

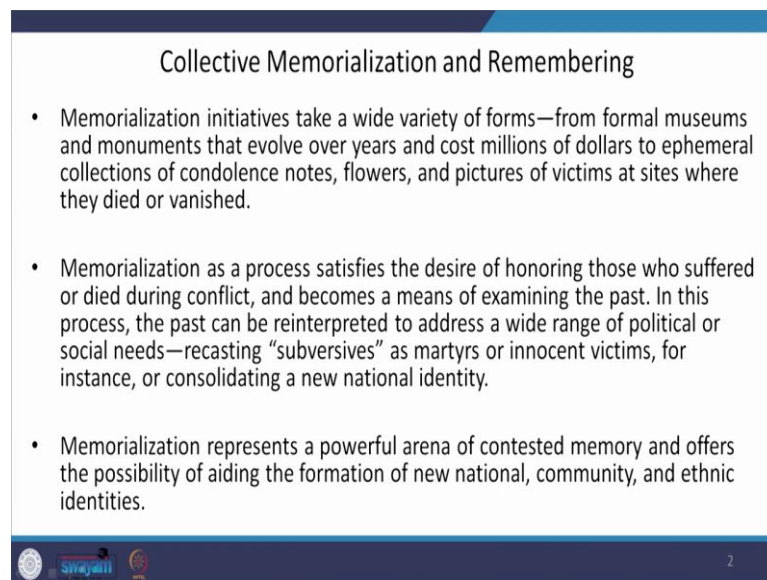
**Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema**  
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**Lecture - 08**  
**History and Alternative Memory Writings - I**

Good morning and welcome to my course, Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema, Lecture 8. We are discussing the second module, History and Alternative Memory Writings. So, today we are going to talk more about collective memorialization and remembering. Memorialization initiatives take a wide variety of forms. How do we create sites of memory through formal museums, through making monuments?

And they evolve over years and they cost a lot of money, to actually make certain aspects of history prominent. And once again, the subjectivity, the bias is involved, the protagonist of ...let us say a current ruler, a current government formation; their policies, their approach to history actually have a major role in museum and monument formations.

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**Collective Memorialization and Remembering**

- Memorialization initiatives take a wide variety of forms—from formal museums and monuments that evolve over years and cost millions of dollars to ephemeral collections of condolence notes, flowers, and pictures of victims at sites where they died or vanished.
- Memorialization as a process satisfies the desire of honoring those who suffered or died during conflict, and becomes a means of examining the past. In this process, the past can be reinterpreted to address a wide range of political or social needs—recasting “subversives” as martyrs or innocent victims, for instance, or consolidating a new national identity.
- Memorialization represents a powerful arena of contested memory and offers the possibility of aiding the formation of new national, community, and ethnic identities.

2

Memorialization could be something as grand as forming a statue of a leader, a nationalist leader to something that is as minor a gesture as a condolence note, flowers, and pictures of victims at sites, where they died or where they disappeared. So, memorialization as a process satisfies the desire of honoring those who suffered or died.

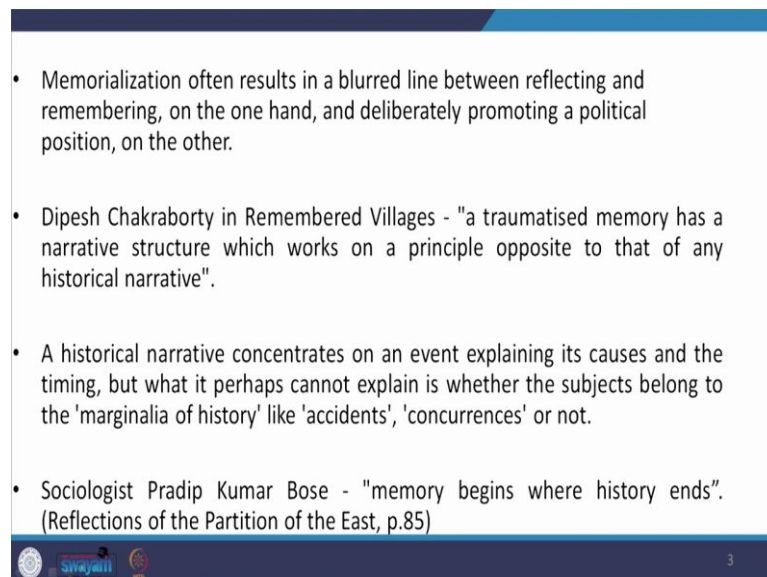
The past can be reinterpreted in order to address the current political climate or the current social needs.

