

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RESEARCH IN COMMERCE, ECONOMICS & MANAGEMENT

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AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON INDO-PAK PARTITION AND SOCIAL CONCERN**DR. RAMESH KAMBLE****ASST. PROFESSOR****SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES****DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & ARCHEOLOGY****R C UNIVERSITY P G CENTRE****VACHANA SANGAM BIJAPUR****C U. DHAVALESHWAR****ASST. PROFESSOR****SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES****DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK****R C UNIVERSITY P G CENTRE****VACHANA SANGAM BIJAPUR****ABSTRACT**

A historical region of northwest Pakistan on the Afghanistan border. Long a strategic area because of its proximity to the Khyber Pass, it is the traditional home of the Pathans, an Indo-Iranian people. The region was annexed by the British in 1849 and became part of Pakistan after independence was achieved in 1947. British India was covered by India, East Pakistan and West Pakistan. But due to the continue dispute of Muslim League and Pakistani favored Indian Politicians United India Divided in Two parts. Opinions of BRA on India partitions are historically considered as most wised thoughts forever. Ambedkar was so against with this partition and he discussed all the consequences and some implications of the partition in his book the Pakistan or partition of India. Here researcher made an effort to know and analyze his thoughts on this particular issue in present context and discussed over social change with contemporary society.

KEYWORDS

Indo-Pak partition, Ambedkar's view, social concern.

INTRODUCTION

Ambedkar is quite categorical in his assertion that the communal or minority question should be properly settled before the British leave India. He feels that the minorities cannot be left to the mercy of "aggressive majority" as he puts it. Ambedkar has thoroughly examined the Muslim (or rather Muslim League) point of view in the first section of his book "Muslim Case for Pakistan". Explaining Muslim League view he says, "Is it or is it not a fact that Muslims of India are an exclusive group? Is it or is it not a fact that they have consciousness of kind? Is it or is it not a fact that every Muslim is possessed by a longing to his own group and not to any no-Muslim group?" Ambedkar makes a very pertinent point in this respect and Indian Muslims should coolly deliberate over this. Ambedkar says, what is important to note is that it is the minority nations, which have taken the lead in opposing the formation of a communal party. For they know that if they form a communal party the major community will also form a communal party and the majority community will thereby find it easy to establish communal Raj. It is vicious method of self-protection."

MUSLIM CASE FOR PAK

The Muslim case for PAK is sought to be justified on the following grounds –

- 1) What the Muslims are asking for is the creation of administrative areas, which are ethically more homogenous.
- 2) The Muslims want these homogenous administrative areas which are predominantly Muslim to be constituted into separate states
 - a) because the Muslims by themselves constitute a separate nation and desire to have a national home and,
 - b) because experience shows that the Hindus want to use their majority to treat the Muslims as though they were second-class citizens in an alien state.

This part is devoted to the exposition of these grounds.

1. On 26/3/1940 the Muslim League at its Lahore passed a series of resolutions that one, emphatically reiterates that the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to – unworkable and altogether unacceptable to Muslim India, two Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent, three no constitutional plan would be workable and acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designated on three principles i.e. geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be in necessary, what areas of North Western and Eastern zones of India where Muslims are numerically in a majority should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the Constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. That adequate safeguards must be provided for in the constitution for minorities in these areas as well other parts of India where Muslims are in a minority.

What this means that Punjab, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Baluchistan, Sind and Bengal shall be incorporated as independent states outside India. It might appear that this scheme is a new one but it is merely resuscitates a scheme which was put forth by Sir Mahomed Iqbal in this Presidential address to the Muslim League at its Annual Session held at Lucknow in December 1930. The scheme was not adopted by the League in 1930. It was, however, taken up by one Mr Rehmat Ali who gave it the name Pakistan, by which it is known. 'Friends he divided India into two parts modern day PAK and India'. An attempt was made privately to obtain consent of the British Government. They declined because they imagined that this was a revival of the old Muslim empire. The League had now enlarged the original scheme of PAK to include Assam and Bengal. 'Friends the rate at which Bangaladeshis are infiltrating into West Bengal and Assam they might become Muslim majority states sooner then later. This would be followed by Muslim dominated state governments after which the state of Hindus is only well known if their experience in Kashmir Valley, Bangladesh and PAK is anything to go by'.

