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Partition and the Mentally Ill

This is in response to the letter by P R Chari entitled "Siachen in the Time of Manto" (EPW, 9 June 2012) on the continuing relevance of Manto and the use of the story "Toba Tek Singh" wherein the protagonist's madness is taken as a metaphor for contemporary geopolitics. However, the reality behind the metaphor is equally, if not more tragic.

On 31 July 1947, Earl Mountbatten notes in his daily diary (Mountbatten India Office Records L/PO/6/123 part 3/p 222, Para 56):

One of the few institutions that will not be partitioned immediately is the Punjab Mental Hospital. It will continue to be shared for some years. Some Hindu inmates of the asylum have protested against being left in Pakistan. They have been assured that their fears are *imaginary* (italics added).

This process of Partition of the mental hospital was dragged over several years, as the interprovincial hospital in Ranchi (which erstwhile undivided Punjab contributed to) was too far, the one at Agra was under the United Provinces, and there were no other asylums in the (Indian) Punjab as Delhi and Amritsar mental hospitals did not exist. The asylum at Amritsar was thus hastily constructed in 1949, but was essentially inadequate and patients and families were accommodated in tents and looked after by the staff. This incongruous but apparently successful arrangement and the personal charisma of Dr Vidyasagar eventually provided a model for greater family engagement for the care of the mentally ill in India.

However, the process of Partition remorselessly ground ahead, and patients from the mental hospital at Lahore, and various hospitals in India, were eventually exchanged. As the doctors in Amritsar noted, 450 non-Muslim mental patients were received in 1950, of which 282 Punjabis were retained at Amritsar, and the rest sent on to Ranchi (the erstwhile mental hospital for Europeans and Anglo-Indians). As many as 233 Muslim patients from various mental hospitals in India, from as far away as Ranchi, were sent in the opposite direction to Lahore. The reason for these hospitals being chosen was probably administrative convenience,

rather than an effort to unite patients with their families.

As the Director of Health Services, Punjab notes in 1950 (Annual report of Punjab Mental Hospital, Amritsar, 1950):

[O]f the 600-700 non-Muslim patients in Lahore asylum at partition, only 317 were exchanged, is a tragic fact which sadly betrays the treatment meted out to those unfortunate victims who could not be retrieved earlier from the Lahore Hospital.

Although some of the patients were transferred to Ranchi, contributions from the Punjab government became erratic and the central government had to step in and make good the shortage, till it became designated as a central institute and not an interprovincial one.

In all this, the fates of the families and the patients, who were transported across hundreds of miles, often deluded or confused, remain one of the unspoken tragedies of the Partition, used as metaphor and farce, but hiding a very disturbing reality of unwillingness to care for "the other", even when "the other" is unwell and incapable of articulating distress. These hundreds of real life "Toba Tek Singhs", like the original protagonist in Manto's story, lost their very real identities and were now classified as Hindu and Muslim, Punjabi and non-Punjabi, and other categories, probably on the basis of who would pay the bills rather than any other humanitarian, clinical or medical concern.

The mentally ill continue to be the classic apocryphal "other", and both politicians and society continue to use the terms "mad" and "insane" to disparage and insult, and almost never express the honest concern and graciousness, which may have helped provide balm to the horrors of the Partition then, and to the care of the mentally ill now. In this the centenary year of Manto's birth, we may want to commemorate that acerbic and insightful author by reflecting on this.

Sanjeev Jain, Alok Sarin

Kitchen 'Sati'

I read with interest "Anti-Dowry Law Viewed from the Prison Cell" (EPW, 28 January 2012). One cannot factually and emotively disagree with many of the concerns that need to be addressed. Much is

said about the misuse of the section on marital harassment – 498A of the Indian Penal Code. On the other hand, there exist many cases deserving registration as dowry deaths or suicides due to harassment in marriage (Sections 304B and 498A/306). But they do not see the light of day. No breath is wasted on discussing these.

The National Crime Records Bureau notes that in 2010, there were 8,391 cases of dowry deaths in the country. But behind every reported or written statistic is a world of lost, disempowered and silent, suppressed and manipulated statistics. Many do not have a voice, let alone raise it. Other voices dry up before gaining recognition as formal figures.

