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,76,096</td>
<td>2,00,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22,99,077</td>
<td>3,55,952</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show while the cultivators of land amongst the Refugees in Punjab formed about 3% of the total refugees, agriculturists in Punjab, they were 22½% in Pepsu. The refugees wholly or mainly unemployed were 81% and 62½% of the agriculturists displaced persons in Punjab and Pepsu respectively. Of the total refugees amongst the agriculturists, not less than 60% to 65% were Sikhs in Punjab and not less than 80% in Pepsu.

Amongst the non-agriculturists livelihood classes, though the Sikh refugees are in all the categories of occupations, yet no information is available in respect of their exact or approximate share. Broadly speaking, their number depend upon transport activities more than the remaining occupations, both in Punjab and Pepsu.

The occupational changes amongst the refugees Farmers from West Pakistan settled in Punjab were as under:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Punjab</th>
<th>East Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture.</td>
<td>1,69,277</td>
<td>98,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Craft.</td>
<td>11,452</td>
<td>8,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services.</td>
<td>50,583</td>
<td>41,064</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Punjab</th>
<th>East Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Professions</td>
<td>7,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade &amp; Business</td>
<td>1,10,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>6,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>29,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Job</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,25,242</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures tell about the extent of dislocation in the living of displaced persons due to change in occupations. The total number of earners amongst the agriculturists was reduced by 40% whereas in Trade and Business the earners decreased by 34% and in Industry by 25%. Of the total number of displaced earners, 30% were out of job. The Sikh refugees were naturally victim of this dislocation along with the Hindu refugees.

According to the Refugee Census October-November 1949, the occupational distribution of Refugees Families from Urban areas of West Punjab residing in East Punjab towns was 96,454 of which 17,118 families depended upon agriculture, 34,531 families upon Trade and Business, 2,109 upon Industries, 12,231 families depended upon Services, 4,779 upon Liberal professions and 13,374 upon labour, and 6,312 upon other unspecified occupations. Trade and Business included cloth merchants, dealers in articles of food, general merchants,
commission agents, contractors, bankers and money-lenders, hotels and Restaurants, hawkers and miscellaneous. The families depending upon dealers in articles of food (10,893 families) had the greatest number, next being cloth merchants (3,085 families) and commission agents (2,239 families).

The owners of industries included food, metal, textile, leather, wood, printing, transport, building material and miscellaneous. The greatest number of families were engaged in food their number being 554, next being Transport which had 407 families. The least number was in building material with 37 families. The services included Government, local bodies, private and other services. 11,203 families lived upon Government service and 6,097 upon private. The liberal professions included law, medicine, education, engineering and others, of which 2,126 families depended upon education and 1,631 upon medicine. The labour included artisans, skilled labourers and unskilled labourers, of which 5,935 families were artisans.

The Sikh displaced families depended upon all these occupations though the extent of their number is not known, as no information is available community-wise.

(3) ALLOTMENT OF EVACUATE LAND.

The land evacuated by the Muslims in the Punjab was 20,70,845 standard acres and the land evacuated in Pepsu

was 4,37,195 standard acres. About 70% of the total land evacuated by the Muslims in Punjab was in the S.M.Area in Punjab. As a result of the partition of Punjab, the major portion of the canal system fell to the share of Pakistan. Although Indian Punjab shared the population to the extent of 45%, it got only 21% of the irrigated area viz. 3 million acres as against the total of over 14 million acres.

The migrating Muslims had completely destroyed 2,000 villages while 4,000 had suffered serious damage. Standing crops were burnt in most cases, and the wells and livestock destroyed.

In September 1947, a Scheme of group allotment which treated tenants-at-will on par with landholders, was introduced as temporary expedient to enable the refugees from particular areas in the West Pakistan to remain as much together as possible, and to ensure the sowing of the rabi and the harvesting of the standing crops. This temporary allotment scheme was essentially a measure of relief to self-cultivators only because the area that was given on allotment was just enough to provide a living for a family if it cultivated this area with its own hands. The bigger landholders who did not cultivate their land but used to let it out on rent or on crop sharing basis, could not get much advantage from this scheme. Moreover, a feature of the temporary allotment scheme was that the landholder as well as the tenant were entitled to equal treatment. Since no

* Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.18.
scrutiny was possible, many landless agricultural labourers and other persons belonging to the class of village servants also succeeded in securing allotments of land. It was altogether a new experiment, and created some psychological changes of doubtful utility to the rural economy. Everyone became a landholder and began to despise his own profession. Artisans like cobblers and weavers had a tendency to forsake their useful ancestral professions, merely to acquire the doubtful dignity of being landholders, and indulged in inefficient cultivation.

The influential landholders who had not taken allotments under this scheme soon began to oppose it and pressed for permanent allotment on the basis of individual rights. On 7th February 1948, the Punjab Government proposed to replace the system of group allotment by a new scheme which was to take into account the holdings of refugees in the West Punjab. The land was to be allotted only to those 'who in the West Punjab, were owners, occupancy tenants under the Punjab Tenancy Act, and Tenants under the colonization of Government Land Act, and to certain other classes of grantees and holders of land in the West Punjab to be specified by the Government'.

Though no rights of ownership were to be conferred on the allottees, their possession was to continue. Since

* C.N. Vakil - Economic Consequences of Divided India - The Refugee Problem, p.90.
the new allotments were to be based on the holdings of the refugees in Pakistan, claims were invited from displaced persons who had lands in Pakistan. Since these claims were largely exaggerated, it was decided to verify the claims by obtaining records from Pakistan. In the meantime, individual members of a group who wanted exclusive rights over the pieces of land which they cultivated during the previous year were permitted to get their land demarcated. The remaining land available for allotment was to be leased or to refugee landholders in proportion to their holdings in the West Punjab. They represented to the Government that they should be given larger areas. The bigger non-cultivating landholders were granted special temporary leases of land as shown below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owners in Pakistan of (Acres)</th>
<th>Allotment of Land in Punjab (Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 - 150</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 - 200</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - 300</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 - 400</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 - 500</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 - 1000</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 - 2000</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 - 3000</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 - 4000</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 4000</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the re-settlement was over, the task of making quasi-permanent allotments to the agriculturists who had left

* Annual Report of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, p.20.
land on the other side of the border was taken up by the
Punjab Government. This involved a re-distribution of the
allotted land by disposing all landless evacuees who had
during the earlier system managed to secure land. The
exchange of records between the Governments of Punjab and
Pakistan being almost complete by February 1949, a detailed
plan of individual allotment was worked out upon this basis.
Land was evaluated in terms of 'standard acres' on the basis
of productivity of soil, type of tenure, land revenue,
annual x lease value, etc.

The policy was that even if a man owned land at twenty
places in Pakistan, he should receive a consolidated allotment
so far as possible in one village. This work was among the
most difficult processes leading to the quasi-permanent
allotment of land, but it was also very essential work. There
was a separate claim for a holding in one district. Thus if
a person owned land in three districts, he had put in three
different claims and there were no cross references on these
claims to show that all of them related to the same person!
Even with all the efforts of the Government, a large number
of claims could not be consolidated, and in one case a
landholder was given allotment of land in as many as eleven
villages scattered in two districts. On collection of their
allotment orders these persons were given an opportunity to
apply for consolidated allotment in one village. This was
a great gain to displaced landholders, whose holdings were
scattered in many villages in West Pakistan and they now enjoyed the benefit of a consolidated allotment which they could manage more economically.

While the land abandoned in West Pakistan was about four million standard acres, the land abandoned by Muslims in the Punjab and Pepsu was about two and a half million standard acres. The gap in area to the extent of 20 lakh acres i.e. 33% of the total area abandoned, precluded possibilities of full compensation being given to the displaced landholders. The gap in area was bad enough, but the position was actually much worse when we consider factors like fertility of the soil and means of irrigation. Sikh and Hindu displaced landowners left 43 lakh acres of irrigated land as against 13 lakh acres of irrigated area left by the Muslims. Out of the irrigated area left in West Pakistan, 22 lakh acres were perennially irrigated as against 4 lakh acres of such land left by the Muslims in Punjab and Pepsu.