2. The scheme shocked Hindu India!

The linking of Northwest provinces is an age-old project put forth by successive Viceroy & Administrators. Of these provinces Punjab, N.W.F. P was one province ever since the Brit conquered Punjab in 1849. It was only in 1901 that Lord Curzon created the present two provinces. Although Punjab and Sindh are connected by a single river the former was conquered after Sindh so the province had to be governed by Bombay being closest to it. With the conquest of Baluchistan Sindh was no longer a frontier district so there was no need to separate it from Bombay / make it part of Punjab. Had the British not acquired Baluchistan and Lord Curzon not thought of carving out NWFP out of Punjab, we would have witnessed the creation of PAK as an Administrative unit long ago.

Similarly the claim for the creation of a national Muslim state in Bengal is not new. The Partition of Bengal in 1905 created a West Bengal (Hindu) with Calcutta as capital and an East Bengal (Muslim) & Assam with capital at Dacca. The partition was abrogated in 1911 by the British who yielded to the Hindus, who were

opposed to it and did not care for the wishes of the Muslims. Had the partition not been annulled, the Muslim state in Eastern Bengal would have been 35 years old now.

3. Is the idea of separation of PAK from Hindustan shocking? If so let me recall a few facts which are relevant to the issue and which form the basic principles of Congress Policy. It will be remembered that when Mr Gandhi captured the Congress he did two things to popularize it.

One was to introduce Civil Disobedience. Before Gandhi there were two political parties contending for power, the Liberals and the Terrorists of Bengal. Conditions for admission to the former were not merely education but a high degree of learning and for the latter it was those who were prepared to give their lives. Civil Disobedience did not require learning or giving up your life. It is an easy middle way for that large majority who has no learning, do not wish to undergo extreme penalty and at the same time obtain the fame and notoriety of being patriots. This middle path made the Congress more popular than others.

The second thing Mr Gandhi did was to **introduce the principle of Linguistic States**. In the constitution that was framed by the Congress under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhi India was to be divided into 20 provinces with a language and head quarter. 'Friends I am not reproducing the entire list'. In this distribution there is no attention paid to area, population or revenue.

The dominant factor in creation of the provinces is Language. No thought is given to the fear that it might introduce a disruptive force in the already loose structure of the Indian social life. The scheme was put forth by the Congress with sole object of winning people to the Congress by appealing to their local patriotism. The idea caught on that when the Congress came to power it was forced to put it into effect.

Orissa was separated from Bihar. Andhra is demanding separation from Madras, Karnatak from Maharashtra. The only linguistic province that is not demanding separation from Maharashtra is Gujarat. This is because Gujarat has realized that union with Maharashtra is, politically, as well as commercially a better investment. 'Friends Maharashtra and Gujarat did eventually become separate states I think in 1960'.

It is no saying that the separation of Karnatak and Andhra is based on linguistic difference and that the claim to separation of PAK is based on cultural difference. This is a distinction without difference. Linguistic difference is another name for cultural difference. So what is so shocking about PAK another manifestation of a cultural unit demanding freedom for the growth of its own distinctive culture?

HINDU CASE

There seem to be three reasons present to the mind of the Hindus who are opposing this scheme of PAK. They are as under -

1. Because it involves breaking up the unity of India – chapter 5.
2. Because it weakens the defense of India – chapter 6.
3. Because it fails to solve the communal problem – chapter 7.

Is there any substance in these objections? Read on –

BREAK-UP OF UNITY

Before the Hindus complain about the destruction of the unity of India, let them answer this 'What unity is there between PAK and Hindustan?'

