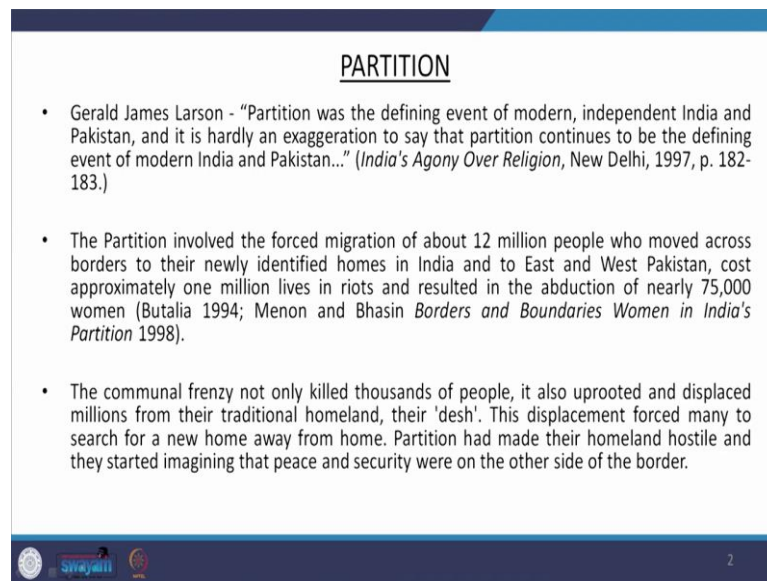


**Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema**  
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**Lecture - 07**  
**History of the Partition of India - VII**




Good morning class, and welcome back to my course, Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. So, today we are going to start with our lecture 7 and our Module 2 titled History and Alternative Memory Writings. When we talk about history and memory writings, we see that there is a traditional conflict between these two. There are two different approaches to understanding the past, and one tends to question, revisit and problematize the other.

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PARTITION

- Gerald James Larson - "Partition was the defining event of modern, independent India and Pakistan, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that partition continues to be the defining event of modern India and Pakistan..." (*India's Agony Over Religion*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 182-183.)
- The Partition involved the forced migration of about 12 million people who moved across borders to their newly identified homes in India and to East and West Pakistan, cost approximately one million lives in riots and resulted in the abduction of nearly 75,000 women (Butalia 1994; Menon and Bhasin *Borders and Boundaries Women in India's Partition* 1998).
- The communal frenzy not only killed thousands of people, it also uprooted and displaced millions from their traditional homeland, their 'desh'. This displacement forced many to search for a new home away from home. Partition had made their homeland hostile and they started imagining that peace and security were on the other side of the border.

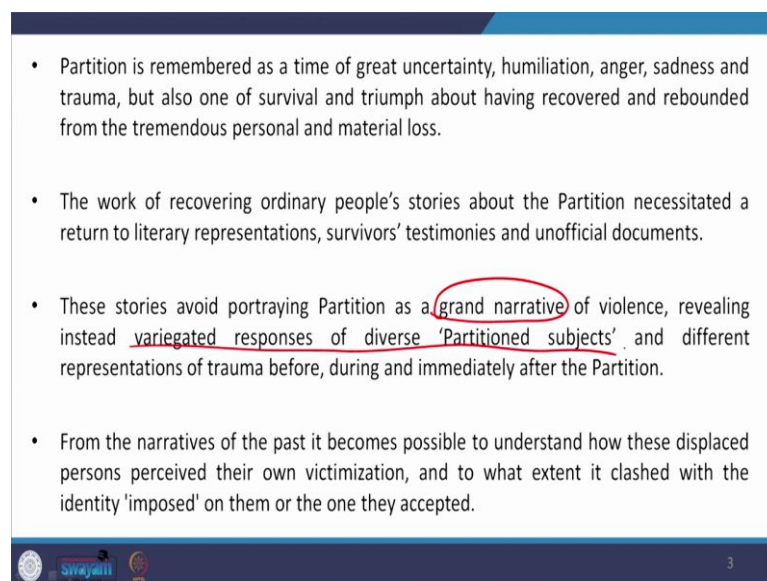
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It would not be an exaggeration to say that Partition leaves a very strong impact in today's politics, in the way India understands its international relations with the neighboring countries in South Asia and beyond that, right.

So, partition involved migration on a large scale. Almost 12 million people, it has been estimated, moved across the borders and it resulted in the abduction of almost 75,000 women. But this is on the lower side of the estimate. We know that when we talk about human killings, carnage, what we get in print media or through formal media, formal news is on the lower side.

It is estimated, informally speaking, that lakhs and lakhs of people were affected, women were mutilated, and they were abducted. They were converted forcefully, and married, and made to cohabit with men from other communities. So, we have all these things in unofficial records, right.

When we talk about nostalgia, we talk about desh, and we are going to talk about that more in our ensuing classes. We understand that Partition had made someone's homeland hostile. All of a sudden a place where one had lived for generations... and suddenly they realized that they could not live there anymore. So, they had to start from a scratch in a host land in search for peace and a more secured life, right. Like historians would see, (Refer Slide Time: 02:47)



- Partition is remembered as a time of great uncertainty, humiliation, anger, sadness and trauma, but also one of survival and triumph about having recovered and rebounded from the tremendous personal and material loss.
- The work of recovering ordinary people's stories about the Partition necessitated a return to literary representations, survivors' testimonies and unofficial documents.
- These stories avoid portraying Partition as a grand narrative of violence, revealing instead variegated responses of diverse 'Partitioned subjects' and different representations of trauma before, during and immediately after the Partition.
- From the narratives of the past it becomes possible to understand how these displaced persons perceived their own victimization, and to what extent it clashed with the identity 'imposed' on them or the one they accepted.

it entails understanding the uncertainty, the humiliation, the angst and of course, the trauma, the disaster that people had to endure at that time and even afterwards.

So, but it is not only about that. It is, we have to remember that the other side of the coin involves...the stories of people recovering, braving the situation

actually, and rebounding from the tremendous personal and material loss that they that they suffered.

The work of recovering ordinary people's stories... when we want to understand what happened to people, that ones with no name, that ones we do not get to read [about] in formal historiography, in a formal history book...what happened to them? We have to refer to, we have to recourse to the survivors, testimonies, and unofficial documents. We have to return to the literary representations, to the artworks, something that has been mediated through the eye of the artist that witnessed Partition, that worked [on], that studied Partition.

So, these stories portray the Partition as a grand narrative of violence. When we talk about grand narrative, the grand narrative has an essentially oppositional relationship with personalized narratives. So, we will talk more about grand narrative today.