There could be recasting of meanings, right. There could be, in fact...we understand that history is a palimpsestic formation, if we may say so. Layers of meanings, depending on different governments, different political loyalties, different social groupings... the meanings actually overlap on one another. Through time, new meanings tend to replace the old meanings.

The leader that one government chooses to see as 'subversive' could be treated as martyr or an innocent victim by the other. So, what we are trying to say here is that through monumentation, through memorialization in the forms of artifacts.. human artifacts; we are consolidating a new national identity again and again. So, formation and demolition of statues certainly have a historical consequence.

It has a historical import, a historical suggestion. Memorialization represents a powerful arena of contested memories, and it offers the possibility of formation of new national community and ethnic identities.

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- Memorialization often results in a blurred line between reflecting and remembering, on the one hand, and deliberately promoting a political position, on the other.
- Dipesh Chakraborty in Remembered Villages - "a traumatised memory has a narrative structure which works on a principle opposite to that of any historical narrative".
- A historical narrative concentrates on an event explaining its causes and the timing, but what it perhaps cannot explain is whether the subjects belong to the 'marginalia of history' like 'accidents', 'concurrences' or not.
- Sociologist Pradip Kumar Bose - "memory begins where history ends". (Reflections of the Partition of the East, p.85)

Memorialization results in a blurred line between reflecting and remembering. So, this is something that also interests memory studies. Do we remember exactly from the past, or is there an intervention of what we remember through our current state of existence?

Does our current self, current identity, current existence, intervene and intercept the process of remembrance? Does it get filtered as a result? So, and deliberately promoting a political position thereby... is memory transparent or are there certain deliberate and unintentional slippages within memory? Dipesh Chakrabarty in 'Remembered Villages' would say, "a traumatized memory has a narrative structure which works on a principle opposite to that of historical narrative."

It is just the opposite of history; while history has a disinterested, apparently unbiased point of view, a distant point of view, a neutral point of view, that is what history posits, traumatized memory would be full of overlaps, repetitions, slippages. So, the post traumatic stress disorder, the PTSD that we talk about where we have so many repetitions of the same incident, or there are recurrent symbols informing a given version of how we record.

So, a historical narrative concentrates on an event explaining its causes and its timing, but what it perhaps cannot explain is whether the subjects belong to the margin. So, when we rely only on facts, we are not accounting for the marginalized position of a subject or the centralized.. conversely the centralized position of a ah subject, who is in a hegemonic position, who is actually making a display of power, right.

So, sociologist Pradip Kumar Bose would say that memory actually begins where history ends. These are different ways of looking, but we could also say that there [are] plenty and plenty of interfaces and overlaps between the two.

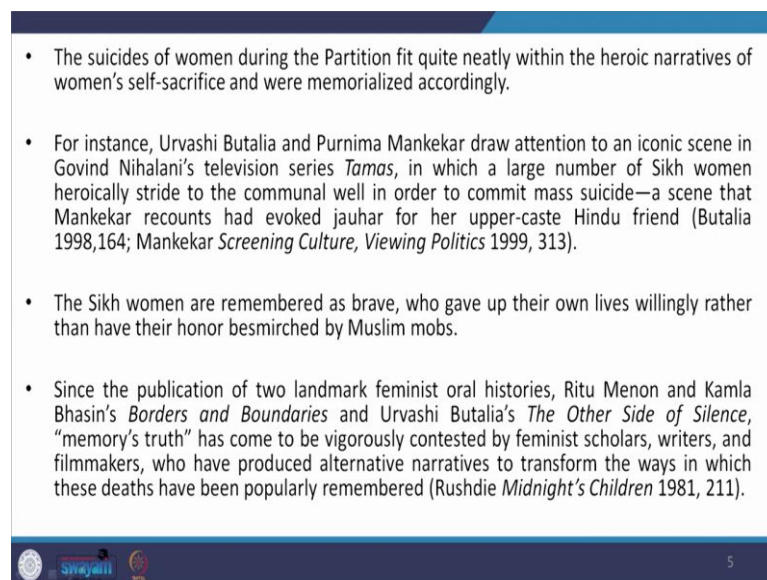
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- Sudipta Kaviraj - The dynamics of the tussle between the sentiment of nostalgia and the sense of trauma of some of the displaced Bengali Hindus from East Pakistan have remained in oblivion for long. Their narratives are always related to some sense of the self and are told from someone's own perspective "to take control of the frightening diversity and formlessness of the world" ('The Imaginary Institution of India', *Subaltern Studies VII*, 1993)
- Ashish Nandy - "the historical self configures memories differently from the way the ahistorical self does" ('State, History and Exile in South Asian Politics: Modernity and the Landscape of Clandestine and Incommunicable Selves' in *The Romance of the State: And the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics*, 2003, p 117-118 ).