Therefore, the scheme of graded cuts operating on a slab system under which the smaller holders could get a proportionately larger compensation than the large holders was introduced as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owners in Pakistan of</th>
<th>% of cut</th>
<th>Net allotment at maximum of grade (Standard Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acres.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 30</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>30 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gap could only be met by imposing cuts on the area abandoned in West Pakistan. Land has been allotted to 3.5 lakh allottees who have actually taken possession of their allotted land. If they were given an economic holding of 20 acres per family, an area of 70 lakh acres was required, as against 40 lakh acres available. This in itself shows that it was not possible to provide an economic holding to every family of displaced landholders. Moreover, among the small landholders who owned less than an acre, there were self-cultivators like Labana Sikhs from Gujrat, whose average holding was 3 to 4 kanals, Jat Sikhs from Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lahore districts, as well as a very large proportion of shopkeepers who did not cultivate their

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owners in Pakistan of (acres)</th>
<th>% of Cut</th>
<th>Net allotment at maximum of grade (Standard acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 to 40</td>
<td>40 %</td>
<td>27 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 60</td>
<td>55 %</td>
<td>36 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 to 100</td>
<td>70 %</td>
<td>45 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 150</td>
<td>75 %</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 to 200</td>
<td>80 %</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 to 250</td>
<td>85 %</td>
<td>78 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 to 500</td>
<td>90 %</td>
<td>78 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 to 1000</td>
<td>95 %</td>
<td>103 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 1000</td>
<td>95 %</td>
<td>123 ½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lands by their own hands. If this course had been followed it would have meant that the middle class farmers, would have been hard hit, and the petty holders, mostly shopkeepers, would have got additional land at the expense of the cultivators.

Moreover, the urbanites who did not own land and the leaders of the landless scheduled castes talked about nationalization of land and abolition of zamindari in Punjab. But the term 'Zamindar' meaning an absentee landlord in other areas of India, did not mean so in Punjab where in 95% cases a peasant-proprietor cultivates his land himself and his roots are deep in the soil. In fact the land in Punjab is in an overwhelming majority of cases already with the cultivator. Whereas in other States of India, where legislation to abolish landlordism is under contemplation, the ideal is to create peasant-proprietorship, which already exists in Punjab.

Quasi-permanent allotment on these lines began in July 1949 and about 95% of the allotment had already been taken up by 1950. Evacuee land in Punjab and Pepsu was treated as large pool for the purpose of allotment, which was done in such a way as to reduce to the minimum the movement of people settled according to the temporary allotment scheme and to enable refugees coming from the same village or tahsil to settle together. Area in the West Punjab in which abandoned holdings were located, as well as areas in the East
Punjab and Pepsu where allotments were to be made, were graded in order that refugees might be allotted areas in Punjab and Pepsu which had irrigation facilities and soil similar to those possessed by the land abandoned by them in Pakistan.

From the agricultural holdings of the displaced persons owned by them in West Pakistan and allotted to them in Punjab, it is clear that 80% of the Sikh and Hindu displaced persons owned agricultural holdings up to 10 acres in the West Pakistan and little more than 23% of the refugees were allotted holdings up to 10 acres, but to the owners of agricultural holdings between 500 to 1000 acres and over 1000 acres (who were 168 and 87 in West Pakistan), no allotment of land had been made to such extents and there is no owner holding so much area of land in Punjab, amongst the refugees. In other words as far as the question of ownership is concerned, the owners of agricultural holdings up to 30 acres have increased by 3% in the Punjab than the owners in West Pakistan, whereas the ownership of agricultural holdings from 30 to 100 acres and from 100 to 500 acres has decreased by 40% and about 30% respectively in Punjab than the ownership in West Pakistan, and the ownership of agricultural holdings over 500 acres has 100% disappeared in the Punjab than the ownership in the West Pakistan.

The area of land owned by the displaced persons before and after the Partition of Punjab is as shown below:

**Agricultural Holdings of Displaced Persons.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size and Distribution</th>
<th>Area before the Partition (Acres)</th>
<th>Area after the Partition (Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upto 10 acres.</td>
<td>2,56,280</td>
<td>7,95,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 to 30 acres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 40 ''</td>
<td>3,27,920</td>
<td>2,29,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 60 ''</td>
<td>3,82,207</td>
<td>2,21,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 to 100 ''</td>
<td>3,53,722</td>
<td>1,33,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 200 ''</td>
<td>2,09,284</td>
<td>44,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 to 200 ''</td>
<td>1,16,517</td>
<td>18,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 to 250 ''</td>
<td>72,980</td>
<td>11,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 to 500 ''</td>
<td>1,55,607</td>
<td>2,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 to 1000 ''</td>
<td>1,13,769</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Over 1000 acres</td>
<td>1,67,032</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ..........</td>
<td>39,35,121</td>
<td>24,51,382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as the question of area is concerned, the area of the agricultural holdings upto 30 acres has decreased by 12% in Punjab than in West Pakistan. Then area of the agricultural holdings from 30 acres to 100 acres and from 100 acres to 500 acres has decreased by about 45% and

*Statistical Abstract Punjab, Rehabilitation, p.20.*
about 85% respectively than the area of such holdings in
West Pakistan whereas the area of agricultural holdings over
500 acres has not been allotted in the Punjab though the area
of such holdings in the West Pakistan was 2,80,867 acres.

M.S. Randhawa in his "Out of the Ashes" has given
some interesting account about the allotment of evacuee land
to the Sikh refugee agriculturists. According to him, there
are four categories of landholders, namely - the large
landholders, the upper middle, the middle, and the small
landholders. He quotes examples of the Sikh refugee
agriculturists in all these categories who have been allotted
land in Punjab. About the large landholders, the author
writes as below:-

1. Sardar Partap Singh, son of Sardar Hukam Singh,
an Arora Zamindar of village Arifwala in Pakpattan tahsil of
Montgomery district, abandoned an area of 2,332 acres in
three villages of Pakpattan tahsil. About two-thirds of
this area was Nehrri (non-perennial) while the remaining was
banjar, chahi, sailab, ghair muskin (unculturale) etc. On
this side he has been allotted a total area of 268 acres in
village Kulheri near Karnal. Half of this area is chahi,
while the remaining half is barani (unirrigated) or banjar.

2. Sardar Sher Singh son of Sardar Hukam Singh
abandoned 2,171 acres in Pakpattan tahsil if a little more

than half of which area was Nehri, and the remaining banjar (449), sailab(215), Nehri perennial(107), ghaib muskin(71) etc. He has received 242 acres here in village Kalwaheri, nearly half of his area is chahi, and the remaining area is Nehri(89) and banjar(44).

Baba Kartar Singh Badi of Pakpattan tahsil, district Montgomery abandoned an area of 2,464 acres, the major portion of which was non-perennial Nehri. He has been allotted now 319 acres in village Lalanwali, and Dabwali in Fazilka tahsil of Ferozepur, of which 88 acres are Nehri perennial 63 acres Nehri non-perennial, and 138 acres barani. He abandoned houses worth Rs.5.22 lakhs in West Pakistan, while on this side he has been allotted a house worth Rs.100/- only.

The tales of woes of the large landholders does not close with graded cuts and cuts of area imposed on account of recorded banjar land. They had to face another misfortune which was not even anticipated by the Rehabilitation Department. In some districts like Ferozepur, Karnal and Nissar, Muslim evacuee landholders were absentee landlords, while their tenants were local Hindus or Sikhs. Many of these tenants though not recorded as occupancy tenants, were of long standing. Particularly in Mamdot Estate in Ferozepur district, there large groups of evacuee villages populated by these tenants of long standing. When the land under their cultivation was allotted to displaced landholders, many of
whom were self-cultivators, and who themselves wanted to cultivate the land, these tenants raised a howl. This problem was also met at the cost of the large landholders. Allotments of small landholders from these villages were cancelled and allotments were made in favour of large landholders, who were eligible for allotment of more than 60 standard acres of land. Half of their land was allotted in these tenants' villages and the remaining half in other villages, where there was no such problem. Allotment in these villages of tenants of old standing is also another type of cut which those landholders have suffered, for those tenants were notorious for their recusancy.

Losses of Middle class Farmers.

1. Hari Singh, a Sikh Jat from village Mauzoke Makam in tahsil Chunian in Lahore district, owned 125 acres of land. Now he has been allotted 85 acres equivalent to 49 standard acres in a village Fastivala in Ferogewir tahsil which is of extremely poor quality. About 10 to 12 acres of this land has been ruined by a canal breach, and the remaining area is covered with reeds (with the exception of 5 acres which is cultivable). In Pakistan, he had about 20 she buffaloes and 3 pairs of bullocks, and was very prosperous. Now he does not possess any bullock or a she-buffalo.