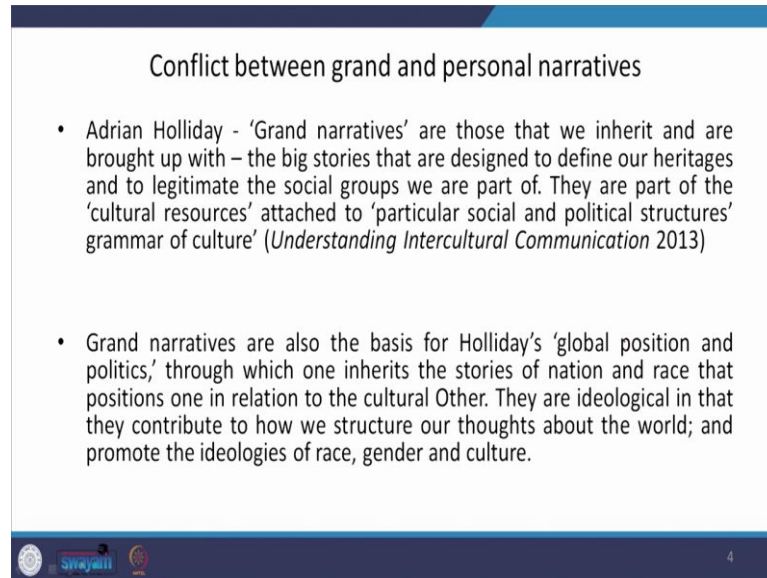
And when we want, when we are looking for variegated responses of diverse partitions, subjects, and we want what Gyanendra Pandey would say, the jagged edges to reappear, when we do not want a polished smooth version of history; we are walking away, we are making a departure from the grand narrative actually.

From the narratives of the past it becomes possible to realize how these the displaced persons perceived their own victimization, different variegated versions of the same story is difficult to bring together. So, the grand narrative and the personalized narratives do not really meet so frequently.

The question of victimization; how a victim sees herself versus how ...she is projected, how she is represented - the two aspects may very well clash. So, there is, on the one hand, an identity that is assumed, an an identity that is imposed regardless of whether a person accepts such an identity or not.

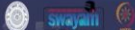
Talking about memory and history, we will talk more about the conflict, the traditional conflict between grand narrative or metanarrative, and personalized narratives, the personal accounts.

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Conflict between grand and personal narratives

- Adrian Holliday - 'Grand narratives' are those that we inherit and are brought up with – the big stories that are designed to define our heritages and to legitimate the social groups we are part of. They are part of the 'cultural resources' attached to 'particular social and political structures' grammar of culture' (*Understanding Intercultural Communication* 2013)
- Grand narratives are also the basis for Holliday's 'global position and politics,' through which one inherits the stories of nation and race that positions one in relation to the cultural Other. They are ideological in that they contribute to how we structure our thoughts about the world; and promote the ideologies of race, gender and culture.

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So, Adrian Holliday would say "Grand narratives are those that we inherit and are brought up with, the big stories that are designed to define our heritages and to legitimate the social groups we are part of. They are part of the 'cultural resources' attached to 'particular social and political structures' grammar of culture."

Grand narratives are responsible for defining, in a very definitive manner, our heritage. It defines the larger structure within which a group belongs, a social group belongs. It actually etches our sense of belonging by virtue of being located, let us say, to a communal or a geopolitical coordinate [where] we belong. It is apriori. It is fixed and that is where the problem arises.

So, grand narratives are also the basis for what Holliday would call "the 'global position and politics,'" through which one inherits the stories of nation and race that positions one in relation to the cultural Other. Grand narrative asserts some kind of sameness. It posits a person's identity in terms of sameness, in terms of homogenization and uniformity with the social group to which the person belongs by default.

So, grand narratives have an ideology. They are ideological such that they contribute to how we shape our thoughts. They greatly contribute to fashioning our thoughts about the world, they shape our perception to a great extent and they promote the ideologies of gender, race and culture.

On the one hand, it promotes the idea of sameness within a given group, and it also asserts some kind of essential difference with the others. An identity that is adapted, that is approached through the question of sameness and difference.

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- Grand narratives may have lost their credibility in the postmodern turn. Personal narratives are those that we form ourselves through everyday experience.
- Holliday refers to 'personal trajectories' as a core element of his grammar of culture. They mediate and filter how we respond to the structures within which we are brought up. In this process, grand narratives and their ideologies and discourses are part of the wider environment that we interact with; and splinters of grand narratives are irrevocably present in our personal narrative.
- Personal narratives can be volatile, help us make shifting sense, engage with the question of identity, and enable reaching out to others beyond essentialist cultural threads. The overall picture of personal narratives is of complex, multifaceted and shifting realities.

Grand narratives have been vitiated to a great extent by the postmodernist thinkers, by the postmodern approaches that dilute such finalized, conclusive ideas about a race or a gender.

So, what takes over in the age of.. in the postmodern era are the personalized narratives that we form about ourselves. So, we have different subjects. We have a kind of cacophony. We accommodate different voices and different perspectives. So, one narrative which is the grand narrative tends to get diluted in that way.

Holliday would refer to personal trajectories as a core element of his grammar of culture. So, personal trajectories what we have is... there are two things - the collective imposes an identity on us and we counter that identity through our personal experience, through our perception, our training.

Personal trajectories, like Holliday would say, mediates and filters how we respond to the larger structure, and the question of subjectivity comes in. And so, although we would like to say that grand narratives and personal narrative are traditionally face off, there is also some parts of one cutting into the other, right.

Now, personal narratives can be volatile, and they have a tendency to shift just like any real thing shifts; while grand narrative would claim some kind of permanence, some kind of naturalness about it,

personal narratives are more spontaneous. They are liable to changing, shifting and engaging with the question of identity, which is always already in a state of flux. It enables reaching out to others beyond essentialist cultural threads. So, the overall picture of personal narratives that we get is much more complex, much more nuanced, and bearing all the changes, all the shifting realities and the state of adding new things and disowning older meanings.

So, Gyanendra Pandey talks about official claims and denials supported by the wider nationalist vision, which can be understood through the aestheticizing impulse.

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- G. Pandey - Official claims and denials supported by the wider nationalist vision can be understood as the 'aestheticizing impulse' of the nation-state. It is a way of smoothening the difficulties involved in writing/fitting the moment of struggle back into history.
- He addresses two questions in his work *Remembering Partition*:
  - a) how does 'history' work to produce the 'truth' – say, the truth of the violence of 1947 – and to deny its force at the same time; to name an event – say, the 'partition' – and yet deny its eventfulness?
  - b) how can we write the moment of struggle back into history?
- History happens not only through excluding time, but the very aspect or moment of struggle – History as an afterthought and as a deliberate product excludes the dimensions of uncertainty, confusion through normalizing and evacuating messiness.