So, Sudipta Kaviraj talks about the sentiment of nostalgia and the sense of trauma of some of the displaced Bengali Hindus. So, these narratives informed by the sentiment of nostalgia and the experience of the traumatized subject are ...they are always related to some sense of the self and told from someone's own perspective.

So, the personal coordinate becomes very important here, when we are talking of such a nostalgic rendition, we are dealing with the frightening diversity and formlessness of the world, through nostalgia. When we talk about our own perspective and we own that perspective, we are finding a meaning within an array of meanings. We are trying to attach our identity with a specific version of the past.

And Ashish Nandy would say that the historical self configures memories differently from the way the ahistorical self does, right. (Refer Slide Time: 08:12)



- The suicides of women during the Partition fit quite neatly within the heroic narratives of women's self-sacrifice and were memorialized accordingly.
- For instance, Urvashi Butalia and Purnima Mankekar draw attention to an iconic scene in Govind Nihalani's television series *Tamas*, in which a large number of Sikh women heroically stride to the communal well in order to commit mass suicide—a scene that Mankekar recounts had evoked jauhar for her upper-caste Hindu friend (Butalia 1998,164; Mankekar *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics* 1999, 313).
- The Sikh women are remembered as brave, who gave up their own lives willingly rather than have their honor besmirched by Muslim mobs.
- Since the publication of two landmark feminist oral histories, Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin's *Borders and Boundaries* and Urvashi Butalia's *The Other Side of Silence*, "memory's truth" has come to be vigorously contested by feminist scholars, writers, and filmmakers, who have produced alternative narratives to transform the ways in which these deaths have been popularly remembered (Rushdie *Midnight's Children* 1981, 211).

When we discuss the question of women, women's experience; so, suicides of women during the Partition, women that were molested, they were abducted... violence was inflicted on them. So, as a result a lot of these women suicided, and they were goaded to suicide by their family patriarchs actually.

However, these narratives of women's suicides are folded very neatly within the chapters of Partition, and they are presented as heroic narratives that glorify women's self-sacrifice and that is how they are celebrated. These memories are celebrated. Gyan Pandey talks about the village of Thoa Khalsa and this is something - the suicide, the group suicide of women as a way of escaping the the enemies' hands and getting raped

and abducted - this is something that is remembered very fondly by the male survivors from their families. We see this in the case of Thoa Khalsa. Urvashi Butalia and Purnima Mankekar look at the iconic scene in Govind Nihalani's television series Tamas, where I think I would say this is influenced by the Thoa Khalsa episode, where a large number of Sikh women stride to the communal well, in order to commit mass suicide and escape the hands of the abductors.

It is a scene that Mankekar recounts had evoked the memory, the celebrated, almost pious memory of Jauhar that has been practiced by Hindu women, the upper-caste Hindu women in India. So, it is an evocation that has a sacred hallow around it. The question of race is also attached with these episodes. When a group of Sikh women commit suicide through jumping into a well, they are remembered as brave.

The the entire social group, the entire community's bravery is attached to the woman's act; regardless of studying whether such an act was voluntary or involuntary. Whether she was goaded, she was forced to suicide or she did it out of her own volition. In formal history, we know that women give up their own lives willingly rather than having their honor besmirched by the Muslim mobs.

So, this is one position of formal history that feminist historians such as Ritu Menon, Kamla Bhasin, Urvashi Butalia... they have challenged these positions. And they have come up with other versions through interviewing the rape survivors, the ones that have not suicided. "Memory's truth" has come to be vigorously contested by feminist scholars, writers, and filmmakers.

So, here we see that collective memory is functioning in the same manner as historiography. Collective memory gives us a celebrated, a hallowed, sanctified truth. And it is of course, a sanitized version of truth. And when we look at the alternative narratives, we understand how the realities are different from the way these deaths have been commemorated and popularly remembered.

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- Memory forms at the semantic level (rhetorical expressions), and through tangible matter – the mohalla/para, the tulsi mandap, the neem/peepal tree in the courtyard, etc. The scar and deep fear and humiliation engendered by the Partition riots are centered on images of trains filled with corpses as they arrived on both sides of the border; mutilated and tattooed bodies; women and men being forced to parade on streets, tattooing on women's bodies with religious symbols of the other community.
- E.g. Muslim-populated areas called 'Little Pakistan' even in 'normal' times; "Muslims got their Pakistan, Hindus got their Hindustan, Sikhs were left with nothing"- the Punjabi Suba movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the Khalistani movement of the 1970s and 1980s considerably draw on this sentiment.

