

# PAKISTAN

Of the many books on the subject there is none which has either the breadth or the depth which this has.

*the Indian  
Political  
What's What!*

OR

# The PARTITION

BY

edkar



THACKERS + PUBLISHERS + BOMBAY

[Facsimile of the jacket of the third edition]

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**Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**  
(14th April 1891 - 6th December 1956)

PAKISTAN  
OR  
THE PARTITION OF INDIA

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BY  
Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR

"More brain, O Lord, more brain! or we shall mar,  
Utterly this fair garden we might win"

Quotation from the title page of  
"Thoughts on Pakistan." (1st Ed.)

[Reprint of the Edition of 1946]

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*I have an open mind, though not an empty mind. A person with an open mind is always the subject of congratulations. While this may be so, it must, at the same time, be realised that an open mind may also be an empty mind and that such an open mind, if it is a happy condition, is also a very dangerous condition for a man to be in. A disaster may easily overtake a man with an empty mind. Such a person is like a ship without ballast and without a rudder. It can have no direction. It may float but may also suffer a shipwreck against a rock for want of direction. While aiming to help the reader by placing before him all the material, relevant and important, the reader will find that I have not sought to impose my views on him. I have placed before him both sides of the question and have left him to form his own opinion.*

*-Dr. B. R. Ambedkar  
in his Introduction to  
Pakistan or the Partition of India*

## **Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches**

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Kumari Selja



Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment  
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## MESSAGE

Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chief Architect of Indian Constitution was a scholar par excellence, a philosopher, a visionary, an emancipator and a true nationalist. He led a number of social movements to secure human rights to the oppressed and depressed sections of the society. He stands as a symbol of struggle for social justice.

The Government of Maharashtra has done a highly commendable work of publication of volumes of unpublished works of Dr. Ambedkar, which have brought out his ideology and philosophy before the Nation and the world.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Centenary Celebrations Committee of Dr. Ambedkar, constituted under the chairmanship of the then Prime Minister of India, the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation (DAF) was set up for implementation of different schemes, projects and activities for furthering the ideology and message of Dr. Ambedkar among the masses in India as well as abroad.

The DAF took up the work of translation and publication of the Collected Works of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar published by the Government of Maharashtra in English and Marathi into Hindi and other regional languages. I am extremely thankful to the Government of Maharashtra's consent for bringing out the works of Dr. Ambedkar in English also by the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation.

Dr. Ambedkar's writings are as relevant today as were at the time when these were penned. He firmly believed that our political democracy must stand on the base of social democracy which means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. He emphasized on measuring the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. According to him if we want to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, we must hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. He advocated that in our political, social and economic life, we must have the principle of one man, one vote, one value.

There is a great deal that we can learn from Dr. Ambedkar's ideology and philosophy which would be beneficial to our Nation building endeavor. I am glad that the DAF is taking steps to spread Dr. Ambedkar's ideology and philosophy to an even wider readership.

I would be grateful for any suggestions on publication of works of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar.

(Kumari Selja)

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## FOREWORD

The 8th Volume of the Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar consists of the reprint of the third edition of his "Pakistan or the Partition of India" published in 1946. The book has the relevance of a historical kaleidoscope of the thoughts and events that led to the partition of the country and the course of the politics of the sub-continent. No serious student of the current political or social events in the sub-continent can afford to ignore it. One may not agree with all that has been said in it. Suffice it to say that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar displays rare and original insight into the complex socio-political issues of his time. Presentation of the issues carries conviction with those who care to understand him. It is in this context that the full title of the book needs to be quoted, "Pakistan or the Partition of India: The Indian political what is what". The book evoked a high praise from Mr. Edward Thompson in his "Enlist India for Freedom". Dr. Ambedkar was aware of the significance of his contribution to the subject and in his Preface to the second edition noted that, "the book appears to have supplied a real want. I have seen how the thoughts, ideas and arguments contained in it have been pillaged by authors, politicians and editors of newspapers to support their sides. I am sorry they did not observe the decency of acknowledging the sources even when they lifted not merely the arguments but also the language of the book. But that is a matter I do not mind. I am glad that the book has been of service to Indians who are faced with this knotty problem of Pakistan. The fact that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah in their recent talks cited the book as an authority on the subject which might be consulted with advantage bespeaks the worth of the book." It was an analytical presentation of Indian history and Indian politics, containing material large and varied enough to be called "Indian political what is what." Its objectivity and rationality is attested by the fact that it was disowned by the antagonists and unowned by the protagonists of Pakistan. Dr. Ambedkar had drawn a suggestive picture of the