Now, this is very important what he talks about as the aestheticizing impulse of the nation state. So, what is the aesthetics of history, a nationalist history? Something that is not aesthetically appealing would be a difficult history.

The aestheticizing impulse is a way of smoothening the difficulties that are involved in fitting the moment of struggle back into history. He is raising certain questions in his work, *Remembering Partition*.

How does history work to produce the truth? Do we have one truth, one meta-truth? And when we talk about truth can we deny its eventfulness? I will talk, I will explain what he is trying to say here.

And Pandey also says at the same time how can we write the moment of struggle back into history. This is very important. Putting the moment of struggle back into history would... just a while back I talked about reappearance of the jagged edges. So, the the problematics are not swept under the carpet. The problematic aspects are made to reappear. The reader has to deal with these problems without necessarily finding a resolution.

When we look at a history book, its documentation, it is a closure. That is what Pandey questions. How can we actually make the struggle be present, be instantaneous in the work of history? How can it look like current, like something that is not frozen? Struggles are trimmed to fit into the grand narrative.



History becomes an afterthought. A deliberate product, which excludes dimensions of uncertainty, open-endedness, confusion, and thereby it has a tendency to normalize and evacuate messiness. History and formal historiography is essentially very neat and clean.

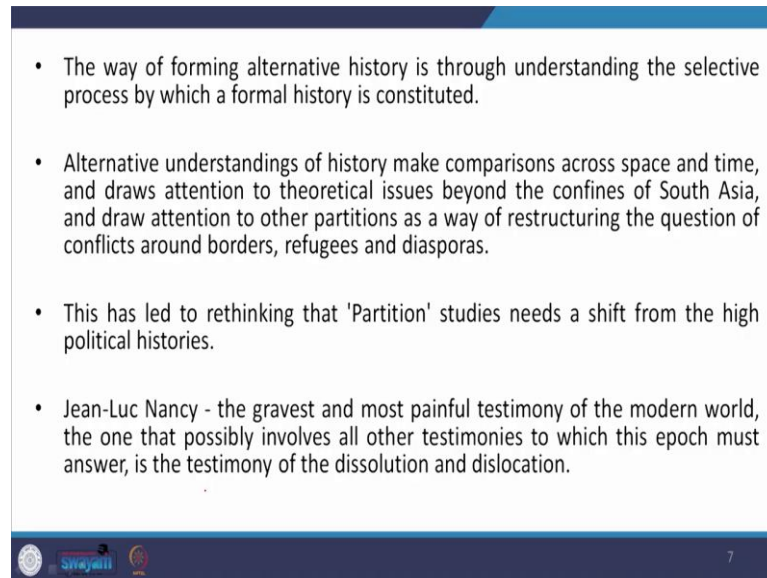
So, the way of forming alternative history is through understanding the selective process. Alternative history would focus on the blind spots and debunk thereby the lacunae that the formal history bears in it; the loopholes that are present in the formal history.

Alternative understandings of history make comparisons across time and space. When we talk about alternative history, we are accommodating different times, different spaces. We do not have a lopsided view. We are drawing attention to theoretical issues beyond the confines of, let us say, South Asia. We are talking about other partitions also, we are making a comparative study for example, as a way of restructuring the question of conflicts around borders, around refugeeness, about the diaspora.

So, let me give you an example. When we are looking only at the subcontinent, Partition has become synonymous and very problematically so, with the dyadic relationship between the Hindu community and the Muslim community, right.

When we have a book like *Cracking India* by Bapsi Sidhwa, Bapsi Sidhwa who is an elite Parsi whose origin traces back to Lahore. The entire simplified, oversimplified picture gets diluted. It calls for revisiting. It entails looking back and reconsidering, restructuring certain fixed structures; how does a Parsi family understand Partition, how does a disabled child understand Partition?

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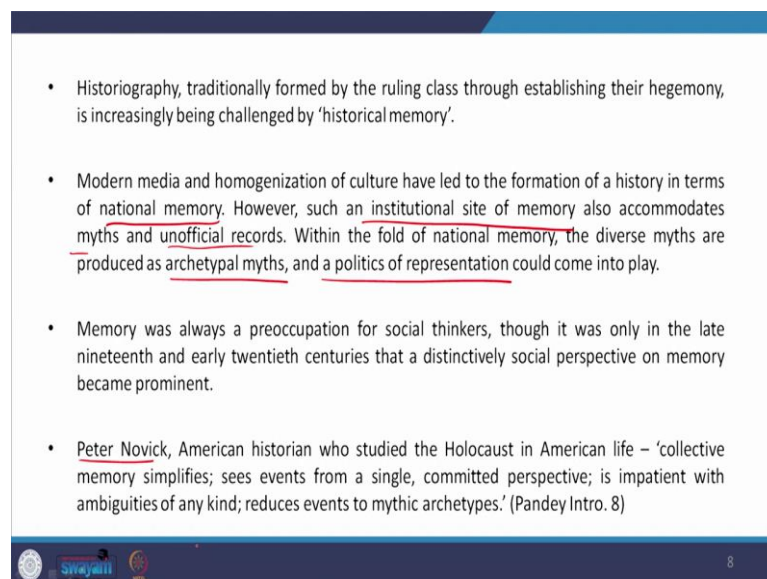


Slide 7 contains four bullet points discussing alternative understandings of history. The first point states that alternative history is formed through understanding the selective process of formal history. The second point notes that these understandings make comparisons across space and time, drawing attention to theoretical issues beyond South Asia and to other partitions as a way of restructuring the question of conflicts around borders, refugees, and diasporas. The third point mentions that this has led to rethinking 'Partition' studies, shifting from high political histories. The fourth point references Jean-Luc Nancy, stating that the gravest and most painful testimony of the modern world is the testimony of dissolution and dislocation.

- The way of forming alternative history is through understanding the selective process by which a formal history is constituted.
- Alternative understandings of history make comparisons across space and time, and draws attention to theoretical issues beyond the confines of South Asia, and draw attention to other partitions as a way of restructuring the question of conflicts around borders, refugees and diasporas.
- This has led to rethinking that 'Partition' studies needs a shift from the high political histories.
- Jean-Luc Nancy - the gravest and most painful testimony of the modern world, the one that possibly involves all other testimonies to which this epoch must answer, is the testimony of the dissolution and dislocation.

We have sundry meanings, an array of meanings. Through changing of lens, through the shifting of lens, alternative understandings of history move away from the high political discourse. Jean-Luc-Nancy says that the gravest and the most painful memories of the modern world, the kinds of memories that we are struggling with, we are encountering, and we cannot get over with are the testimonies to which this epoch must answer, testimonies of dislocation and dissolution. Dissolution of belonging, dissolution of identity and then further restructuring of oneself.

