Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema Prof. Sarbani Banerjee Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

Lecture - 12 History and Alternative Memory Writings - V

Good morning and welcome back to the lecture series on Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. We are going to continue our discussion on History and Alternative Memory Writings and we are talking about the subaltern and their roles. How the major political parties in post-colonial India have tried to exploit the Dalits for their own interests.

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- Different political parties tried to exploit Dalits for their own interests. Dalits who
 refused to follow these major groups were attacked and subjected to brutalities.
- Dalits were seen as "empty in their own identity" and therefore best suited for proselytization and for replenishing and enhancing numerical strength of any religious community by converting them into it. This trend continued during the Partition. In West Punjab (Pakistan) they were forced to accept Islam. Ravinder Kaur writes, "untouchables who remained socially marginalised were nationalised in this process."
- Gyan Pandey endeavours to unravel how the violence of Partition was 'conceptualised and remembered by those who lived through Partition as victims, aggressors or onlookers' (Pandey, *Economic and Political Weekly* 1997: 2261-2272).



The Dalit leaders generally refused to follow or be included in these major groups, and so there are many instances in the pre-partition and post-partition history of the Dalits being attacked and subjected to brutalities. So, Dalits were seen as empty in their own identity and were seen best suited for proselytization - being converted to another religion. And [in] that way they would enhance the numerical strength of any religious community. So, this trend continued during the Partition.

In West Punjab, for example, the Dalits were forced to accept Islam. Ravinder Kaur notes how the Untouchables that had hitherto remained socially marginalized were being nationalized through this process of proselytization and both in Bengal and in Punjab,

one sees that shuddhikaran (purification) among the Hindus was rampant. It was a process of giving upper-caste status to the Dalits.

Gyan Pandey wants to understand the violence of partition through the eyes of the victims and through reading the positions of the aggressors as well as the onlookers. In other words, through the agencies of those that lived through partition. That is where we can actually inscribe the question of struggle and the more nuanced meanings of the past. (Refer Slide Time: 02:55)

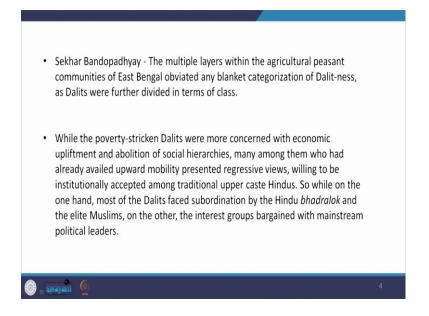
- A series of studies have followed since then, focussing mainly on the refugees in Punjab (e.g., Singh 2000, Butalia 2000, Kaul 2001, Pandey 2001, Kaur 2007, Zamindar 2007) and Bengal (e.g.,Chatterjee 1992, Samaddar 1997,2003, Chakrabarti 1999, Bagchi and Dasgupta 2003, Chatterji 2007, Roy 2007), explore their experiences, their struggle for citizenship, the politics about their rehabilitation, and the impact of the memories of Partition violence on communal relations in the subcontinent.
- Urvashi Butalia "In its almost exclusive focus on Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims,
 Partition history has worked to render many others invisible. One such history is
 that of the scheduled castes, or untouchables" (Butalia, *The Women's Movement in India Today* 2000: 235). Butalia (2000), Kaur (2007) and Rawat (2001, 2003) have
 sought to make the Dalits visible in the history of Partition in north India.



A series of studies focusing mainly on the refugees in Punjab and Bengal explore the struggle of the Dalits for citizenship and the process of rehabilitation. So, Urvashi Butalia would go on to say that in its most exclusive focus on Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims, partition history has worked to render many others as invisible.

One such history is that of the Scheduled Castes or the Untouchables. So, including the Dalits actually renders more complicated meanings to the history of partition.

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In the case of Bengal, Sekhar Bandopadhyay has made some prominent and very important contributions through his studying the caste politics in the [context of the] partition of Bengal. How the caste dimension played a vital role in cracking up of the Bengal.

The multiple layers within the agricultural peasant communities in East Bengal, according to Bandopadhyay, precludes any kind of blanket categorization of Dalitness. Because when we understand Dalit as a homogeneous [category], we also have to look at the classified or the differential experiences in terms of one's class. So, on the one hand there were the cases of poverty-stricken Dalits that were more concerned with economic upliftment and abolition of social hierarchies.