So, memory forms at the semantic level through rhetorical expressions, right; and in a tangible fashion.

So, memory happens... Memory is part of the grammar of everyday, the language that we use, and it is also present in tactile objects, in impalpable objects. So, we can see memory concentrated around a mohalla or a para, around a tulsi mandap, around a peepal or a neem tree. So, people at that time would say that we could... they would just carry a lump of the mud from their home, from their homestead; they would carry a lump of mud with them while crossing the border.

So, they would keep that with them generationally, because they could never go back and visit their ancestral homes. The mud would almost be... the dust collected from the courtyard of home would be the synecdoche of the memories that they are carrying with them. In Ismat Chughtai's story "Jaden", we see Amma's character. Everyone has to leave the home, but the oldest lady, the matriarch is not ready. She is... and this would be the case with so many women that carried the keys, the bunch of keys with them; thinking that they are still owners.

So, the key is the synecdoche of ownership that one can claim to a certain homestead, but that is definitely not the situation, then never go back. right. And then we see tattoos. So, tattoos are languages in themselves. They are so deeply entrenched with the language of violation. They are ...they are burdened with the language of violation. The women's

bodies would be, their private parts would be tattooed with the symbols and slogans of the opposite community.

So, when we talk of Partition, we see Partition dwelling on bodies at the tactile level. So, tattooing of women's bodies and of course, the symbol of trains. Images of trains coming loaded with corpses on both sides of the borders. So, Partition artworks have relied on this image of train, the moving train, the train that has stopped, the train that is defunct, the train that is blood-smearred. So, trains actually... the image and imagination of train keeps coming back in Partition stories and Partition memories.

So, even in our common parlance in India, we have the Muslim populated areas referred to informally as 'Little Pakistan.' Who does not know? People say that in normal times. So, and then Sikhs have the sentiment, informally speaking. So, these are not present in formal history. Sikhs say that Muslims got their Pakistan, Hindus got their Hindustan, and Sikhs were left with nothing.

This becomes a momentum, this adds a momentum and a kind of sentimental force that propels the Punjabi Suba movement of the 1950s and the 1960s, and the Khalistani movement in the 1970s and in the 1980s. All these movements draw their sentiments from the language that we use at the everyday level.

So, riots are not really spontaneous, they are not one off cases. They actually trace their roots in language. At the semantic level they are present, and ready to, you know, take off any moment; the way we speak in an ordinary sense. So, Larry Ray would say that the nation is a mnemonic community, whose raison d'etre or reason to be derives from both remembering and forgetting.

How we constitute the national body is through what we tend to remember, and what we actually want to forget.

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- Larry Ray - 'the nation is a mnemonic community whose raison d'être derives from both remembering and forgetting, especially where the past poses a threat to the unity of the nation'. (*Violence and Society* 2011) In other words, the nation 'forgets to remember'.
- Creating a symbolic grammar for war and violence and writing post-war history is as much about forgetting as it is about remembering.
- National history is the outcome of a highly selective process, where the memories of extreme trauma of war and violence are not remembered as such but rather selected to be remembered to only a limited extent and in a controlled manner.
- Memories are emplotted in such a way that they respond to certain expectations of genre and structure. Some events come coded as historically 'real', and they form a foundation for the master-narrative of the nation. They are argued as uncontradictorily remembered, documented, or reconstructed, and given a privileged place in a linearly and chronologically ordered sequence of significations.

So, in other words, the nation forgets to remember, and the nation remembers to forget; we could also say that, we would not be wrong. So, creating a symbolic grammar for war and violence and writing post-war histories are as much about forgetting as it is about remembering.

It is a term that...in the postmodern era, Milan Kundera would use - it's called symbolic violence. So, governments are formed through these symbolic grammars. So, some incidents become more highlighted, whereas we tend to ignore others, as though they never were. So, national history is the outcome of a highly selective process, where the memories of extreme trauma of war and violence are not remembered, but rather selected to be remembered, and only to a limited extent and in a controlled manner.

So, history is... now what we are finding in the keywords that we associate with formal history are - deliberate, and premeditated, controlled, disinterested, objective, and limited, right. It does not have any space for the excesses. So, memories are emplotted in such a way that they respond to certain expectations of genre and structure. So, memory has to be curved in that way as to respond to the expectations of the genre and structure.