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Slide 8 contains four bullet points discussing historiography and national memory. The first point states that historiography, traditionally formed by the ruling class through establishing their hegemony, is increasingly being challenged by 'historical memory'. The second point notes that modern media and homogenization of culture have led to the formation of a history in terms of national memory, but such an institutional site of memory also accommodates myths and unofficial records. Within the fold of national memory, diverse myths are produced as archetypal myths, and a politics of representation could come into play. The third point mentions that memory was always a preoccupation for social thinkers, though it was only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that a distinctively social perspective on memory became prominent. The fourth point references Peter Novick, an American historian who studied the Holocaust in American life, stating that collective memory simplifies, sees events from a single, committed perspective, is impatient with ambiguities of any kind, and reduces events to mythic archetypes. (Pandey Intro. 8)

- Historiography, traditionally formed by the ruling class through establishing their hegemony, is increasingly being challenged by 'historical memory'.
- Modern media and homogenization of culture have led to the formation of a history in terms of national memory. However, such an institutional site of memory also accommodates myths and unofficial records. Within the fold of national memory, the diverse myths are produced as archetypal myths, and a politics of representation could come into play.
- Memory was always a preoccupation for social thinkers, though it was only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that a distinctively social perspective on memory became prominent.
- Peter Novick, American historian who studied the Holocaust in American life – 'collective memory simplifies; sees events from a single, committed perspective; is impatient with ambiguities of any kind; reduces events to mythic archetypes.' (Pandey Intro. 8)

So, historiography is problematic because traditionally it is formed by the ruling class and it carries the hegemony; they establish their hegemony. The hegemonic language, the hegemonic approach, everything is inherently present in formal history.

Modern media and homogenization of culture have led to the formation of a history in terms of national memory. Now, we have something that takes from both the terms, from history and from memory and now we have something called national memory.

Within the fold of national memory, what we see is the diversity is lost. When memory is subsumed by the category of the national, it is tagged with the national meaning. So, memory, the category of memory also involves questions of hierarchies. Some are more important memories as opposed to others that are [considered as] less important memories, that are actually pushed to the fringes.

So, the diverse myths become one archetypal myth or a collection of archetypal myths. Here, we have the risk of politics of representation, what gets represented, what gets voiced, what becomes invisible. This is something that national memory has to deal with.

So, with national memory basically what we are looking at is an institutional site of memory that accommodates, selectively of course, myths and unofficial records. Whatever suits the process of history formation.

Memory was always a preoccupation for social thinkers. However, as late as... as we see towards the end of 19th century and in the early 20th century, it has actually become a distinctive social perspective. So, American historian, Peter Novick says that collective memory has the tendency, it bears the risk of simplifying. It sees events from an essentialist single, committed perspective and therefore, understandably it is impatient with any form of ambiguities and it reduces events to mythic archetypes.

So, even within memory we have this hierarchization where some memories are rendered more prominence than [over] the others.

Pierre Nora would say that the historical memories [are] increasingly institutionalized sites of memory. So, institutionalizing certain memories at the cost of other. History is appropriation and monumentation of selected aspects from the past, turns memory into an archive and hollows its layers.

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- Pierre Nora – the historical memory's increasingly institutionalized sites of memory (i.e. history's appropriation and monumentation of selected aspects from the past) has turned memory into an archive and hollowed its layers. Institutionalized memory replacing spontaneous memory.
- Friedrich Hegel (German philosopher) – The state is the condition of history and defines its purpose. Through self-conscious choice of the subject matter and the prose of history, the state also constitutes itself.
- Garde-Hansen – The concept of memory destabilises grand narratives of history and power, as “memory, remembering and recording are the very key to existence, becoming and belonging” (Media and memory, 2011).

The variation, the arbitrariness, the randomness that is offered by the past, the random meanings offered by the past, the array of meanings offered by the past that sitting here today we cannot deal with. So, instead what do we do? We turn them into sites of memory. We are happy with certain monumentations.

So, Friedrich Hegel tells us how state and history - state formation and history formation, they actually fatten one another. The state is the condition of history and defines its purpose. Through self-conscious choice of the subject matter and the prose of history, the language, the grammar of history, the state also constitutes itself. At the time of a given government what is written and what is not written, defines the government, defines its policies.

So, here Garde Hansen would say that the concept of memory destabilizes grand narratives, at least initially, that is what it intends to do. Initially, the concept of memory has a tendency to unsettle grand narratives of history and power as memory, remembering and recording are the very key to existence, [to] becoming and belonging.

How we would want for the past to be represented in history depends on our political orientation, biases, our way of looking at certain leaders. So, when I am talking of our [leaders], I am talking about the protagonists of the nation, the leaders of the nation, right. And that is how history gets represented.

Maurice Halbwachs would say that memory is not an individual phenomenon. In this regard, we have to understand that there are different ways of treating memory. And here also, we have disciplinary conflicts, so the psychological reading of memory is more individual. The individual memory interests the psychologists, the individual's perspective.

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- Halbwachs – memory is not simply an individual phenomenon, but is relational in terms of family and friends, and also societal and collective in terms of the social frameworks of social groups.
- While psychologists were more interested in memory from an individual perspective, sociological theorists emphasise the social and cultural bases of shared memories.
- Individual memory grow outward to focus on broader dimensions of social memory and the politics of public remembering, especially those channeled through communications media.
- The focus has generally been on “how these forms of remembering operate as collective representations of the past, how they constitute a range of cultural resources for social and historical identities, and how they privilege particular readings of the past and subordinate others” (Keightley and Pickering, *Research methods for memory studies*, 2013).

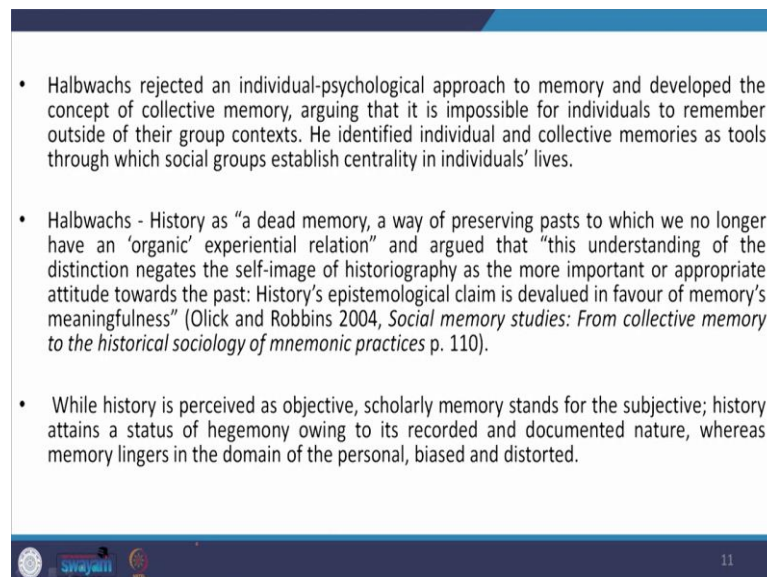
However, the sociologist's point of view such as posited by Maurice Halbwachs would say that memory is not an individual phenomenon, but it is relational in terms of family and friends, our social self, our collective self. So, it is in terms of the social frameworks that brace our identity that memory is formed.