* M.S.Randhawa - Out of the Ashes, p.103.
2. Ala Singh son of Jawand Singh owned 60 acres of canal irrigated land in villages Kot Bhai and Jodhu Phir in Chunian and Lahore tahsils respectively. In addition, he had 30 acres of land which he had taken on mortgage from his debtors. Now he has been allotted 30 acres of barani land in village Saddarwala which is entirely dependent on rain, and is also liable to be washed away by floods. In Pakistan, he had 20 she buffaloes, 4 cows, 12 bullocks, and 4 horses. Here he has only 2 bullocks.

3. Kundan Singh owned 67 acres in village Judhu, Banak, and Paji in Lahore district. Now he has been allotted 40 acres in village Barkandi in Muktsar tahsil in Ferozepur district, and complains that he has been given nothing for 12 acres of his land in village Judhu which has been classed as Shamlat under occupancy tenancy.

Small Land-holders.

1. Bhagwan Singh, an allottee of village Vadar in Jullundur tahsil had 25 acres in Mian Chunnu and 28 acres in Chak 249 R.B. Pakpattan tahsil in Montgomery district. In addition, there were 21 acres in the name of his son in Chak No. 249 R.B. This land has been recorded as banjar qadim in the revenue record, and as such no allotment has been made. Bhagwan Singh has been allotted 29 standard acres equivalent to 45 acres in
village Madar, which is eight miles from his ancestral village, Drell Kalan. Out of his allotment of 45 acres, 34 acres are well irrigated, and the remaining area is rain fed.

2. Rachint Singh abandoned 18 acres in Chak No.77 G.B. in Jaranwala tahsil, and 13 acres in Chak No.75 G.B. in Lyallpur tahsil. Now he has been allotted 14 standard acres against the land in Chak No.77 G.B. and as regards the land in Chak No.75 G.B. a land rights case is pending. His allotment in village Madar tahsil Jullundur comes to 20 acres, out of which 15 acres are well irrigated and the remaining rain fed.

3. Tara Singh abandoned 32 acres in Chak No.249 G.B. in Pakpattan tahsil in Montgomery district. Now he has been allotted equivalent to 20 acres. Out of this 15 acres are well irrigated and the rest is rain fed.

Small Holders who owned uneconomic Holdings.

Narain Singh, a Rai Sikh had 7 kanals of land in a village 5 miles from river Sutlej in Montgomery district. In addition to his small holding, he cultivated the land of the Mahajan of that village, and had 4 bullocks and 2 she-buffaloes. He was provided a house by the Mahajan where he lived with his family. Now he has been allotted 4 kanals of land in Chak Mauj Din in Muktsar tahsil, Ferozepur district. He works as a tenant of Aroras, who are non-cultivators,
while some of his kinsmen earn their living by manual labour.

Economic Effects of Scheme of Graded Cuts.

The position of the displaced persons especially of the Sikhs on account of their being predominantly agriculturists from West Pakistan in respect of allotment of area and number of owners is as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Holdings</th>
<th>Percentage of area allotted in Punjab than the Area Left in West Punjab</th>
<th>Percentage of Number of owners in Punjab than in West Punjab (Pakistan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upto 30 acres</td>
<td>28 %</td>
<td>103 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 30 to 100 acres</td>
<td>54½ %</td>
<td>60 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 100 to 500 acres</td>
<td>14 %</td>
<td>19½ %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 500 acres</td>
<td>±x (-) 100 %</td>
<td>(-) 100 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows that though the area has decreased by 12 % in case of agricultural holdings upto 30 acres in Punjab, the ownership has increased by 3 % than in West Pakistan. In case of agricultural holdings from 30 to 100 acres and from 100 to 500 acres, the area has decreased by about 45½ % and by about 36 % respectively in Punjab than in the West Punjab.

±x

* M.S. Randhawa - Out of the Ashes, p.104 -106.
** Calculated from Agricultural Holdings of displaced persons -- Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.16-20.
whereas the ownership has decreased by 40% and 70% respectively. Thus the resettlement on land in respect of ownership of land up to size of holdings of 30 acres has more or less been done so far as the provision of land is concerned irrespective of the poor quality of the land but the burden on the land to feed its owners has increased much more than before. Also the same kind of rich and fertile soil with irrigation facilities etc. could not be had.

Yet the allotment of agricultural holdings in Punjab from 30 to 500 acres shows that the owners of the same size of holdings in the West Pakistan could not be rehabilitated in the Punjab by more than 40% of their original holdings.

Further, the graded cuts have worked very harshly on small peasant-proprietors, like the Labana Sikhs of Gujrat and the Jat Sikhs of Sialkot, whose average holding does not exceed a couple of acres, as well as the Sikh Jats of Gujrat and Lahore whose average holding is about 2 to 5 acres. The middle class type of peasant-proprietors have also suffered, particularly in the quality of land which they have received. Holders of big areas have been deprived of their large holdings and, at upper levels, on account of the imposition of graded cuts at the rate of 95%, their surplus areas have been lopped off, while they have been left with sufficient lands to provide them with a decent living.
provided they exerted themselves. They could no longer lead
a life of lazy loons living on rents collected by their clerks
from their tenants, and must actively associate themselves
with the development of the land. The shock of drastic cuts
in area which these big landlords have suffered has done
them good. The fear of tenancy rights on account of rising
assertiveness among the tenants has encouraged the large
landholders to take part in farming operations, and quite
a number of them have gone in for mechanical cultivation,
and many have sunk tube-wells in Chahi areas. Now-a-days,
it is common to see a well dressed Sikh Sardar driving a
tractor in the fields or with a trailer tied to his tractor
loaded with fodder going to the market.

Till 31st December 1954 the total number of
displaced families from West Pakistan who settled on land
under the quasi-permanent land allotment scheme in Punjab
and Pepsu is as given below:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Displaced Families from West Pakistan Resettled in Punjab &amp; Pepsu on land.</th>
<th>No. of allottees who have taken possession of their allotments.</th>
<th>Area of Land allotted. Standard Acres.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Punjab.</td>
<td>4,13,156</td>
<td>19,76,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pepsu.</td>
<td>61,482</td>
<td>3,67,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,74,638</td>
<td>23,43,748</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since about 67% of the agricultural holdings in

the West Pakistan were owned by the Sikhs alone, the allotment of land according to these figures which include both Hindu and Sikh displaced agriculturists shows that the Sikh displaced persons from the West Pakistan must not have been rehabilitated in the Punjab to the extent of about 65% of their original holdings in the West Punjab in respect of land provision.

If the area of land leaving aside the irrigational facilities etc. are taken into view, even if the whole of the evacuee land in Punjab and Pepsu was allotted to the displaced Sikhs from West Punjab, they would not have been rehabilitated more than 90% of their original holdings. If the land irrigated by canals is taken into consideration, had the whole of Nehri Perennial and other Nehri land in Punjab and Pepsu been allotted to the Sikh displaced agriculturists, they would not have been rehabilitated to the extent of more than 33% of their original holdings in the West Punjab and they would not have been rehabilitated and made good their losses in respect of Nehri perennial land from Lyallpur district alone even if the whole of Nehri Perennial land in Punjab and Pepsu had been allotted to them. Thus the Sikh refugee agriculturists are the worst sufferers for losing the best irrigated lands in the whole of the united India, and they have not been allotted such lands by even not more than 20% of their original holders in the West Pakistan.

* Calculated from the land revenue paid by the Sikhs in West Pakistan area - Punjab - The Homeland of the Sikhs, p.16.
We have some information from the Board of Economic Enquiry Punjab, about the settlement of some Namdhari and Labana Sikhs, who settled in Hisar and Hoshiarpur districts.