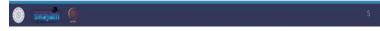
There were two types of cases - on the one hand, the poverty-stricken Dalits were concerned with economic upliftment and abolition of social hierarchies. And on the

other, there were the ones that had already availed upward mobility and they had started presenting regressive views. They were doubling the upper-castes and willing to be institutionally accepted within the fold of the traditional upper-caste Hindus. They were emulating the upper-caste behaviour.

While most of the Dalits faced subordination by the Hindu refined class people and the elite Muslims, the interest groups were actually bargaining with the mainstream political leaders. So, we have earlier already discussed about the case of Panchanan Burman, who went on to become a barrister from among the Dalits. He was in a position to negotiate the issues of the Dalits with the upper-caste political leaders.

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- By the 1940s, the Hindu-Muslim atrocity no longer remained a high-caste political
 affair. The poor Scheduled Caste masses mostly supported the mainstream Hindu
 sentiments. Influenced by Congress and Hindu Mahasabha politicians, they proposed
 integrationist positions, by agreeing to see themselves chiefly as citizens of a Hindu
 majority nation-state. However, to their betrayal, the Partition had not resulted in the
 inclusion of Namasudra (Dalit) provinces within India. They became part of East
 Pakistan (Bakarganj, Faridpur, Jessore and Khulna, and the Rajbansi areas of Rangpur
 and Dinajpur).
- Dalits were not prepared with socio-economic capital to resettle themselves in a new land. The political decision, which misused their ignorant support, resulted in undoing their social mobility and caste-based unity, causing them to migrate in destitute conditions to India. Starting from the scratch, they could possibly gain foothold in West Bengal only by fighting with the local *Goalas* (milkman community) and Muslims in West Bengal.



The Hindu-Muslim atrocity no longer remained a high-caste political affair. The Schedule Castes were supporting the mainstream Hindu sentiments. There were certain views that were also being forwarded by the Dalit groups. While the leaders from among the Dalits would be against partition - I have Jogendranath Mandal's name in mind - he was an important leader from among the Scheduled Castes and he actually opposed partition.

However, we see that the majority of the Dalits are influenced either by Congress or by Hindu Maha Sabha politicians, and they propose integrationist positions and they want to see themselves, chiefly as part of the Hindu majority nation-state. So, they are misplaced or their misinformed support is exploited by the mainstream leaders.

So, partition on the other hand does not result in inclusion of the Dalit provinces within India - this is in the case of the Bengali population's vote for partition. Most of their provinces actually go on to become part of East Pakistan, which is now Bangladesh. All the Dalit provinces, such as Bakarganj, Faridpur, Jessore and Khulna and Rajbansi areas, such as Rangpur, Dinajpur - they all go into East Pakistan.

They were mainly agriculturalists, they were landless peasants they were not prepared with the socio-economic capital to resettle in the new land. So, this political decision of partition, which they support which actually gains their ignorant support, results in undoing their social and political mobility and even their caste-based unity.

So, the Dalits are actually dispersed all over India; their choice of living together is not promoted by the host country. They have to migrate in destitute conditions and start from the scratch, and they have to actually etch out a living through struggling and fighting with the local Dalit and grassroots populace.

A decision that was enacted by the elites actually affected the Dalit migrants in the worst way; they were worst hit by the partition. But these are the chapters of history that remain untold.

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- In the mid-1940s, as scapegoats involved in elite Hindu-Muslim strife,
 Dalits from the Namasudra, the Rajbanshi and the Santhal groups were
 admitted to the Hindu community through compelling indoctrinations,
 and deployed in the vanguard of Hindu militancy. Such a strategy
 helped the Bengal Congress to win most of the Scheduled Caste seats
 in the Assembly elections of 1946.
- The death of Jitu Santal in a police encounter while enacting a
 "debased" form of Kali worship in the Adina mosque (1932), which he
 and his band of men had seized after assaulting the local Muslims, is
 one amongst the numerous incidents of aggression that involved the
 Dalits and the Muslims.

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So, in the mid-1940s, we see that Dalits are used as scapegoats in the Hindu-Muslim

strife.

The Dalits from Namasudra and Rajnanshis, Santhal groups are included within the

Hindu fold through indoctrinations, and they are deployed in the vanguards of Hindu

militancy. It is a strategy used by the Bengal Congress to win most of the Scheduled

Caste seats in the assembly election of 1946.