## (ii) DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR : WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

situation that was emerging in the sub-continent and though he was not a political star-gazer, he could read the signs of the future shock for which he wanted the people to be prepared and planned to take the later events and accidents in their strides. Behind the political drama of constitution-making there are sociological factors and historical forces and the task of a statesman is to shape the situation to reduce social miseries and to absorb the shocks of sudden changes in which men lose their intellectual moorings. This in retrospect was the task which Dr. Ambedkar took upon himself as the true nationalist and the saviour of the Indian people. He gave credit to the British for maintaining order and he desired that the change from dependence to independence should be a smooth and peaceful passage to a happy future.

The book has a real merit as an example of a happy presentation of arguments on both sides, in English, which attracts and holds the attention of the reader. Dr. Ambedkar writes with ease and felicity of diction that should be the theme of study by those who are to express themselves in the Queen's English or Fowler's English idioms and phrases. Dr. Ambedkar has at his command a wealth of quotations and statistics to support his point of view and the linguistic skills of a trained and sophisticated advocate. He quotes passages from Burke to Augustine Birrell. Here is a passage from Birrell.

"Cooks, warriors, and authors must be judged by the effects they produce; toothsome dishes, glorious victories, pleasant books, these are our demands. We have no desire to be admitted into the kitchen, the council, or the study. The cook may use her saucepans how she pleases, the warrior place his men as he likes, the author handle his material or weave his plot as best he can : when the dish is served we only ask, Is it good ? ; when the book comes out, Does it read ?

"Authors ought not to be above being reminded that it is their first duty to write agreeably. Some very disagreeable men have succeeded in doing so, and there is, therefore, no need for any one to despair. Every author, be he grave or gay, should try to make his book as ingratiating as possible. Reading is not a

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duty, and has consequently no business to be made disagreeable. Nobody is under any obligation to read any other man's book."

The book here reprinted reads well and beyond doubt is a piece of literature and of historical relevance. As William Hudson says in his 'Introduction to the History of Literature', "One essential characteristic of any piece of literature is, as we said at the outset, that whatever its theme, it yields aesthetic pleasure by the manner in which such theme is handled. Beyond its intellectual and emotional content, therefore, and beyond its fundamental quality of life, it appeals to us by reason of its form. This means that literature is a fine art and that like all fine arts, it has its own laws and conditions of workmanship." One would treat the book as a fine piece of literature and there are many passages in it that one may commit to memory to learn the secrets of elegant style that Ambedkar learnt from Burke, Gibbon, Carlyle, etc.

It should not be difficult to appreciate that there was a basic similarity between Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhiji. Both wanted peace in the sub-continent. Here is what Dr. Ambedkar says of the value of peace as an adjunct to progress. He quotes Burke: "The use of force alone is temporary. It may endure a moment but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed you are without resource; for conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for (to wit the loyalty of the people) is not the thing you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest."

It is difficult to resist the temptation to quote several such passages of beauty and appeal. Dr. Ambedkar was in excellent company of the mighty minds of yore. He cites Lanepool,

## (iv) DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR : WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

Toynbee, Bryce, Lord Acton to impress on the reader his points of argument. Tables of statistics, statements of figures and citations from official documents are presented in logical sequence supported by contemporary newspaper reports, thereby showing the quality of genuine scholarship that Dr. Ambedkar possessed. He should be the model for an academic ~~don~~ as much as for a practical advocate. However, it must be added that though logic was a strong point with Dr. Ambedkar, it was supported by experience and sometimes by bitter experiences of the hard school of life. But he was not a bitter man. There are flashes of wit and humour in his writings.