Namdhari Refugee Sikhs were allotted land in the village Kirpal Patti at a distance of nearly 23 miles from Sirsa in Hisar district. The total area of the village is 1,562 acres valued at 441.3 standard acres, of which a little more than 65 % is under cultivation. There are in all 36 Namdhari allottees to whom 328.5 standard acres have been allotted showing an average holding of 9.2 standard acres per allottee. All the present allottees in the village are Namdhari Sikhs. Prior to the partition their Guru Shri Maharaj Partap Singh (descendent of Koeka Gurus) had purchased land in three villages of Sirsa tahsil. In Chunchal or Jewan Nagar as it was re-named by the Namdharis, were located the headquarters of the Guru. After the Partition leaving a few who had either landed property or some relations in India, all other Namdharis came to Jewan Nagar. They were fed from a common Kitchen (Langar). Some clothing is also said to have been provided. Later on when evacuee land was available they were dispersed in the neighbouring villages as temporary allottees. Some aid to
enable them to bring the lands under cultivation was also
given. Some of them who worked on the lands of the
Guru got their sustenance from their common mess at Jawan Nager.
Namdharis represented to the Government that a group of
villages be allotted to them near Jawan Nager in the name of
Maharaj Partap Singh their Guru, for further distribution.
Thus a lumpsum grant in nine evacuee villages in the
neighbourhood of Chanchal was allotted for this purpose. An
organisation to redistribute the land among the prospective
allottees was created by the Guru. The members of this
organisation were known as Karindas of the Darbar. There is
no doubt that influence with the Darbar and Karinda played its
part but none of the allottees could accuse anyone of them of
bribery and corruption. All the Namdhari peasantry are Jats
and Kamboh Sikhs. The later particularly known for their
industrious and thrifty habits. Amongst others, there were
families of 16 Kamboh Sikhs, 10 Ramgharia Sikhs and 2 Whatia
Khatri Sikhs.

Labana Sikhs resettled in the village Bholpur tahsil
Dasuya in Hoshiarpur district. The total number of Labana
families residing in the village is 242, of these 227 possess
land and others are landless peasants. All the Labanas living
in the village have migrated from Shadara tahsil of Sheikhpura
district of West Pakistan. The mode of allotment has

* Economic Conditions of Displaced Persons settled in
Punjab by Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, 1957, p.3,9,12,17.
contributed towards the worsening of conditions. Some of the allottees have been given whole of their due in sailab or barani only. Of the 227 LabanaSikh allottees, the size of holding of 111 is upto one acres, of 64 is above 1 and upto 2.5 acres, of 20 is above 2.5 acres and upto 3.5 acres, of 13 between 7.5 to 10 acres and of 6 allottees, the size of holding is between 10 to 15 acres. They are mostly tillers of soil, either peasant proprietors or tenants. Being hard working and laborious, they do not shun any kind of honest work. They are among the manual labourers, water carriers, servicemen and civil employees. One of the poor labana was working as village chowkidar. Some of them are shopkeepers also. The large percentage of allottees are engaged in agriculture, directly or indirectly. A few among them have joined the army. Labana Sikhs are mostly small landowners and poor. They are hard working and can be induced to undertake any sort of work which may be paying. Community feeling among them is quite strong and may be tactfully exploited to their benefit. Bigger allottees have undertaken the role of Zamindars and money-lenders. They lease out their lands to tenants. Tenants do not command any credit. The only source of loan is their relatives. The lender continues to hold the land of the borrower until the loan is repaid. When the borrowers need is acute and his sources of credit limited, the rate of interest charged may rise to 48 to 60 % per annum. In such cases the common practice is
that the borrower is forced to execute a deed for an enhanced amount at a lower rate of interest whereas actually he is given much less.

The settlement of Labana Sikhs at one place does not provide an essential element of economic prosperity.

(5) ALLOTMENT OF EVACUATE HOUSES & RURAL HOUSING SCHEME.

Due to heavy rains and floods, a large number of evacuate houses got damaged beyond repairs. Moreover, these houses were not sufficient to accommodate the rural refugees. According to the statistics available, there were 6,62,138 houses in Punjab of which 3,17,409 were undamaged, 1,25,224 were damaged but repairable and 2,25,505 were beyond repairs. The total number of evacuate houses in the S.M. Area in Punjab were 5,11,669 of which 2,46,191 were undamaged, 54,201 were damaged but repairable and 1,81,277 were damaged beyond repair. In Pepsu the total number of evacuate houses was 1,56,347 of which 75,416 were undamaged, 31,147 were damaged but repairable and 49,784 were damaged beyond repair.

But most of the houses which were repairable and were undamaged when the statistics were collected, got damaged in rains and floods, and a large number of them were rendered uninhabitable. Moreover, these houses were unevenly

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distributed. While in a few villages, the number of houses was in excess of the needs of allottees, in a large number of villages almost the entire abadis had crumbled, and not a single house was in tact. If there were houses in excess of the needs of allottees in particular villages, they could not be used to make up the deficiency of accommodation in other villages. The problem of rural housing was a village problem and even if, according to statistics, a tahsil was surplus in evacuee houses, it did not benefit the allottees of a village where houses had fallen down.

As compared with the houses left in the rural areas in West Pakistan by Hindu and Sikh refugees, the houses available in Punjab, with the exception of those in Jullundur district, were inferior in quality. Apart from land allottees, tenants, agricultural labourers, village artisans and shopkeepers had also to be provided houses. The countryside in Punjab was littered with several hundred completely demolished villages. A large number of houses were destroyed by the evacuating Muslims, who followed a scorched earth policy, and used beams, doors and windows as fuel in their camps. The local people also dismantled many more in the post-partition confusion to obtain building material and fuel. Rains and floods also took a heavy toll of the kacha houses. The result was that there were some 1,200 evacuee villages in which the number of demolished houses was 90% or more.

* Information collected personally from Rehabilitation Department, Punjab, Jullundur.
The evacuee houses of the value of Rs. 20,000 or more were, however, declared urban property under the Inter-Dominion Agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan, and were, therefore, excluded from quasi-permanent allotment. An allottee whose land a house was situated had a prior claim for allotment of that house. From the point of view of convenience of cultivation, this concession was greatly appreciated. If the allottee chose, that house he was entitled to was allotted another house in the village.

Colonists, who had been allotted land on quasi-permanent basis in their ancestral villages at a reasonable distance from their native villages, were not entitled to evacuate houses in preference to displaced landholders whose ancestral homes were in West Pakistan. This concession was given to refugee landholders from West Pakistan as they were absolutely down and out, and had no shelter for their families in a land where they were practically strangers. This rule did not apply to those colonists who had no residential house in their ancestral village. Fairly commodious houses, capable of being partitioned, were divided to accommodate two or more families. No reservation of houses was made for religious or other common purposes unless the allottees so desired. The allotment was made in 11,810 evacuate villages situated in the length and breadth of the State.

* Rehabilitation Department, Punjab, Jullundur - information collected.*
The ruined villages provided an opportunity for developing at least one-third of villages in Punjab on a new basis. The Government chalked out a scheme of model villages throughout the State. The main objective of the Rural Housing Scheme was to pave way for the allotment of demolished houses and sites in evacuee villages which presented the pattern of a jig-saw-puzzle. A village where 200 families of Muslim evacuees lived, is now inhabited in some cases by 40 to 50 families of displaced Sikhs and Hindus. For a village to become model in the true sense, it should have nucca drains, brick paved streets, and also community buildings, like 'Panchayatghars', schools, and hospitals. These new features can be added only if the people as well as Government gird up their loins. Half the money should be provided by the people in cash, kind or labour, and the remaining half should be provided by Government. It is only a contributory basis of finance which stimulate self-help that these villages will become 'Model villages' in due course.

The houses will be constructed by the allottees at their own cost. The Government will provide loans and grants to the allottees of land for the building of houses. Loans have been provided at the rate of Rs. 300/- per house in the case of allottees of five standard acres or more, and grants have been provided to smaller allottees either in cash or in kind in the shape of building material. Considering the high building cost, the loans and grants are inadequate, and
it is presumed that the resettlers will supplement Government aid from their own resources.

(6) ALLOTMENT OF EVACUÉE GARDENS & NEW GARDEN COLONIES.

There were 2,367 evacuee gardens in all, in Punjab. But most of these were small and old, and not very attractive as gardens. Consequently they were divided into two categories taking into consideration their area, means of irrigation etc. Those gardens which were of some importance, and could be called worthwhile gardens, were listed separately and given the name of provincial gardens. These were kept for allotment to those displaced landholders only who had abandoned gardens in West Pakistan. The small gardens outside this list were allotted along with ordinary evacuee land to those whose shares they fell in the routine allotment of fields. They were counted as having in terms of standard acres, twice the value of ordinary land. For instance, if an allottee got a garden of one acre in area, it was counted equal to two acres of ordinary land. This allotment of small gardens was done without regard to the fact whether the allottees had abandoned gardens in West Pakistan or not. They could fall to anybody's share according to the rules for the distribution of field numbers. There were some 1,756 such gardens with an area of 3,069 acres.

* Information from the Rehabilitation Department, Punjab, Jullundur.
The following were declared as provincial gardens:

1. Irrigated gardens of two acres or more in area.
2. Unirrigated gardens of four acres or more.
3. Gardens with pucca buildings or structures of any value in them.
4. Gardens with tube-wells.