Jeetu Santal's death in police encounter happens, when he enacts debased form of a kali

worship in Adina Mosque. So, the Hindus provoke a Santal to worship kali in a mosque,

and it results in his death through police encounter. This is one of the numerous incidents

of aggression between the Santals and the Muslims, the Dalits and the Muslims. So,

Dalits are used in the vanguard of the Hindu militant groups against the Muslims.

How Dalit autonomous politics was appropriated to broaden the base of the Hindus in an

emergent Indian national politics is an aspect that has been conspicuously underplayed in

the official narratives of the subcontinent of partition. Partha Chatterjee as well as other

historians like Jaya Chatterji and Sekhar Bandopadhyay, Ranbir Samaddar - all these

historians look at the roles of the Dalits and how they were exploited.

The extent to which such understandings are obfuscated or eclipsed by mainstream

narratives is underscored by the distinction made by Gyan Pandey between national

progressive history and the local inconsequential histories. That can neither be

narrativized nor be given to any straight-jacketed theorization.

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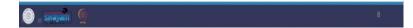
- How Dalit autonomous politics was appropriated to make Hinduism the foundation
 of the emergent Indian national identity is an aspect conspicuously underplayed in
 officially sanctioned narratives of the subcontinent's Partition [Chatterji 'The
 Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal's Border Landscape, 194752', Modern Asian Studies, 33(1), pp 185-242, 1999].
- The extent to which such understandings are eclipsed by mainstream narratives of
 partition is underscored by the distinction made by Pandey between history, that is
 "national", "rational" and "progressive", in contrast to the "local", "inconsequential"
 and "particular" that which can be neither narrativised nor theorised [Pandey
 2001: 119].
- The concern with negotiating a relationship with the nation by reconstructing a new memory of the past informs the proliferation of Dalit newspapers and journals in north India. Through interrogating received histories, a Dalit sphere aimed at effecting Dalit awakening is gradually coming into its own [Tiwari 'Domination: How the Fragments Imagine the Nation: Perspectives from Some North Indian Villages', Dialectical Anthroplogy 29, pp 123-40, 2005].



So, the concern with negotiating a relationship with the nation by reconstructing a new memory of the past informs the proliferation of Dalit newspapers and journals in Northern India. Through interrogating received histories, the Dalits sphere actually started the process of Dalit awakening. Through newspapers and journals, one sees how the process of Dalit awakening happens.

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- The feminist oral history emerges from the neglect of women's voices in traditional sources; oral history has therefore provided an opportunity to integrate women into historical scholarship.
- Sheila Rowbotham women's experiences in historical discourse were often 'hidden' and new methodologies, such as personal testimonies, [which] allows us to challenge 'historical interpretations based upon the lives and documentation of men'.
- As a methodological tool, oral history has complemented official documentary sources rather than competed with them.



And we have already spoken about the feminist oral history and its emergence. It talks about the neglect of women's voice in traditional sources. Oral history becomes an opportunity to integrate the women as subjects, into historical scholarship. Sheila Rowbotham notes that women's experiences in historical discourse were often hidden

and new methodologies - women's personal testimonies that allowed challenging...that enabled challenging historical interpretations based on the lives and documentations of and by men [were being devised].

The parameters, the values, the perspectives were entirely different in subaltern's recording of the past - be it the woman, be it the Dalit. As a methodological tool, oral history complemented rather than competed with official documentary sources. The oral histories provided a more comprehensive analysis.

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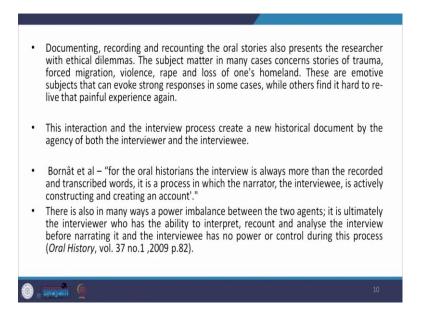
- The oral stories can complement the official source material, providing an altogether more comprehensive analysis. Moving away from the statistics of how women's lives were uprooted and how they rebuilt their lives; they enable us to document the aftermath and not just the event itself.
- The use of oral testimonies are important source of information as they allow us
 to understand the perceptions and lived experiences of ordinary lives. Moreover,
 with women's voices that are often marginalised, oral history has become even
 more important as it has the ability to empower those unexpressed utterances,
 which would otherwise remain undocumented. At the same time, this process
 democratises the discourse which had, until recently, remained concerned with
 high politics.