And individual memory grow outward to focus on broader dimensions of social memory and the politics of public remembering, especially the ones that are challenged through communications media.

So, as we see, Keightley and Pickering would observe that the focus has generally been what they say is on how these forms of remembering operate as collective representations of the past. The legitimacy that we adhere to certain memories; how they constitute a range of cultural resources for social and historical identities, and how they privilege particular meanings of the past and subordinate others. So, the politics of representation.

When we talk of collective memory, we cannot not talk about selectiveness, bias, lopsided treatment of events and so forth.

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- Halbwachs rejected an individual-psychological approach to memory and developed the concept of collective memory, arguing that it is impossible for individuals to remember outside of their group contexts. He identified individual and collective memories as tools through which social groups establish centrality in individuals' lives.
- Halbwachs - History as "a dead memory, a way of preserving pasts to which we no longer have an 'organic' experiential relation" and argued that "this understanding of the distinction negates the self-image of historiography as the more important or appropriate attitude towards the past: History's epistemological claim is devalued in favour of memory's meaningfulness" (Olick and Robbins 2004, *Social memory studies: From collective memory to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices* p. 110).
- While history is perceived as objective, scholarly memory stands for the subjective; history attains a status of hegemony owing to its recorded and documented nature, whereas memory lingers in the domain of the personal, biased and distorted.

So, Maurice Halbwachs would reject the individual psychological approach to memory and argue that it is impossible for individuals to remember outside of their group context.

So, we are essentially communal beings. Identity has a collective, a shared aspect and outside that, memories would not be much.

So, in order to understand memory as a whole, we have to look at the community, the space where we belonged at that time in the past. He identified individual and collective memories as tools, through which social groups establish centrality in individual's lives. So, the importance of belonging to a particular group, that is where the question of grand narrative also becomes important. We cannot eliminate it altogether.

We are as individuals identified within the the larger chronos and topos, right. The larger time-space coordinate actually defines us. So, Halbwachs would go on to say that history is a dead memory. And he argued that this understanding of the distinction ...the fact that there is nothing organic, there is no organic experiential relation existent within history [is central].

And when he says this, it negates the self-image, the self-importance, the complacency that historiography has, as something that is more important. Historiography as a subject that is more important, and that can explain past better than memory. Halbwachs undermines such an understanding. He says that historiography has no organic experiential relation. It is essentially dead..dead memory.

So, basically history's epistemological claim is devalued in favor of memory's meaningfulness according to Halbwachs. So, while history is perceived as objective, as disinterested and as distant, memory actually vouches for subjectiveness and subjectivity. History attains the status of hegemony because of its recorded and documented nature. History claims to rely only on facts.

However, memory betrays certain personal biases, certain distortions, and thereby a scope for creativity within it. So, the concept of collective memory rests upon the assumption that every social group develops a memory of its past, which allows it to preserve and pass along its self-image.

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- The concept of collective memory rests upon the assumption that every social group develops a memory of its past, which allows it to preserve and pass along its self-image. Collective memory is a socio-political construct, a version of the past, defined and negotiated through changing sociopolitical power circumstances and agendas (Neiger et al., *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age*, 2011).
- “Collective memory is not history, though it is sometimes made from similar material. It is a collective phenomenon but only manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals... it often privileges the interests of the contemporary” (Kansteiner 2002, *Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies. History and theory* 41(2): 179-197 p.180).

Collective memory here is not the same as history, it is not the same as metanarrative. Yet, it is not, in purpose, in practice it is not doing something very different from the metanarrative because it is trying to preserve a pre-given meaning of self, of a group.

Collective memory is, say, there is nothing natural about it once again, something that a lot of people subscribe to, a group loves to subscribe to and look back at. And it is a version of past that is defined and negotiated through changing socio-political power, circumstances and agendas.

When we talk about a given socio-political environment, a given cosmos, a given agenda that gives birth to a collective memory. It further validates what I have been trying to explain that there is nothing intrinsic, there is nothing natural about collective memory.

Kansteiner says that collective memory is not history though it is sometimes made from similar material. And here we are going to talk about something important. Maybe not in today's lecture, but of course, we are going to discuss. It is the question of the archive, memory belonging to an archive, archiving of memories and what happens to those memories; are they also grand memories? It is a question.

It is a collective phenomenon. So, collective memory is a collective phenomenon, but only manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals. It often privileges the interests of the contemporary. So, the question of privileging and of selective representation are also involved in collective memory.

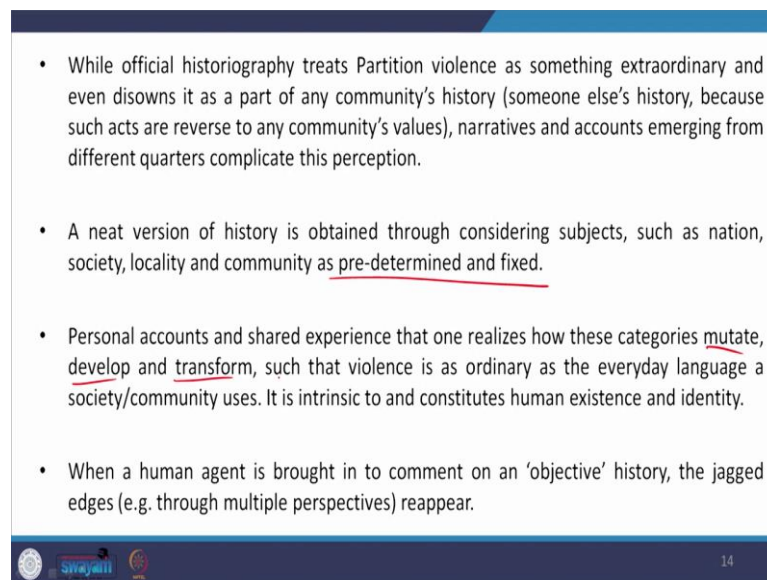
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- Pennebaker - “significant historical events form stronger collective memories, and present circumstances affect what events are remembered as significant” (*Collective memory of political events: Social psychological Perspectives* remarks).
- Historians’ history seems to suggest that what Partition amounted to was mainly a new constitutional/political arrangement, which did not deeply affect the central structures of Indian society or the broad contours of its history
- On the other hand, the survivors’ account would appear to say that it amounted to a sundering, a whole new beginning and, thus, a radical reconstitution of community and history.
- While at the official level, India and Pakistan are seen as exhibiting two most militant nationalisms (e.g. the Wagah border), at the unofficial level, the resentment and animosity is coupled with a considerable sense of nostalgia and a feeling that Partition has happened between siblings from the same ethnicity - a love-hate relationship.