Most of the irrigated gardens of commercial value were in the districts of Amritsar, Karnal, and Gurdaspur. The unirrigated gardens were in the remaining other districts. Gardens situated within the limits of Municipal Committees, Notified Area committees etc., were excluded from allotment as they were liable to sale or exchange like other immovable property. Most of the worthwhile evacuee gardens were in Amritsar, Karnal, Hoshiarpur, Ambala, and Gurdaspur districts while there were few gardens of any importance in Jullundur, Ludhiana, Rohtak, Faisar and Gurgaon districts. Out of this, orchards of commercial importance were situated in the suburban villages of Amritsar district only.

Allotment was made at the rate of one garden per claimant. As such, if a person had abandoned more than one garden all his claims were consolidated and considered as a unit. Most of the evacuee gardens were allotted to the Sikh Refugee agriculturists.

27 large blocks of evacuee land, which had been
excluded from general allotment, have been allotted to persons interested in horticulture for growing gardens. As a result of this, the Punjab will add some 20,000 acres to its area under gardens. These colonies have been established in one out of thirteen districts of the State on fertile blocks of evacuee land on the road-side. A few of the colonies are situated close to the towns of Jullundur, Muktsar, Patti and Mansi. Others are also quite favourably situated on mugal or kucha roads. Their areas vary from 195 acres of Allowal Balamwal in Fosiarpur district to 2,066 acres of Jalja in cartridges Karnal. Each allottee has been given either a unit of 20 acres, or half a unit of 10 acres. The total number of allottees in all the 27 garden colonies is 1,122. Most of the allottees in these garden colonies are Sikhs.

Allotments in the garden colonies have been made in lieu of the area allotable under the quasi-permanent allotment scheme, and is not an additional allotment of land. Those who have received allotments in garden colonies have had this area deducted from the total area due to them. If, after deducting the area for a unit or half unit in a garden colony, the remaining area was less than five standard acres, the allottee received this area also within the garden colony. If the balance exceeded five standard acres, it was given to him elsewhere. It was also decided to harness the enthusiasm and talent for gardening in the non-displaced people of Punjab by allotting them similar areas in the garden colonies. The

* Figures - Rehabilitation Department Jullundur, Punjab.
condition for their admission into these colonies was that an allottee had to surrender an equivalent area from his holding which was added to the general evacuee pool. An upper limit of 20% was fixed as the share of Punjab residents but actually they have received only 6% area on account of greater demand from displaced landholders.

15 out of 27 garden colonies got canal water. Although the amount of water that they are getting at present is not sufficient, Government can attend to their demand much better than it could if it came from persons having scattered gardens. For the remaining colonies which are dependent on sub-soil water for irrigation purposes, and also for three of the canal irrigated colonies which were not getting sufficient water, the Punjab Government have advanced a loan of Rs. 7½ lakhs for sinking tube-wells. Rs. 25,000 have been given for one tube well each.

The Sikh displaced agriculturists in the garden colonies have benefitted much by this scheme of garden colonies

(7) **GOVERNMENT LOANS FOR RURAL RESETTLEMENT.**

After the farmers had been put on land, financial assistance was given to them by Government through taccavi loans. These loans were for various purposes, but the

* Figures - Rehabilitation Department Punjab, Jullundur.
food loans and loans for the purchase of seed and bullocks were the most popular ones. The least popular of the loans were those for repair of houses and wells. With the talk of quasi-permanent allotment in the air no body wanted to invest in the houses and wells which he may have to leave. Due to disturbed conditions there was also a lack of building material and equipment for wells. From the financial year 1947-48 to 1950-51, the total amount of the taccavi loans advanced by the Government to the displaced persons settled in villages amounted to Rs.3,94,80,347. These are quite impressive figures but when we remember that the number of displaced families settled on land was two and a half lakhs, and each one of them needed financial assistance very badly, the amount advanced were hardly adequate.

Food Loans.

The largest single loan item was for the purchase of food. This loan was given to displaced persons when they left relief camp and settled in villages. The crops sown by them had to mature after six months, and the refugee farmers were to be fed during that period. They were given monthly food allowances for every member of the family @ Rs.3/0/- per adult and Rs.2/- per child per mensem. The department of Food and Civil Supplies was therefore, required to open retail food shops in selected villages for the supply of wheat to

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displaced persons. Till the end of financial year 1949-50, the total amount of food loans disbursed were Rs. 32,72,776.

**Fodder Loans.**

Rs. 8,30,273 were distributed from the years 1947-48 to 1948-49 as taccavi loans for fodder. The rate of this taccavi was Rs. 20/- per month.

**Bullocks.**

The greatest need of a cultivator is a pair of bullocks. About 1/4th of the total amount distributed till 1950-51 (Rs. 1,08,62,428) has gone to finance the purchase of bullocks. In dry districts like Hisar and Gurgaon, where cultivation is carried on with the aid of camels, loans were given for the purchase of camels instead of bullocks. In fact the lack of bullocks is the most powerful single factor hampering full rehabilitation. Not to speak of the bigger allottees, even some small allottees, who would very much like to cultivate their holdings themselves, have been forced to let out their allotments to tenants because they have not got any bullocks.

** p.24.
*** p.24.
Agricultural Implements Loans.

There was a great dearth of agricultural implements in the market. Arrangements were made for the manufacture and supply of chaff-cutters, sugar-cane crushers, and well gears, at controlled prices. Rs.14,04,819 were disbursed for the purchase of agricultural implements till 1950-51. In addition to this, the agricultural implements loan given to the displaced persons in the Garden colonies during 1949-50 amounted to rupees two and a half lakhs.

Seed Loans.

Loans for the purchase of seed were not given in cash. Permits were issued to loanees to buy seed from seed depots, and the amount loaned was debited to their account. This arrangement proved most successful, and loans to the extent of Rs.68,92,802 were advanced for the purchase of seed till 1950-51.

Rural Artisans.

The countryside had been denuded of a large proportion of its artisans and village servants. Government, therefore, decided to afford financial assistance to displaced rural artisans for their rehabilitation in villages. A sum of Rs.6,63,075 was advanced as loans to rural artisans till 1950-51.

* (Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.24. (figures).)
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Loans for Tractors, Tube-Wells & Water Pumps.

The advancing of loans for tractors, tube-wells and water pumps showed an inclination of the Punjab Government to help the displaced agriculturists in modernizing the agriculture. The total loans advanced for this purpose were as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tube-Wells.</td>
<td>Rs. 3,55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tube-wells in garden colonies.</td>
<td>Rs. 7,50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Water Pumps.</td>
<td>Rs. 22,02,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Boring.</td>
<td>Rs. 5,84,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Till the years 1951-52, the loans for tractors amounted to Rs. 28,81,200. These loans were allied to each other. A water pump would be useless if it was installed in a well which had not been bored because the water in the well would exhaust too soon, and often the well cracked. These Power machines were not entirely unknown in the rural areas of Punjab before, but were used only in villages near the towns or on Government farms. As a result of these loans they have now penetrated into the interior of the countryside. There are 2,837 Power Pumping sets, 400 Tractors, and 120 Tube wells, humming in the countryside on account of these loans. A farmer who is inclined towards any of these machines knows at least where he can talk to its owner in language which is intelligible to both.

A tractor was a rare sight. Now it can be seen on the roads as well as in the farms in the districts of Kernal, Ferozepur and Ludhiana. The present high prices of agricultural produce have made the use of tractors and Tube-wells an economic proposition. Facilities for supply of spares and service are being provided by some of the dealers, and with increase in the number of tractors in use it would be possible for them to set up service stations at convenient points. Some of the tractor owners are also combining into co-operative societies for the purpose of obtaining fuel supplies.

The modernisation of agriculture which the Department of Rehabilitation has brought about, is an achievement to be proud of. Land in the riverain areas, which was ineffectively cultivated, has now been conquered. Experience has shown that the farmer in the riverain has to carry on an unceasing battle with grass which spreads and checks the growth of cultivated plants. After the departure of Muslims, large areas in the riverain got covered with reeds and tall grasses on account of neglect of cultivation. Tractors are required not only for reclaiming such areas but also for keeping them under cultivation. Similarly, considerable areas covered with trees and bushes in Kernal district, which had been lying uncultivated for ages. There also tractor has come to the help of the farmer. Since mechanisation of cultivation
lessens the drudgery of farming, it will attract to the village sons of middle class agriculturists, who have studied in the College. It is hoped that these educated agriculturists will be a powerful force towards the improvement of agriculture and rural life in Punjab and Pepsu, and hence of the Sikhs.