They moved away from mere statistics about women's lives and their conditions, and they enable us to understand the consequences, the aftermath and not just the event itself.

Using of oral testimonies allow or enable one to understand the lived experiences of the ordinary lives. So, oral histories empower the unexpressed utterances, which would otherwise remain undocumented. This process- the legitimizing of the oral histories is a way of democratizing the discourses, that had till a long time remained within the stronghold of male-centric high politics.

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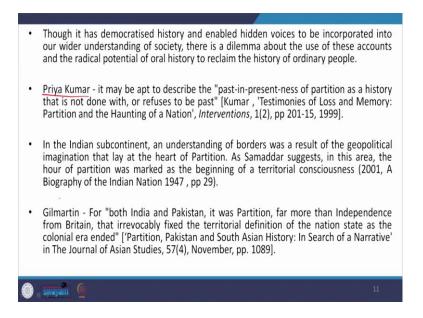
It is also a question of ethical dilemma for the scholars that approach, that try to work on oral histories. The question of ethical dilemma is more present when dealing with stories of trauma, forced migration, rape and loss of one's homeland. These are emotive subjects that evoke strong responses and so, it is hard to relive the painful experience through the process of recounting the past.

Bornat et al says "For the oral historians the interview is always more than the recorded and transcribed words. It is a process in which the narrator, the interviewee is actively constructing and creating an account, and it is also a question of subsuming the position, the agency of the narrator by the academic, by the scholar and her scholarship.

There is a power imbalance between the two agents. Ultimately, the interviewer is in a position of greater power through her role of interpreting, recounting, analyzing the

interview. And the interviewee who has actually experienced and who is the centre of this entire discourse, has no power or control through the entire process or has no control over the outcome in the scholarship itself.

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There is a dilemma about the use of these accounts and the radical potential of oral history in reclaiming the past of the ordinary people. Priya Kumar says that it may be apt to describe the past in presentness of partition as a history that is not done with or refuses to be past".

So, in the Indian subcontinent, as Ranbir Samaddar suggests, the movement of partition actually marked the beginning of a territorial consciousness. So, understanding of borders was a result of a geopolitical imagination, which actually defines the partition.

Gilmartin would further note that for both India and Pakistan, rather than the Independence from Great-Britain... So, for both India and Pakistan, Partition was a process of fixing territorial definitions of the nation-state much more than it was independence from Great Britain.

The divide along communal lines is something that all these subaltern historians go on to question. So, at different junctures in history, there were different micro-societies in India that had witnessed different forms of groupism, and these groups were constantly in a state of flux. They would never be permanent fixed groups - the sharecroppers

against both the Hindu zamindars and the Muslim landlords and elites; then there were the Dalit Hindus against the Hindu elites; the milkman community would be against both the Hindus and the Muslims. And yet, out of all these sorts of complexities and heterogeneities, living together, living a life of harmony and living with certain degree of dignity and respect was never thought as impossible. The coexistence of communities was never seen an exceptionally undefeatable problem.

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Partition in Literature and Media

- Derrida "Literature serves as real testimony.... It is a fiction of testimony more than a testimony in which the witness swears to tell the truth" (2000: 19).
- Fiction opens the possibility for 'truthful' testimony. 'Truthful' testimony is one that announces its own inability to tell the truth and tells the story of its own failure.
- While the testimony may assume the autobiographical voice that writes about a singular experience, the fiction uses creative license to create the illusion of an 'I' who is able to fully bear witness to the unimaginable and unnameable.



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So, when we look at partition and literature and media, we look at Derrida's definition of literature serving as a real testimony. And a fiction of testimony more than a testimony, in which the witness swears to tell the truth. Fiction opens a possibility for truthful testimony.

Something that announces its inability to tell the truth, and so it tells the story of its own failure. The testimony may assume the autobiographical voice that writes about the singular experience; however, fictions creative power, the creative license used by fiction creates an illusion of an eye or maybe the failed eye - the eye that is able to bear and conceive the unimaginable, the unbearable and the unnameable in a comprehensive way.

That is the capacity of fiction, which even testimony cannot boast. So, what are the genres that can contain the vast experience, the ramified meanings of partition?