So, we see that historians also have contestations. They have different versions of history. Historians seem to suggest that Partition amounted to mainly a constitutional or a political arrangement. While one group would say that Partition amounted to new constitutional and political arrangement that did not really affect the central structures of Indian society.

On the other hand, if we look at the history coming from below, the survivor's account, we would know that Partition is experienced as a kind of cracking up of the subcontinent, a sundering, and a whole new beginning from the scratch, a radical reconstitution of community and history. So, at the official level we see India and Pakistan as exhibiting two most militant nationalisms, like the exhibition of militancy that we get to see in the Wagah border.

However, at the unofficial level, at the level of India-Pakistan cricket match, for example, we see resentment and animosity being coupled with a considerable sense of nostalgia. So, Pakistan and India have a kind of love-hate relationship. And there is this common saying that it is a kind of squabble between siblings from the same ethnicity. (Refer Slide Time: 32:13)



- While official historiography treats Partition violence as something extraordinary and even disowns it as a part of any community's history (someone else's history, because such acts are reverse to any community's values), narratives and accounts emerging from different quarters complicate this perception.
- A neat version of history is obtained through considering subjects, such as nation, society, locality and community as pre-determined and fixed.
- Personal accounts and shared experience that one realizes how these categories mutate, develop and transform, such that violence is as ordinary as the everyday language a society/community uses. It is intrinsic to and constitutes human existence and identity.
- When a human agent is brought in to comment on an 'objective' history, the jagged edges (e.g. through multiple perspectives) reappear.

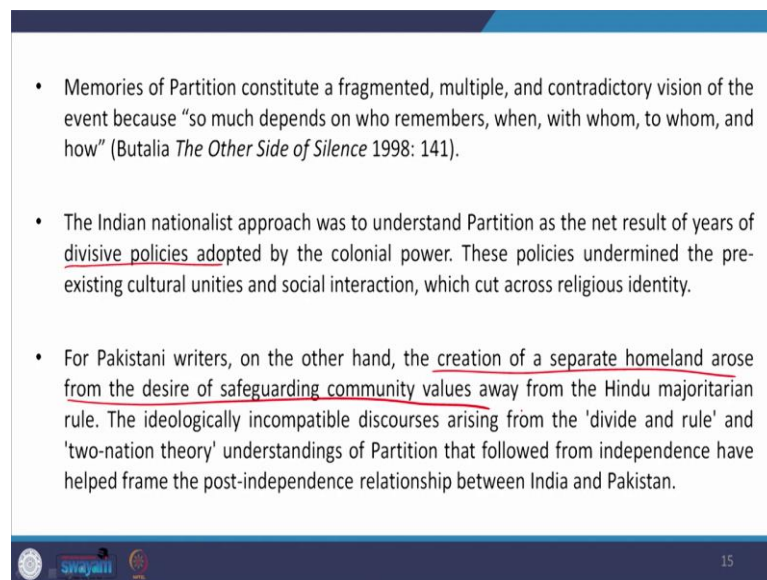
While official historiography treats Partition violence as something extraordinary, this is also an observation that Pandey makes... A given nation would disown the Partition violence as having to do anything with the community's history, almost as though it is someone else's history because those values [rather, lack of values], the carnage, the

sabotage that people witnessed at that time are reverse to each and every community's values.

However, the narratives and accounts emerging from the different quarters complicate such a perception. We understand that violence was not extraordinary; it was something very ordinary, intrinsic; present in the ordinary lives, at the level of everyday. And so, the official historiography treats it as a one-off case. [In reality], it was building over several decades, over centuries.

Neat version of history is obtained through considering subjects, locality, community as pre-given, predetermined and fixed - that is the formal history. However, personal accounts and shared experiences tell us how these categories can mutate, how these categories can develop, transform, beyond what they imagine, how they image and imagine themselves, such that violence is as ordinary as the everyday language that we use, that a society or community uses. So, violence is intrinsic to and constitutes human existence and identity.

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- Memories of Partition constitute a fragmented, multiple, and contradictory vision of the event because “so much depends on who remembers, when, with whom, to whom, and how” (Butalia *The Other Side of Silence* 1998: 141).
- The Indian nationalist approach was to understand Partition as the net result of years of divisive policies adopted by the colonial power. These policies undermined the pre-existing cultural unities and social interaction, which cut across religious identity.
- For Pakistani writers, on the other hand, the creation of a separate homeland arose from the desire of safeguarding community values away from the Hindu majoritarian rule. The ideologically incompatible discourses arising from the 'divide and rule' and 'two-nation theory' understandings of Partition that followed from independence have helped frame the post-independence relationship between India and Pakistan.

So, memories of partition constitute multiple contradictory versions of a given event, like Urvashi Butalia would say, depending on who wants to see. So much depends on who remembers, when, with whom, to whom, and how.

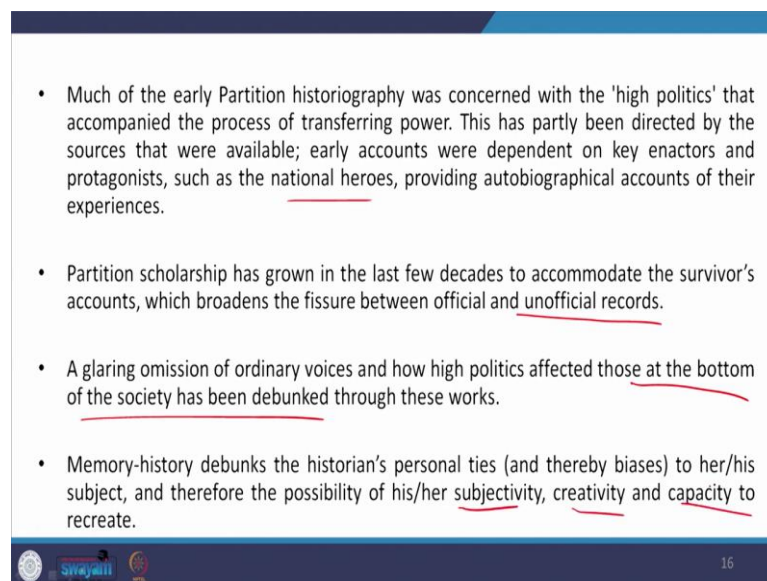
The Indian nationalist approach was to understand Partition as a result of divisive politics adopted by the colonial system, the colonial power. We have already spoken about all these policies - the Divide and Rule - that the Britishers actually subjected the Hindus and the Muslims to.