Those Hindus who maintain the affirmative chiefly rely upon the fact that the areas, which the Muslims want to be separated from India, were always part of India. Historically this is no doubt true. Not only was this area a part of India when Chandragupta was a ruler, it was also a part of India when Hymen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim visited India in the 7th century ad. It is true that when Tsang came, not only Punjab but also what is now Afghanistan was part of India and further the people of Punjab and Afghanistan were either Vedic or Buddhists by religion. But what has happened since Tsang left India?

The invasion of Sind by M Bin Qasim started in 711 a.d followed by a series of terrible invasions by Muhammad of Gazni in 1001 ad. Within a short span of 30 years he invaded India 17 times. He was followed by Mahommed Ghor. Then followed the incursions of Mogal hordes of Chingiz Khan, they first came in 1221. Of their invasions the most terrible was under Taimur in 1398. Then came Babur in 1526. In 1738 Nadirshah's invading host swept over Punjab like a flooded river furious as the ocean. He was followed by Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1761, smashed the forces of the Marathas at Panipat and crushed forever the attempt of the Hindus to gain the ground they had lost to their Muslim invaders.

How will the creation of PAK affect the question of the defence of Hindustan? The question is not a very urgent one, for there is no immediate reason to suppose that PAK will be at war with Hindustan immediately after it is brought into being. 'Friends BRA had not anticipated British tactical support to the Pakis (read Muslims) in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. The two countries went to war soon after attaining independence. Please read an article on the site by Claude Arpi titled 'who Created the Kashmir Mess'.

The questions may be answered under three heads, question of frontiers, question of resources and question of armed forces.

QUESTION OF FRONTIERS

Hindus would say that PAK leaves it without a scientific frontier. There are two points, which if taken into account will show that Hindu apprehension is uncalled for. One it is no use insisting that any particular boundary is the safest, for the simple reason that geographical conditions are not decisive in the world today and modern technique has robbed natural frontiers of much of their former importance. Two it is always possible for nations with no natural boundaries to make good this defect. Artificial barriers can always be created. There is no reason to suppose that the Hindus will not be able to accomplish this. 'Friends the bombing of Afghanistan by the U.S. proves BRA's point'.

QUESTION OF RESOURCES

Moreover if resources are adequate there it is always possible to overcome the difficulties created by an unscientific or a weak frontier.

TABLE 1

Resources of	Area – sq kms	Population - crs	Revenues Rs crs
1. PAK (N.W.P, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal)	288,988	8.02	60.56
2. Hindustan	607,657	17.85	96.24
After Adjustment revenues would be - PAK			36
Hindustan			120

These are gross figures, revenues derived by Central Government from railways, posts etc are not included. Just as some additions will have to be made to these figures, so certain deductions will need to be made, mostly to PAK's account. The whole of Punjab and Bengal will not go to PAK meaning app 50 % of revenues from these two provinces would go to India, represented by the adjusted numbers shown above. **Creation of PAK will not leave Hindustan in a weakened condition.**

QUESTION OF ARMED FORCES

The defence of a country depends more on its fighting force than on its scientific frontier or resources. What are the fighting resources available to PAK and Hindustan? The Simon Commission pointed out a special feature of the Indian Defence Problem in the sense that there were special areas, which alone offered recruits to the Indian army. The Commission found this state of affairs natural to India and in support it cited the following figures recruited from different Provinces during the Great War.