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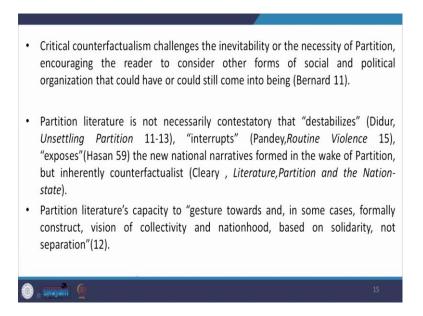
- It is uncertain as to what kind of methodologies Partition studies should entail, particularly in the humanities.
- Anna Bernard bildungsroman and fragmented narrative are the two forms to critically replicate the processes through which the event of Partition is memorialized (Forms of Memory).
- Memorialization is effected not just by testifying to the physical and psychic violence inflicted by the Partition and its aftermath, but also by creating "counter-factual" representations of pre-Partition history or the post-Partition present (82-86, Gopal).



Anna Bernard would say that bildungsroman and fragmented narratives are majorly the two forms that replicate the processes through which the event of partition is memorialized.

Memorialization is not only through recording the evidences of physical and psychic violence inflicted by the partition, but also creating counterfactual representations of prepartition history and the post-partition present. So, creating counterfactual representations of pre-partition history and the post-partition present.

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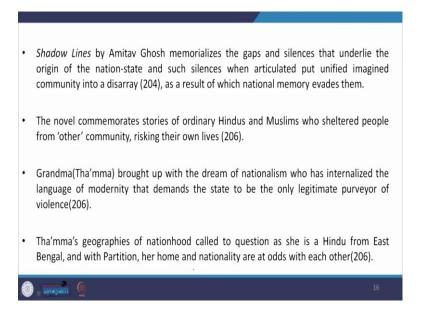
So, creating counterfactual representations of pre-partition history and the post-partition present.

Counterfactualism is a process of challenging the inevitability or necessity of partition. What if partition did not happen? It encourages the reader to consider other forms of a socio-political organizations or a different possible future. It tries to conceive an alternative future, something that could have come into being or can still come into being.

That is actually a kind of reversal or making the facts of partition stand on their head. Partition literature does not necessarily destabilize, interrupt or expose the national narratives, but they can be counter-factualists; they can create parallel facts and that is where the license of creativity lies. That is where fiction plays a momentous role. It becomes larger in effect than testimony.

The value of imagination becomes more important than the value of witnessing. Partition literature's capacity, to gesture towards and in some cases formally construct vision of collectivity and nationhood based on solidarity not separation. So, re-construing new meanings out of the facts given in hand - that is counterfactualism. Understanding in terms of unity, in terms of harmony rather than separation and competition.

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The Shadow lines by Amitav Ghosh - it talks about the gaps and silences underlying the formation of nation-states and how such silences, when articulated, put these unified these imaginary communities, into a desire. National memory is constantly evading these newly formed nations.

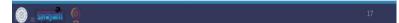
So, The Shadow Lines commemorates stories of ordinary Hindus and Muslims that were risking their own lives to save members from the other communities. These stories of harmony, of friendship and humanity, you know humanity outliving any kinds of animosity, any form of rivalry are not celebrated in the mainstream discourse.

The mainstream discourse always comes across in the form of a dyad, and so nations are constituted as binary meanings, as dyads or oppositional entities. In The Shadow Lines, the figure of the grandmother, who is brought up with the dream of nationalism and a

figure that has internalized the language of modernity, understands that the state is the only legitimate purveyor of violence.

The grandmother's dilemma lies in the fact that she is a Hindu from East Bengal. So, her geographies of nationhood is called to question, as she is on the one hand a Hindu woman from East Bengal and yet her nationality actually is tied up with India. And her, so her current existence overlaps with a geopolitical space that is outside of East Bengal. So, her home and her nationality are not the same; they are at odds with each other. (Refer Slide Time: 26:41)

- Partition narratives can be compared in terms of their effort to either advance the goal of complete separation or promote convergence and integration.
- The common genres of partition literature include romance, bildungsroman, fragmented narratives.
- <u>A)Romance</u> lovers on opposite sides of the Partition, tragically thwarted or realized in exile-narrative resolution achieved typically through confirmation than refutation of the divide between the 'national' groups- an irreversibility of the prepartition innocence.
- Desired union among the lovers intensify rather than undermine the divide (Gopal 73).



The common genres of partition literature could be romance, bildungsroman, and fragmented narratives. When we talk of romance, we are thinking of many artworks that celebrate lovers on opposite sides of the partition. Here, I am thinking of Garam Hawa by M. S. Sathyu, an important film on partition, which shows how the lovers cannot meet. So the frustrated love stories in the face of larger communal disturbances.