His epilogue to the discussion is worth quoting: "Here I propose to stop. For I feel that I have said all that I can say about the subject. To use legal language, I have drawn the pleadings. This I may claim to have done at sufficient length. In doing so, I have adopted that prolix style so dear to the Victorian lawyers, under which the two sides plied one another with plea and replication . . ." He then sets out the issues carefully, showing how the partition could be resolved. Dr. Ambedkar in this exercise analyses the logic of the situation. His was the method of enquiry rooted in experience. It was not only the dialectical skill of an advocate but also a frank recognition of the truth of everyday life that was lived in the sub-continent. Dr. Ambedkar was applying the method which may be best described in the words of Abraham Kaplan in "The Conduct of Inquiry—Methodology for Behavioural Science". Says Kaplan, "It is in the empirical component that science is differentiated from fantasy. The inner coherence, even strict self-consistency, may look a delusional system as well as a scientific one. Paraphrasing Archimedes we may each of us declare, 'Give me a premise to stand on and I will deduce a world'. But it will be a fantasy world except in so far as the premise gives it a measure of reality, it is experience alone that gives us realistic premises. "It is for this reason that Dr. Ambedkar counselled that our premises should be constantly revised. Deductive logic is not sufficient to interpret this. Theories, sentiments, values and prejudices often constitute the intellectual equipment of the average person for sometimes even reasonable men tend to be

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guided by such methods of thought. It is such methods of thought that make things good or bad for us but that is only a passing impression and we are shaken out of the fantasy world of our beliefs and prejudices.

"Pakistan or the Partition of India" is a valuable source of historical material. After more than forty-five years, its value as the record of contemporaneous events has increased.

It is hoped that both the research scholar and the lay reader will find it a rich and rewarding experience to read the material presented by Dr. Ambedkar in the perspective of history.

The Editorial Board expresses its thanks to Mr. P. S. More, the Director of Printing and Stationery, Bombay, for his co-operation and records its appreciation of Shri K. S. Banhatti, Manager, Government Press, Nagpur, who took special interest in assisting the editing of this volume. The Secretary, Education, and the Officer on Special Duty and his staff also deserve our appreciation for their strenuous labour in bringing out this book on time.

(Kamalkishor Kadam)

Minister for Education  
and President,

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No one can say that to have the problems of social reform put aside is a desirable state of things. Wherever there are social evils, the health of the body politic requires that they shall be removed before they become the symbols of suffering and injustice. For it is the social and economic evils which everywhere are the parent of revolution or decay. Whether social reform should precede political reform or political reform should precede social reform may be a matter of controversy. But there can be no two opinions on the question that the sole object of political power is the use to which it can be put in the cause of social and economic reform. The whole struggle for political power would be a barren and bootless effort if it was not justified by the feeling that, because of the want of political power, urgent and crying social evils are eating into the vitals of society and are destroying it. But suppose the Hindus and the Muslims somehow come into possession of political power, what hope is there that they will use it for purposes of social reform? There is hardly any hope in that behalf. So long as the Hindus and the Muslims regard each other as a menace, their attention will be engrossed in preparations for meeting the menace. The exigencies of a common front by Musalmans against Hindus and by Hindus against Musalmans generate—and is bound to generate—a conspiracy of silence over social evils. Neither the Muslims nor the Hindus will attend to them even though the evils may be running sores and requiring immediate attention, for the simple reason that they regard every measure of social reform as bound to create dissension and division and thereby weaken the ranks when they ought to be closed to meet the menace of the other community. It is obvious that so long as one community looks upon the other as a menace there will be no social progress and the spirit of conservatism will continue to dominate the thoughts and actions of both.

How long will this menace last? It is sure to last as long as the Hindus and Muslims are required to live as members of one country under the mantle of a single constitution. For, it is the fear of the single constitution with the possibility of the shifting of the balance—for nothing can keep the balance at the point originally fixed by the constitution—which makes the Hindus a menace to the Muslims and the Muslims a menace to the Hindus. If this is so,

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Pakistan is the obvious remedy. It certainly removes the chief condition which makes for the menace. Pakistan liberates both the Hindus and the Muslims from the fear of enslavement of and encroachment against each other. It removes, by providing a separate constitution for each, Pakistan and Hindustan, the very basis which leads to this perpetual struggle for keeping a balance of power in the day-to-day life and frees them to take in hand those vital matters of urgent social importance which they are now forced to put aside in cold storage, and improve the lives of their people, which after all is the main object of this fight for Swaraj.

Without some such arrangement, the Hindus and the Muslims will act and react as though they were two nations, one fearing to be conquered by the other. Preparations for aggression will always have precedence over social reform, so that the social stagnation which has set in must continue. This is quite natural and no one need be surprised at it. For, as Bernard Shaw pointed out:—

“A conquered nation is like a man with cancer; he can think of nothing else.... A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher until the demand of the nationalist is granted. It will attend to no business, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation.”

Unless there is unification of the Muslims who wish to separate from the Hindus and unless there is liberation of each from the fear of domination by the other, there can be no doubt that this malaise of social stagnation will not be set right.

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