Many young girls, recently married, die of *ulti-dast* (a euphemism for poisoning), as in Bihar, and “kitchen accidents”, as in Madhya Pradesh. A lot of these incidents do not have their tryst with justice. When such a burns case gets initially reported, it is largely a medico-legal case report from the hospital. Police intervention stays confined to recording the girl’s statement. At this stage, no emphasis is laid on visiting the crime scene. Often, the girl is referred to a higher medical centre. Hence, there is a greater lapse of time in recording her statement and visiting the crime scene. Usually the visit to the crime scene takes place when the “unnatural death” case is registered. By this time the crime scene is a well-swept, cleaned area with scant evidence.

The statement of the girl itself can be a separate scholarship in gender discourse. Here is a woman dying, writhing in pain, finding it difficult to speak, maybe regretful of the rash step she took. To the recorder of the statement, she is a disfigured, offensively smelling (of burnt skin, pus, sweat) figure telling you the same story through different mouths over and over again. That it was an accident. So the kerosene stove burst (while a gas cylinder may be used for cooking, or as if food is cooked in the bedroom) or a *dibbi* (little kerosene lamp) fell on her when in the event of power cut it was lighted. And the recorder of the statement records these white lies.

“Truth sits upon the lips of dying men” (Mathew Arnold), but not women, in these cases. Surrounded by in-laws and begged

by them and her husband to forgive them before the statement is recorded, she takes the soft course. If children are involved in the situation, then thinking about their future and the future caretakers, she forgives all. With limited options in case she survives, she “un-words” her plight. Burns, it may be noted, are not cases of gradual recovery but sharp deterioration. Initially the girl and her family may be deceived into believing that the girl will survive. In the light of future options, the statement is engineered.

Moreover, the relationships she has been involved in are complex. Also a girl, who would have hid her predicament from family and friends, would scarcely elaborate it before a stranger who comes hurrying to get over with another routine chore of recording a statement.

The attitude of the girl’s family varies from case to case. Many wait to see what the daughter will say and usually echo the same. In most cases the girl does not say anything so the family sews its lips. If the girl dies and the grandchildren are involved, who will, in most cases, stay with the in-laws, the parents do not pursue the case. In some, it so happens that the parents may bargain for the items of dowry to be returned. Once this “blood money” is received in part, or in full, the issue stands amicably resolved between the two families.

Deepika Suri

BHOPAL

Bhagana Dalits

Fifty dalit men have been sitting on dharna in New Delhi’s Jantar Mantar from 2 July. They are here for an indefinite period till they get justice. They have marched to Delhi on foot in the hot summer, having left Hisar town in Haryana on 27 June. These men are part of the same 70 dalit families whose exodus from

village Bhagana had been reported by the national media in the last week of May and who have camped outside the mini-Secretariat in Hisar since 23 May. They have been protesting against their vicious social boycott by the Jats in their village as well as the unauthorised takeover of common lands in the village by the Jats, and the non-implementation of the Mahatma Gandhi Basti Vikas Yojana. The refusal of Bhagana’s dalit and backward communities to passively accept the takeover of their use and ownership land rights resulted in their social boycott. When a team of the People’s Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and the Association for Democratic Rights met them in Hisar on 21 June, they were concentrating their energies on resisting the pressure being brought to bear on them to end their protest.

PUDR is shocked and angered to find they have now been forced to resort to undertaking the *padyatra* as a heightened form of protest and the dharna at Delhi as no action against the guilty Jats has been undertaken either by the state administration, the Haryana government or the local police. On the contrary, the protesting dalits have been charged under Sections 332, 353, 186, 506 and 124A of the Indian Penal Code. All attempts at mediation have also failed as it has now become a matter of izzat for the Jats. No case has been registered against them under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act that the dalits have been demanding from the beginning. The protest in Hisar is still continuing.

The protest of the dalits of Bhagana village provides yet another example of the caste oppression of dalits in Haryana and the biased nature of the state administration working in alliance with the upper castes to maintain the same.

Paramjeet Singh, Preeti Chauhan

Secretaries, PUDR,

DELHI

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- 1) “Laxmipeta: Deadly Combination of Caste and Political Power” – Bojja Tharakam
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