TABLE 2

Sr No	Province	Combat + Non Combat recruits enlisted. '000
1.	Madras	92
2.	Bombay, Ajmer-Merwara	80
3.	Bengal & Burma, Bihar & Orissa, Assam	134
4.	Punjab, N.W.F.P. Baluchistan	493 - 43%.
5.	United Provinces	281 - 24%.
6.	Central provinces, Nepal	75
	TOTAL	1155

This data reveals that the fighting forces available for the defence of India mostly come from the area, which is PAK. Then how can Hindustan defend itself? The facts brought out by the Commission are beyond question but it cannot be said that only PAK can produce soldiers and Hindustan cannot. **Do only people of Northwestern India belong to Martial Classes?**

From the above data it appears so. But Mr Chaudhari (see his articles on 'The martial Races of India' published in the modern Review of July-September 1930, Jan-Feb 1931) has by his data demonstrated that this far from true. He shows that the predominance of the men of the Northwest took place as early as the Mutiny of 1857 some 20 years before the theory of martial and non-martial classes were projected in a distinct form in 1879. **Their predominance had nothing to do with their alleged fighting qualities but was due to the fact that they had helped the British suppress the Mutiny in which the Bengal Army was completely involved.** The Mutiny blew up the old Bengal army and brought into existence a Punjabized and barbarized army resembling the Indian army of today in broad lines and general propositions of its composition.

The gap created by the revolt of the Hindustani regiments of the Bengal army was once filled up by the Sikhs and other Punjabis, Hillmen eager for revenge. Said Gen Mansfield, the Chief of Staff of the Indian Army about the Sikhs "It is not because they loved us, but because they hated Hindustan and the Bengal army that Sikhs had flocked to our standard instead of seeking the opportunity to strike again for their freedom. The services rendered by the Sikhs and the Gurkhas during the Mutiny were not forgotten and henceforward Punjab & Nepal had the place of honor in the Indian Army".

As a result of the above people from Northwest India came to be regularly employed in the army and came to look upon it as an occupation with a security and a career that was denied to men from the rest of India. This was not the case with people in the rest of India. It must be noted that occupation becomes hereditary and that the most difficult for a man to do is to change his occupation. This distinction between martial and non-martial classes is purely arbitrary. But apart from this there is enough fighting material in Hindustan. There are the Sikhs, the Rajputs, Marathas and even the people of Madras as was observed by Sir General F P Haines a one time Commander-in-Chief in India.

SOCIAL CONCERN

BRA had great social concern about integrated India. His thoughts on social change after partition of India are have remarkable evidences in independent India and Pakistan. BRA had dream of secular states as he was against with religiously influenced fundamentalist nature of any country which denied equality among the citizens of the state in all the form. In this view he questioned some religious' and social practices of both Hindus and Muslims and concluded with considerable solution for the betterment of both societies.

BRA suggests that, before portion of India some social and economic stagnant matters should be sort out. BRA shared his views on empowerment of women by improving her Position through political reservation and removing some social practices which are denying her social freedom specially Purdah system / burkha systems. Continuously he stresses over economic stagnation of both Hindu and Muslims. To overcome, from this he suggested to create a job opportunity to the people and sustain them financially then go for further action either it's integrated or separated India.

By the in-depth study of religious' attitude of both Hindus and Muslims of integrated India BRA came into the conclusion about the chances of communal disturbance during and after partition of India and such communal aggressions leads to Political aggression of the Muslims and Hindus. However he suggest, system should try to develop secular mentality among the people by that we would have dream of integrated India which is covered by both India and Pakistan. Such effort reduce the National Frustration and develop love care cooperation and coordination in the mind of the all the citizens of country.

CONCLUSION

BRA was the master mind for progressive state, he has developed nationalistic, secular attitude with his sacred soul. His views about portions of India are always clears that any country or state should not be divide on the base of religions or fundamentalist way. Such portions are absolutely threat for development of the country, in this regard he shared many experiences before the Indian society and parliament, especially he proposed for secular state. As a result of his thought India adopted secularism in constitution for development and achieving those constantly. At the same time Pakistan went in wrong way and straggling hard to overcome from basic issue which are religiously supported and sponsored. BRA views on portions was not only politically concerned, he had great social concern and developmental attitude. As a result of his thought we are going to become super power in this decade.

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