(8) **Farming Schemes**.

Partition has made Punjab a laboratory for trial of new ideas and schemes. The schemes of Joint Village Management, and Co-operative Farming were given a trial in Punjab. While the former has failed, the latter is still working successful.

**Joint Village Management Scheme.**

According to Tarlok Singh, the author of this scheme, a part of the cultivable area of the village is to be set apart for fruit gardening or vegetable farming, and is to be worked jointly, and the remaining area is to be divided into suitable work units. The words 'Joint management' cannot a system in which the claims of ownership are respected but owners pool their land for the purpose of management. Income from land divides into two parts: income due to work, and income due to ownership. These owners of land who cultivate will be entitled to 'Ownership dividend' as well as 'work income', while those who do not cultivate will be only entitled to 'Ownership dividend'.
Land, which term also includes wells, trees etc. will together represent the total contribution of each owner of the Farm on the basis of which he will get his ownership dividend. After the valuation has taken place, details of individual holdings will cease to matter altogether. Having valued land, the next step is to divide the area of the village into suitable work units of estimated equal productivity. A unit of work has been defined as the area which can be cultivated by one worker assisted by a family of average size with the aid of a plough and a pair of bullocks, and is equivalent to about 10 to 12 acres of irrigated land. The implements and bullocks owned by the proprietors of land and tenants would be pooled under the auspices of the co-operative society.

The scheme was given a trial on a small scale under the temporary allotment of evacuee land. Blocks of land were allotted jointly to groups of displaced agriculturists. In a number of cases quarrels developed among the groups who failed to co-operate, and substantial areas which would have been cultivated otherwise were left uncultivated. In some cases the leaders of the groups misappropriated the entire produce, depriving members of the group of their shares. Difficulties were experienced even in a realization of land revenue and other dues. Apart from fall in production of agricultural commodities, the group allotment scheme created
complications, and the revenue staff had to spend a good deal of time in settling their quarrels.

The other Co-operative Farming experiment which deserves notice is the Sewa-Nagar Refugee Farmers Co-operatives. About 16 miles from Jullundur on the Grand Trunk Road off Phagwara, 33 families of displaced landholders (almost all of whom are Sikhs) have started a rare and bold social and agricultural experiment in an evacuee village, Perwa, which they have renamed as Sewa Nagar. These families are from four adjacent villages in Jaranwala tahsil of Lyallpur district in West Punjab. Under the leadership of two Sikh political workers, Boota Singh and Bakhshish Singh, they combined in the form of a co-operative group, and requested for allotment together. This request was accepted by the Rehabilitation Department, and only one allotment order for the entire village was made out in the names of all the members of the group without defining their individual fields. This means that although each member on the basis of his holding in West Punjab knows the extent of his share in the common pool, he cannot claim any specific fields as belonging to him.

The total area of the village is 800 acres of fertile alluvial land irrigated by wells. The members of the group pooled their financial resources, including ornaments of women, and thus collected about Rs. 37,000. With this money they purchased three diesel pumping sets and eleven pairs of
bullocks. The number of bullocks which have been purchased is about 1/3th of the normal requirements, and the co-operative society has gone in for a tractor for which a loan was advanced by the Pepsu Government.

All the able bodied men work in the fields, and jobs are assigned to each by the President of the Society. An attendance register is maintained in which the labour days put in by each worker are noted. The milch cattle, horses, and bullocks are regarded as common property, and a large size cattle shed has been constructed to accommodate them.

A common kitchen is maintained, and women from each family take their turns at cooking. At the sound of a gong meals are served, and rough wooden tables and benches are provided by the society out of its funds.

"Sewanagar is a rare and bold experiment which appears like oasis in the desert of individualism" says M.S. Randhawa, "So far the leaders of group have been able to hold the members together .... Sewa Nagar has proved an exception, and the main reason of its success is that nearly all the partners are able bodied farmers for whom work is joy. At this stage it would be premature to form an opinion about the soundness of this venture, which has been started under exceptionally favourable circumstances. However, it is an experiment which will be watched with interest by all progressive farmers of India."

* M.S. Randhawa - Out of the Ashes, p.177-9.
This reminds about another experiment on somewhat similar lines, which was also tried by a Sikh, Sarfar Gurbaksh Singh who founded a colony named Preet Nagar sometime during 1936-37. He acquired a piece of land in Amritsar district which he renamed as Preet Nagar, and enrolled members who were to be supported for their life time. Each member paid Rs. 500 for joining this association. More than 95% of the members were Sikhs. The main source of income in Preet Nagar movement was from publications though the other sources included agriculture also. An activity school on modern lines was started where most of the resident Sikh children belonged to well to do Sikh families. A common kitchen existed for all the members of the Preet Nagar colony. This programme worked successfully and was progressing well but for the Partition of Punjab, the Government partly acquired the area of Preet Nagar for military purposes as the Sikh Pakistan border is only 2 miles from there.

The farming experiences started by the Sikhs shows their selfless interest, liberal mindedness and their trend towards creating healthy working conditions on account of their being energetic and hard workers. Though the Government has done considerably well to rehabilitate the agriculturists and hence the Sikhs in Punjab and Penu, yet it is the steadfastness enthusiasm and hard work of the Sikh refugee agriculturists themselves which has come to their rescue in the hour of their
misfortune, and has rewarded them more than merely the efforts on the part of the State Governments of Punjab and Bengal.

**URBAN REHABILITATION.**

The urban Rehabilitation was of greater difficulties than the rural rehabilitation because of the provision of housing accommodation and of suitable employment. Moreover, the number of urban immigrants was nearly 50% higher than that of urban emigrants, and the standard of living of incoming Sikh and Hindu refugees was very much higher than that of the Muslims who left India. But they were forced to accept a serious reduction in the standard of living as they left their property and other assets in the Pakistan. The main problems of Urban Rehabilitation before the Government were of housing, trading shops, employment, industries in New townships and education, financial assistance and compensation to displaced persons.

(9) HOUSING IN URBAN AREAS.

The houses left by Muslims in Punjab were very much inferior to what the urban refugees were accustomed to in the West Pakistan. Punjab had fewer towns where they could be accommodated. As a result of the great influx to cities and towns and the suspension of building activity during the war, the housing situation was serious even before the Partition.
Due to shortage of housing accommodation, a majority of the refugees had to live in tents, temporary structures and in houses abandoned by the evacuees or newly built by the Government. While a number of refugees secured accommodation with their relatives and friends, a few who brought some money with them were able to purchase houses or to obtain them on rent.

In the urban area of Punjab, Muslims abandoned 1,40,008 houses, of which 1,10,757 houses were allotable. Out of the allotable houses about 90% were in the S.M.A. in Punjab, 30% were in Amritsar and Jullundur districts and 30% were in Karnal, Ludhiana and Ambala districts. In Pepsu, the total number of evacuee houses was 39,331 of which 9,323 were demolished, 3,630 were repairable and 26,372 were habitable till 30th June 1952. Moreover, there was wide disparity in the quality of the houses left by the Muslims in Punjab and Pepsu and those abandoned by Sikh and Hindu refugees in West Pakistan.

Most of the evacuee houses were not equipped with necessary amenities of life i.e. water and electricity. Though the Punjab Government had directed the local authorities to allot the available residential accommodation among the displaced persons in accordance with the specified limits - 50 square feet per adult and 30 square feet per child below

* Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.23.
12 years, yet a wide variance from the specified limit was noticed in a number of cases. The influential and well to do families managed to get accommodation far in excess of their minimum requirements. It was indeed very sad to find a few people living in palatial buildings while innumerable displaced families were rotting in camps, exposed to the inclemencies of weather. The poorer sections of population too deserved a fair treatment. Rationing of accommodation ought to have been enforced to accommodate the maximum number of displaced persons.

Of the refugees for whom accommodation was required, a good number were squatters on the roadsides or were temporarily accommodated in public buildings like schools and Dharamshalas. Government schemes gave first priority to the provision of accommodation for them. New houses of different patterns were constructed throughout the country by the Central and the State Governments. Of the total number of houses and tenements planned by Government numbering 1,54,571 Punjab had 38,263 and Pepsu 4,323. By the end of 31st December 1954, the houses constructed in Punjab and Pepsu under the urban Housing schemes for refugees were 35,733 and 3,729. This does not include construction of houses undertaken by refugees themselves or by their co-operative Societies with partial assistance from Government.