These policies undermine the pre-existing cultural unities and social interactions and finally, cut across religious identity. However, we have a second version that we get from the Pakistani historians.

And they actually celebrate the creation of a separate homeland. So, on the one hand, in India we talk more about the divisive politics played by the Britishers, [on the other] Pakistan talks about the formation of a nation that was a result... that arose from the desire of safeguarding their community values away from Hindu majoritarian rule, right.

The ideologically incompatible discourses that we find here tell us how history can be approached from different directions, depending on one's own location in the past.

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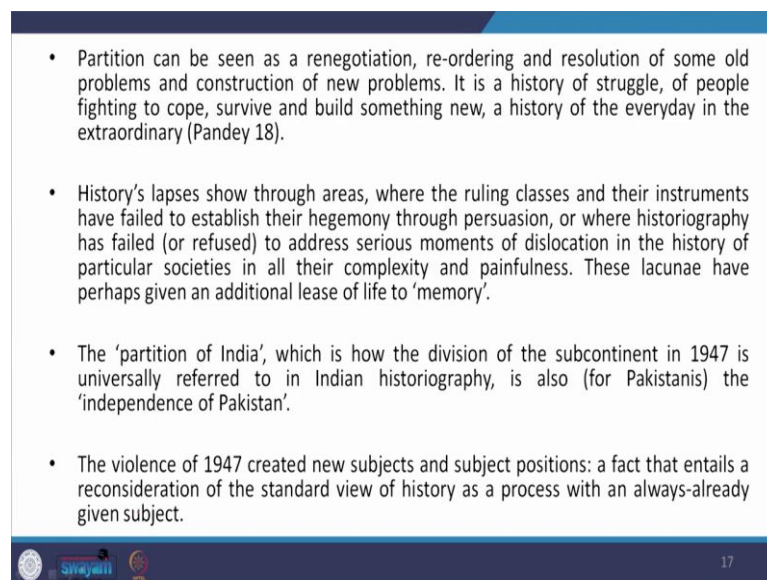
- Much of the early Partition historiography was concerned with the 'high politics' that accompanied the process of transferring power. This has partly been directed by the sources that were available; early accounts were dependent on key enactors and protagonists, such as the national heroes, providing autobiographical accounts of their experiences.
- Partition scholarship has grown in the last few decades to accommodate the survivor's accounts, which broadens the fissure between official and unofficial records.
- A glaring omission of ordinary voices and how high politics affected those at the bottom of the society has been debunked through these works.
- Memory-history debunks the historian's personal ties (and thereby biases) to her/his subject, and therefore the possibility of his/her subjectivity, creativity and capacity to recreate.

So, much of the early Partition historiography was concerned with the high politics that accompanied the process of transferring of power. And this is mainly directed...the focus

of these histories were the key enactors and protagonists, the national heroes, and people would mainly look at their autobiographical accounts.

Partition scholarship in the last few decades understands that the scope needs to be broadened, and so we are accommodating unofficial records within the scholarship, within Partition scholarship. So, when we involve the other records, the glaring omission of ordinary voices and how high politics affected those at the bottom of the society gets debunked, right. Memory history debunks the historian's personal ties. So, when someone is a memory historian, a memory author they do not try to, they do not necessarily try to hide their subjectivity, their own creativity, and their capacity to recreate.

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- Partition can be seen as a renegotiation, re-ordering and resolution of some old problems and construction of new problems. It is a history of struggle, of people fighting to cope, survive and build something new, a history of the everyday in the extraordinary (Pandey 18).
- History's lapses show through areas, where the ruling classes and their instruments have failed to establish their hegemony through persuasion, or where historiography has failed (or refused) to address serious moments of dislocation in the history of particular societies in all their complexity and painfulness. These lacunae have perhaps given an additional lease of life to 'memory'.
- The 'partition of India', which is how the division of the subcontinent in 1947 is universally referred to in Indian historiography, is also (for Pakistanis) the 'independence of Pakistan'.
- The violence of 1947 created new subjects and subject positions: a fact that entails a reconsideration of the standard view of history as a process with an always-already given subject.

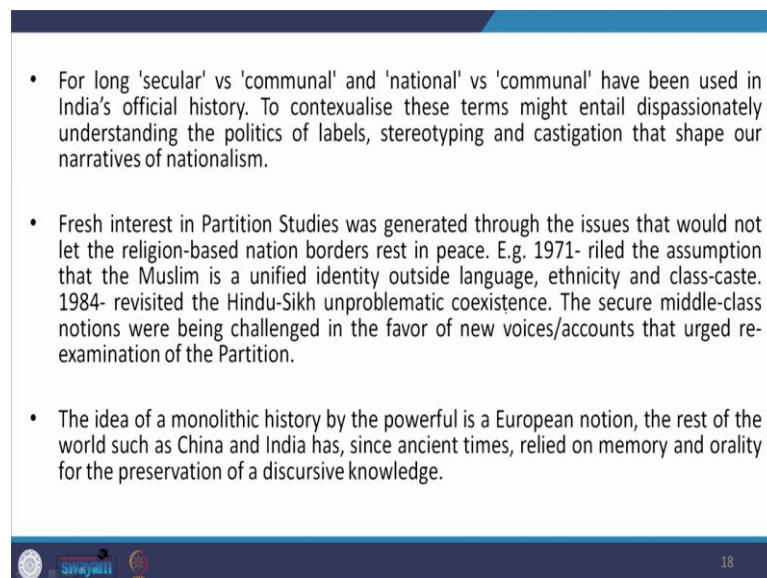
So, Partition can be seen as a renegotiation, reordering, and resolution of certain older problems at the expense of construction of new problems.

History's lapses show through areas, where the ruling classes and their instruments fail to establish their hegemony through persuasion. We have peasant revolts, we have revolts from the different sections of the fringes; or where historiography has refused to address the serious moments of dislocation in the history of particular societies.

When we look at these lapses in history where the complexity, the layers, the pain of the subalterns are not addressed, these lacunae make an additional lease of life for memory studies, right.

What is not being addressed is something that we start questioning through unofficial records. So, we are moving away from the standard view. And fresh interest in Partition studies in the 1990s was generated through issues that were not hitherto discussed.