Love stories that are tragically thwarted and they are not realized most of the times in exile narrative. Love stories that are generally not realized and there is an irreversibility of the pre-Partition innocence - the innocence that was enjoyed before the partition...the prelapsarian innocence cannot be regained.

Desired union among the lovers intensify rather than undermine the divide. And then the genre of bildungsroman that aligns the narrator's coming of age with the event of the partition itself.

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- <u>B)Bildungsroman</u>: aligning the narrators coming of age with the event of the Partition itself. For instance, *Midnight's Children* figures coming of age as an awareness of the legacy of partition.
- Pre-partition period implies childish innocence whereas post-partition implies disillusionment. The pre-lapsarian age before partition is like childhood irrevocably lost, and the dystopia of the present seems extremely difficult to overcome(18).
- Nostalgia for that time of innocence is constitutively anti-partitionist, and it holds onto the possibility of a different kind of future.



So, Midnight's Children is one of such narratives of coming of age, through awareness of the legacy of partition. We are also reminded of Lenny's character in Cracking India by Bapsi Sidhwa, where the child's innocence is taken away by the awareness of communal divides, communal rivalries, and so it is also a coming of age story where the child steps into adulthood.

She learns about many adult emotions and is cognizant of complicated human relations, as she witnesses the process of immigration. She witnesses the neighbours emigrating to India. And so pre-Partition period implies childish innocence, whereas post-Partition implies disillusionment.

The pristine innocence before partition is irrevocably lost and so the dystopia of the present seems almost insurmountable. Nostalgia is constitutive anti-partitionist, nostalgia is always facing and directed homeward and the home, the concept of home actually transcends any kind of false boundaries.

It holds on to the possibility of a different kind of a more unified future for the subcontinent. So, bildungsroman forms features of semi-autobiographical protagonist, who is simultaneously anticipating and yet also averting the inevitability of partition. Partition bildungsroman depends on Partition's historical trajectory as a way of attaining some momentum for the plot, and yet also challenges the belief of permanent communal divide.

So, it is following the historical trajectory for the momentum of the plot and yet opposing the precipitating of the partition. It insists on the agency of the individuals to assert the existence of a difficult past and promote a more inclusive form of nationality. (Refer Slide Time: 30:53)

- C)Fragmented Narrative : Fragmentation represents the protagonist's inability to apprehend the totality of the post-Partition order.
- A counterfactual potential to reconnect the fragments a desire for reunification, or an imaginative deconstruction and reassembly undertaken to undo the exclusionary forms of national identity(23).



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And finally, in fragmented narrative, we see representation of the protagonist's inability to understand the entire meaning of the post-partition order.

There is a kind of gap in comprehending the significance of this divide. There is a counter-factual potential in reconnecting the fragments, which symbolizes the desire for reunification. Piecing the fragments together would symbolize the desire for unification or arriving at an imaginative deconstruction and reassembly, which revisits and undoes the exclusionary forms of national identity.

In Saadat Hasan Manto, we see that there is a refusal to connect the fragments in order to facilitate any form of reconciled and complete historical memory. So, history is actually torn apart, history is laid asundered and beyond any reconciliation. So, the question of human forgetting is at the surface. It is something that the reader has to confront. Forgetting of history is something that is impossible in the way Manto presents his stories.

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totalities.

Manto refuses to connect fragments in favor of a reconciled and complete historical memory that counters man's forgetting.
 Pandey - fragments in literature, diaries, testimonies bear the perspectives of the marginalized groups, act as a rupture in the self-representation of particular

 Manto's stories 'undecidability' refuses the ethical closure of the horrors of Partition as in celebratory narratives. Instead, he questions the very possibility of narrative.

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And Gyan Pandey would note that the fragments in literature, diaries and testimonies bear the perspectives of the marginalized groups, they act as a rupture in the self-representation of particular totalities. All these mini-narratives, micro-histories actually disrupt the totalitarian understanding of violence or human experience.

Manto's stories undecidablility, their liminal positionings that counter human forgetting are ways of getting back at the ethical closure of the horrors of partition, the gaudy events or chapters of partition in favour of celebratory narrative. So, Manto's undecidablility or liminality undoes the celebratory narratives.

He questions the very possibility of any narrative in the face of the animosities and atrocities that were witnessed before and after the partition. So, with this I am going to stop today's lecture and let us meet again for another round of discussions in the following lecture.

Thank you.