* Economic Conditions of Displaced Persons settled in East Punjab, p.48-49.
Displaced persons were encouraged to form house building co-operative societies and plots of lands and loans were granted to them. Residential plots were also developed and allotted or sold to them on easy terms. The construction programme in Punjab and Pepsu was completed by 31st March 1956. The total house building loans disbursed by Punjab Government till 1950-51 were Rs. 46,33,751 against the sanctioned amount of Rs. 56,60,722. Of the persons accommodated in evacuate houses many of them live in a state of acute congestion, in private houses with their friends and relatives. Provision has been made to grant house building loans to such refugees who have their claims verified by the Government.

(10) TRADING SHOPS IN URBAN AREAS.

The acute shortage of trading shops too impeded the speedy rehabilitation of the refugees. The Muslims left 20,247 trading shops in Punjab, of which 17,329 were allotable, more than 75% of these shops being in the Sikh Majority Area in Punjab, and 30% being in Amritsar and Jullundur districts. The work of allotment of evacuate shops was completed by January 1949 in Punjab. The total number of evacuate shops in Pepsu was 2,905 of which 2,592 were habitable. 2,451 of the total evacuate shops in Pepsu were allotted to the refugee business men by June 1952.

* Statistical Abstract Punjab- Rehabilitation, p.25.
** " " " p.23.
A few local bodies tried to alleviate the shortage of shops by constructing or permitting the construction of wooden stalls in the localities where sufficient space was available. But these stalls did not prove to be very popular. Since the shops are of great importance to the displaced business men, Government has done well by undertaking the construction of shops in different towns. For providing business premises to refugee shopkeepers, Government both Central and State and local bodies have established a number of new markets in important localities. Shops and stalls have also been constructed at suitable places in various towns. Loans were given to refugees for undertaking construction of their own shops. Special facilities also continue to be given in respect of grant of import and export licences, electric power and telephone installations, railway priorities, etc.

(11) **EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT & PRIVATE SERVICES.**

The provision of employment to refugees in urban areas has been even more difficult than the provision of adequate housing. This is because the country's economy had already been stretched to capacity during World War II and the vacuum created in that economy by the migration of Muslims from India was meagre. Further, the occupational disparity between the migrating Muslims and incoming Sikhs and Hindus was

* Economic Conditions of Displaced Persons, p.50.
greatest in certain occupations such as business and professions and shortages in skilled and unskilled labour. This made the problem of re-employment of refugees very complicated. The Muslims who left Punjab were mainly cultivators and artisans, whereas the artisans and industrial workers constituted the smallest class of earners amongst the refugees. This rendered the task of rehabilitation more difficult.

However, all the resources were tapped and help was afforded in the form of employment in Government and private services, technical and vocational training of the younger people, grant of loans for business, industry or professions, provision of industrial and business premises, procurement of special quotas for certain essential commodities etc.

The employment Exchanges run by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment, Ministry of Labour, have been of great help in securing employment for a large number of refugees. Upto December 1954, a total of 1,26,593 refugees were placed in employment through exchanges in Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh.

The Central and State Governments have been giving preference to displaced persons in the matter of employment. The Rehabilitation Departments in various States recruited their staff mostly from amongst the displaced persons.

Displaced teachers were found jobs in the schools started for the displaced children. Special concessions in respect of fees and relaxation of age-limit in favour of displaced persons for recruitment through the Union Public Service Commission have been sanctioned by the Government.

(12) INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES,

Punjab and Pepsu were not as well developed as West Pakistan in respect of industries. In fact, the major centres of industrial activities were located in West Punjab. Punjab (meaning East Punjab) had 415 factories employing 43,000 persons whereas West Pakistan had 602 factories and employed 1,10,000 persons. In respect of distribution and consumption of electricity also, the Punjab was relatively less developed than West Pakistan which did not depend upon Punjab to the same extent as Punjab depended upon West Pakistan. Punjab depended upon West Pakistan for supplies raw materials like wheat, cotton, lime, coal, gypsum, salt and wool. Industries like flour milling, cotton textiles, brick kilns, chemicals and sports goods were badly affected on account of the Partition.

The Punjab Government has undertaken the development of new industrial townships at Bahadurgarh, Sonepat, Jagadhari, Ludhiana and Jullundur where the electric connections and
supply of building materials etc. have been arranged, together with the financial assistance to the displaced Sikhs and Hindus who are allottees of plots. The policy of constructing new townships provide opportunity to take into consideration modern techniques in town planning and for making them model towns.

To promote new industries in these townships by giving special facilities to private industrialists, provision has been made for the parties who satisfy the Government that their schemes are technically sound and that they will be able to carry them out within a reasonable period and further that they will employ from amongst the displaced persons the entire unskilled labour and as much skilled and semi-skilled labour as practicable. Factory sites will be provided to industrialists who will have the option to purchase the same or take them on rental basis. The building will be constructed by Government according to the specification of the industrialist. Rent on building will be assessed at 5½ % on the cost of it. The industrialist will have the option to purchase the land and building at any time during the period of lease, land at market price and the building at its depreciated value. Facilities for electricity and water will be provided for industrial purposes at bulk rates prevailing in the neighbouring industrial areas.

During 1954-55, the facilities mentioned above were extended to the township of Rajpura in Pepsu. The work is continued and is being extended to other townships.
A very large proportion of urban refugees was originally engaged in distributive trades in Pakistan. The scope for their resettlement in similar trades in India was extremely limited even though the big development projects started all over the country were in need of thousands of technicians and skilled workers of all types. The Ministry of Rehabilitation has provided sufficient facilities for the suitable training of the younger people amongst displaced persons in different vocations and crafts so as to equip them properly for earning a living. With this end in view, training centres run by the Directorate of Resettlement and Employment, were utilized and new centres were set up by the State Governments and the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Besides, grants-in-aid were given to non-official institutions of repute for taking up displaced persons by enlisting them as apprentices in important private industrial establishments in which they could be absorbed on completion of their training.

The trainees receive training and also a monthly stipend of Rs.30 during the period of training. On completion of training the trainees are helped by Government either to set themselves up or find suitable employment in the industries in which they are trained. The passed out trainees are also given priority in the matter of grant of loans under the small Urban Loans Scheme if they wish to set up a small industry.
Under these schemes, the refugees from West Pakistan trained till 31st December 1954 were as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trained</th>
<th>Under Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>12,686</td>
<td>1,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>16,884</td>
<td>2,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajpura township</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>8,232</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Punjab had the greatest number of trainees under these schemes than any other State in India.

A major handicap in the successful working of the work-cum-training centres was the non-availability of sufficient facilities for the marketing and advertising of the articles produced by these centres. Government has set up their own sales depots at suitable places for the disposals of the finished products of their centres.

(14) **EDUCATION.**

Due to Partition, the education of the children of refugee Sikhs and Hindus received a set back. They were forced to discontinue their studies due to the uneconomic financial

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position of their parents and guardians. Some of these children supplemented the income of their parents by selling eatables, newspapers and other minor articles of daily use, while many others frittered away their energies while sitting idle at home. A large number of such refugee children would have continued their studies if financial assistance and other facilities were readily available to them. At certain places, the students experienced difficulties in securing admission to schools.

Government advanced loans and grants to students whose studies were likely to be hampered due to lack of funds. All classes of students (students in arts, as well as professional colleges) were granted the monetary help. By the end of the year 1950-51, the educational loans advanced to the students and other educational grants etc. amounted to Rs. 72,64,463 of which educational loans valued Rs. 25,56,052, educational grants amounted to Rs. 37,21,460 and stipends and free ship amounted to Rs. 15,36,951.

But the financial assistance provided was not commensurated with the requirements of the students, coupled with inordinate delay in the disbursement of loans which subjected the students to untold hardships. The remission of examination fees, and the levy of tuition fees for about eight months instead of full one year were steps in the right direction which brought relief to the displaced students. But

* Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.25.
in certain schools, financial aid was given to all the
displaced students irrespective of the financial condition
of their parents, with the result that some of the
beneficiaries neither needed nor deserved the monetary help.

(15) REFUGEES AND LOCAL POPULATION.