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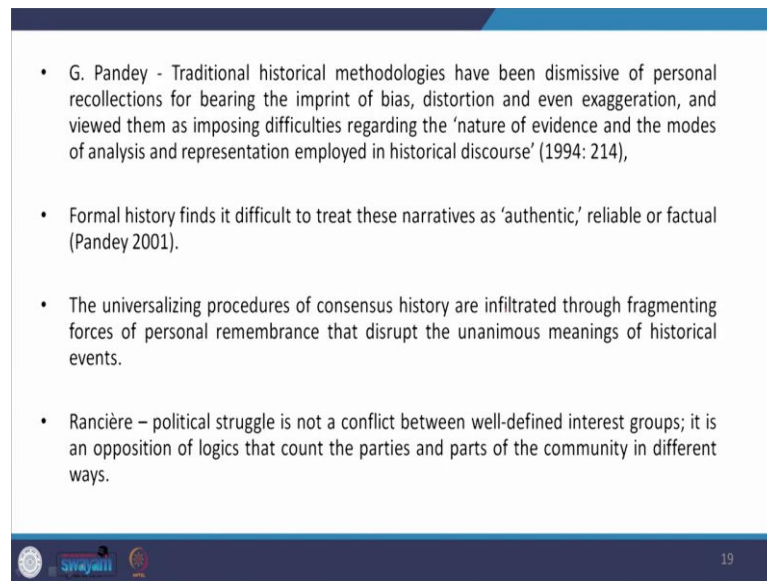
- For long 'secular' vs 'communal' and 'national' vs 'communal' have been used in India's official history. To contextualise these terms might entail dispassionately understanding the politics of labels, stereotyping and castigation that shape our narratives of nationalism.
- Fresh interest in Partition Studies was generated through the issues that would not let the religion-based nation borders rest in peace. E.g. 1971- riled the assumption that the Muslim is a unified identity outside language, ethnicity and class-caste. 1984- revisited the Hindu-Sikh unproblematic coexistence. The secure middle-class notions were being challenged in the favor of new voices/accounts that urged re-examination of the Partition.
- The idea of a monolithic history by the powerful is a European notion, the rest of the world such as China and India has, since ancient times, relied on memory and orality for the preservation of a discursive knowledge.



We see how the issues would not settle with a religion based divide. So, for example, the 1971 Liberation War and 1984 revolt by the Sikhs are two cases in point. ah

So, the idea of a monolithic history is essentially, Gyanendra Pandey argues that it is essentially a European concept. However, ancient civilizations such as China and India have timelessly relied on memory and orality for the preservation of a discursive knowledge.

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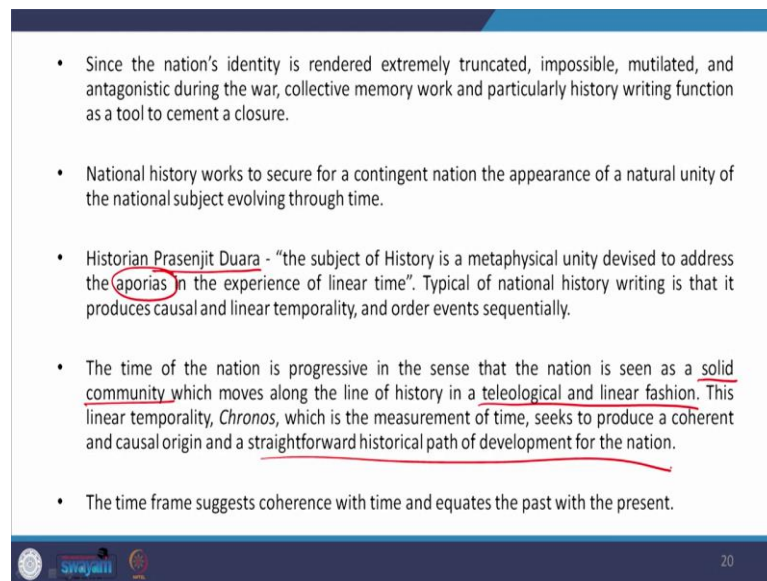


- G. Pandey - Traditional historical methodologies have been dismissive of personal recollections for bearing the imprint of bias, distortion and even exaggeration, and viewed them as imposing difficulties regarding the 'nature of evidence and the modes of analysis and representation employed in historical discourse' (1994: 214),
- Formal history finds it difficult to treat these narratives as 'authentic,' reliable or factual (Pandey 2001).
- The universalizing procedures of consensus history are infiltrated through fragmenting forces of personal remembrance that disrupt the unanimous meanings of historical events.
- Rancière – political struggle is not a conflict between well-defined interest groups; it is an opposition of logics that count the parties and parts of the community in different ways.

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The universalizing procedures of history [based on consensus] are infiltrated through fragmenting forces of personal remembrance that disrupt the unanimous meanings of historical events.

Traditional historical methodologies have been dismissive of personal recollections. The setback of personal memory are pointed out by formal traditional historical methodologies and they say that these recollections bear the imprint of bias, distortion, and even exaggeration. So, they are viewed as imposing difficulties in studying an event. (Refer Slide Time: 39:43)



- Since the nation's identity is rendered extremely truncated, impossible, mutilated, and antagonistic during the war, collective memory work and particularly history writing function as a tool to cement a closure.
- National history works to secure for a contingent nation the appearance of a natural unity of the national subject evolving through time.
- Historian Prasenjit Duara - "the subject of History is a metaphysical unity devised to address the aporias in the experience of linear time". Typical of national history writing is that it produces causal and linear temporality, and order events sequentially.
- The time of the nation is progressive in the sense that the nation is seen as a solid community which moves along the line of history in a teleological and linear fashion. This linear temporality, *Chronos*, which is the measurement of time, seeks to produce a coherent and causal origin and a straightforward historical path of development for the nation.
- The time frame suggests coherence with time and equates the past with the present.

Since the nation's identity is rendered extremely truncated, mutilated and antagonistic during the war, so history writing functions as a tool to cement a closure. We see that national history has a tendency to approach meanings in terms of a natural unity of the national subject evolving through time.

So, historian Prasenjit Duara would say that the subject of history is a metaphysical unity devised to address the aporias. So, we tend to cover up, hush up the aporias in the experience of linear time.

The time of the nation is progressive in the sense that the nation is seen as a solid community, something that memory studies, memory scholars would question. Something that moves along the line of history in a teleological and linear fashion. Also something that alternative ah renditions would want to revisit.

This linear temporality, Chronos, which is the measurement of time seeks to produce a coherent and causal origin, right, as though things cannot be unprecedented, everything is seen in terms of a coherent story. So, that is how we get a straightforward historical path, a clean historical path of development for the nation at the expense of removing other multiple versions, the smaller narratives.

The time frame suggests coherence and equates the past with the present. We tend to connect certain very oversimplified dots.

So, with this I am going to stop today's lecture. I will meet you again for the next lecture.

Thank you.