In the beginning, the local population heavily
entertained the displaced persons. But the enthusiasm to
help the distressed immigrants soon changed into active
antagonism as soon as the refugee shopkeepers and hawkers
offered cut throat competition to their local counterpart in
their business, the latter developed business jealousy against
the former. The refugees therefore, received cold treatment
wherever they went. The various State Governments too did
not evince the desired interest and promptness in the
resettlement of the displaced persons who had sought help in
their jurisdiction. Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Sena, Minister
for Relief & Rehabilitation, in a statement issued to the
Press on 25th March 1949 said :-

"A certain amount of delay in the planning
and formulation of rehabilitation scheme
is inevitable, but I am quite clear in
my mind that there are certain other
factors which have retarded the progress
of rehabilitation. The foremost among them
is, for instance, Provincial Politics and
local vested interests coupled with a general
antipathy to the settlement of a large number
of persons from outside the Province."

* Economic Condition of Displaced Persons, p.56.
In spite of the best intentions of Government to rehabilitate the uprooted millions at the earliest, the problem defied solution. There was wide chasm between the formulation of the plans and their actual implementation. Much of the failure in this respect could be attributed to the negligence on the part of the officials concerned. Some of the officials subordinated the greater interests of the State to their selfish motives and thus retarded the progress of rehabilitation. Corruption, favouritism, and nepotism were alleged to be rampant in almost all spheres of rehabilitation. A few officials tried to build their own prosperity at the expense of the displaced persons.

(16) URBAN LOANS BY GOVERNMENT.

In addition to house building, educational and other loans, loans upto Rs.5,000 in each case were given to refugees under Small Urban Loan scheme started in the year 1947 to enable them to settle in business, trade, industry and other professions in urban areas. Up to the end of 1954, Rs.2,33,09,113 were advanced to 12,181 refugees from West Pakistan plus 776 co-operative Societies by Punjab Government and Rs.44,92,712 to 352 refugees by Pepsu Government. In addition to this Pepsu Development Board, Rajpura advanced * Economic Condition of Displaced Persons, p.54, 68.
The Punjab Government also gave Small urban grants till 1950-51 amounting to Rs.15,86,285 for rehabilitating Sikh and Hindu Refugees in Punjab. An important decision taken during 1954-55 was the total remission of loans of Rs.300 or less given under the Small urban Loan scheme to refugees from West Pakistan who had no verified claims under the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act, 1950. Preference in granting loans was given to persons who had received training in a vocation or craft and wished to set up small industries.

The Rehabilitation Finance Administration (under the administrative control of the Ministry of Finance) has been functioning since 1st June 1948 and gives loans above Rs.5,000 to individual displaced persons, partnerships, private limited companies, co-operative societies and joint stock companies formed by displaced persons. Rs.666.23 lakhs were paid as such loans to displaced persons from West Pakistan till 31st December 1954. The period of repayment of loans which was ten years previously had been increased to 15 years later on.

(17) COMPENSATION TO REFUGEES.

The compensation scheme based on the Displaced Persons (Compensation & Rehabilitation) Act, 1954 is the outcome

** Statistical Abstract Punjab - Rehabilitation, p.25.
of intense effort and is the culmination of rehabilitation measures which were initiated in 1947 when the Ministry of Rehabilitation was set up to deal with the problem which arose due to large scale migration of population from Pakistan. The total number of admitted claims for various types of properties was 1,40,660 in Punjab and 23,845 in Pepsu. After the claims verification work was completed in 1953, it was decided to make a beginning with the payment of compensation based on the claims verified to afford relief to certain categories of claimants whose needs were given high priority. These categories included old and infirm men, women in receipt of doles outside, widows, and persons living in new townships and in mud-huts in the Punjab.

While the interim Compensation Scheme was in operation, Displaced Persons (Compensation & Rehabilitation) Act was passed on 9th October 1954. The Act empowered the Central Government to acquire evacuee property for a public purpose connected with the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons and for the payment of compensation. Prior to the enactment of this bill, the Central Government had announced that the refugees will be paid compensation out of the property left behind by the Muslim evacuees. The rehabilitation policy of the Government did not take into consideration that by such announcement the Government was creating a feeling of

animosity between the refugees and the Muslim community left in India. This is borne out by the fact that a Congress leader and a representative of the refugees while speaking in Hindi on the demands for grants of the Ministry of Rehabilitation said in the House of People on 30th March 1951 that "every refugee is given assurance that compensation will be paid from the Muslim property. So the refugees think they committed folly by allowing the rest of the Muslims to remain here. Had they turned them out en bloc they would have got compensation."

This psychological effect could have been avoided by confiscating all the property of the Muslim evacuees and paying the refugees compensation from a general fund.

The total assets available for distribution in the form of compensation was estimated to be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 185 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 100 Crores represented the value of evacuee property including the accumulated rentals of such properties since 1947. The Government's contribution to the pool - Rs. 85 crores represented the expenditure incurred by the Central Government on construction of houses etc., either directly or through the States and other agencies, on the rehabilitation of displaced persons and

on the grant of loans to them. Most of the properties have been purchased by persons having verified claims who are allowed to adjust the price against the net compensation due to them. Property worth over a crore of rupees was sold to refugee refugees till 1954-55.

(18) SIKHS AND URBAN REHABILITATION.

No data is available community-wise about the displaced persons settled in the urban areas of Punjab and Penu. Hence no figures are forthcoming for the Sikh refugees, exclusively. But the Sikh displaced persons from West Pakistan settled in all the towns and cities of Punjab and Penu though their number was comparatively much less in urban areas than in the rural areas where they form a greater majority of their refugee population. They faced all the problems of urban rehabilitation commonly with the rest of the urban refugee population throughout the whole of India, especially in Punjab and Penu where they have settled more than in any other part of India. They have contributed their share in starting new industries, in developing model colonies in new towns and in constructing new houses and opening new trading and transport business. They made use of the facilities provided by the Government through the loans, grants and compensation

schemes for the rehabilitation of urban refugees. The proof of their such activities is visible from their re-built and improved standard of living which had gone down very badly after the partition of the country and needed great help.

A large number of Sikh refugees from Rawalpindi and Multan divisions were shopkeepers-cum-moneylenders who despised manual work. Deprived of their easy way of making money, they are now realising the dignity of manual labour by drifting into the ranks of workers. Their rehabilitation in the stagnant towns and cities of Punjab and Pepsu has quickened the pulse of social life. Darb bazaars, with ill-kept shops, have completely changed, and instead we find well-stocked orderly shops with a large variety of goods. They have greatly increased the circulation of goods even in villages inhabited by the parsimonious jats of Mariana Prant. Fruit shops are found in much larger numbers in all the towns in Punjab and Pepsu, and meat as an article of diet is finding increasing popularity with the vegetarian Hindu population of the districts of Ambala division.

(19) CONCLUSION.

The work of rehabilitating the Sikh Refugees (along with Hindu Refugees) started from their evacuation from Pakistan. They were provided with immediate relief in the Camps where they got food and other necessaries of life. The
Sikh refugees were mostly agriculturists and their re-settlement in the rural areas started with the allotment of evacuee lands. They could not be rehabilitated to the extent they owned lands in Pakistan as the lands left in Punjab and Pepsu by Muslims were not sufficient to accommodate them fully. Their losses in area particularly in perennial irrigated land is crippling. But the Sikh refugee landowners have accepted the inevitable. Namdhari Sikh refugees have resettled on land in Faisalabad district where they are doing well but the Labana Sikhs settled in Noshiarpur district are not economically well off.

Most of the evacuee gardens were allotted to the Sikh refugees who have in addition initiated to have new gardens under the new garden colonies schemes. Though all the Government loans were productive for rural settlement yet the most popular amongst the Sikh refugee agriculturists was food loan as it provided staying power till harvesting of crops. The Sikh refugee farmers have launched a scheme of co-operative farming which is proving a success and is being watched by others with interest.

The urban rehabilitation of the Sikh refugees did not present any separate single problem other than the Hindu refugees as a majority of the Sikh refugees have settled in the rural areas of Punjab and Pepsu. They have gained and lost commonly with all other refugees in urban areas where with the help they got from the Government they are recouping.
their standard of living to which they were accustomed.

The Partition has provided them great opportunities for planning and rebuilding life on a new pattern. Vast experiments in rural housing, co-operative farming and gardening have been tried over 1/4th of the total cultivated area of Punjab. Large areas have been acquired for townships and industrial areas, which would not have been possible if the population had not moved. While the older people have memories of the horrors of Partition, the younger people are no longer obsessed with such horrors. They are regarding their new villages as their homes and are looking with confidence to the future, for people who are accustomed to hard work have nothing to be afraid of.