Some events come coded as historically real and they form a foundation for the master-narrative of the nation, something that majority of people subscribe to. It is a process of remembering uncontradictorily, everybody would unanimously agree to looking at the past in a certain manner, and there would be no differences in that perception.

And so, uncontradictory remembrance, documentation, and reconstruction, and it is in this way, in such a way we give a privileged space to a linearly and chronologically ordered sequence of significations, right. And so, we see why personal narratives are important. Individual memories recount so many different aspects of the past.

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- Individual memories recount frenzied mob killings, arduous travel to cross borders with or without food and belongings, losing friends and family members along the way, and a general inadequacy of law and order and even complicity of the police in the violence that rendered immigrants as vulnerable.
- Personal narratives assembled by Alok Bhalla (1994) and Mushirul Hassan (1997) in their collections of Partition stories, historical essays by S Settar and Indira Baptista Gupta in *Pangs of Partition* (2002), Sukeshi Kamra's *Bearing Witness* (2002), and Jill Didur's critical analysis in *Unsettling Partition* (2007) recover the buried creative works that intervene the elitist scholarship primarily based on official documents, private papers, and political biographies of those in power. These works rather focus on the personal stories of the people.
- Alok Bhalla- Memory has multiple uses; e.g. rather than only underlining moments of carnage, memory offers a vision of 'counter-violence' or communal harmony and friendship, and also reflects the past as a 'source of dignity in the present.' Memory of connectedness can complement the history of atrocity. Memory can testify to a life of communal togetherness beyond insanity and greed.

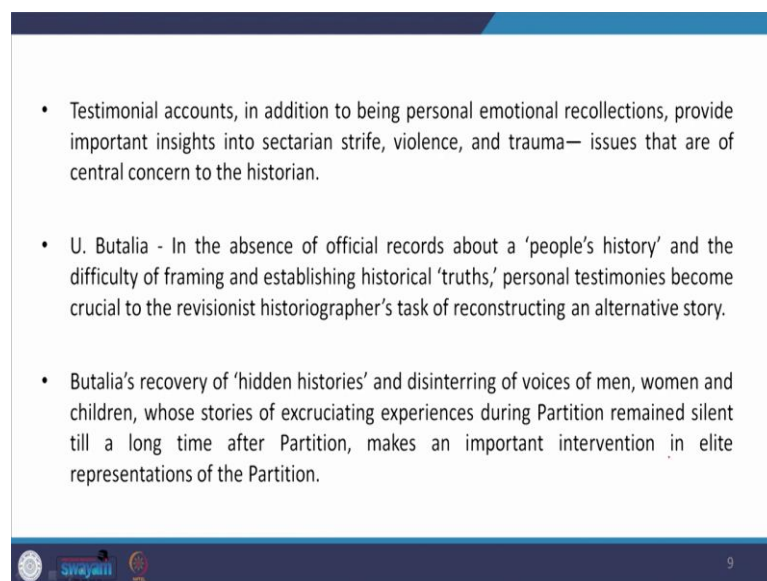
While it talks about frenzied mob killings, it also talks about the arduous travels, especially with the grassroots migrants that cross the borders with or without food and belongings, on foot; people lost families and friends on the way, and people describe the general inadequacy of law and order at that time. So, personal narratives assembled by scholars, such as Alok Bhalla and Mushirul Hassan, and then we are looking at essays by Settar and Gupta.

We are looking at Sukeshi Kamra's essay, we are looking at Jill Didur's contribution to the field, and we see all of these works recover the buried creative works. All of these scholarship recover the buried creative works, which intervene and which add to the elitist scholarship...elitist scholarships that are primarily based on official documents, private papers, political biographies of those who have been in power.

These works would rather focus...so, the alternative personal narratives would rather focus on the personal stories of the people. And then, Bhalla goes on to tell us why they are important. Memories could also offer a vision for counter-violence, and possibilities of communal harmony, and friendship.

And so, they reflect the past, not only as a source of humiliation and shame and pity, but also as a source of dignity in the present. So, memory of connectedness can complement the history of atrocity, right.

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- Testimonial accounts, in addition to being personal emotional recollections, provide important insights into sectarian strife, violence, and trauma— issues that are of central concern to the historian.
- U. Butalia - In the absence of official records about a 'people's history' and the difficulty of framing and establishing historical 'truths,' personal testimonies become crucial to the revisionist historiographer's task of reconstructing an alternative story.
- Butalia's recovery of 'hidden histories' and disinterring of voices of men, women and children, whose stories of excruciating experiences during Partition remained silent till a long time after Partition, makes an important intervention in elite representations of the Partition.

Swajati 9

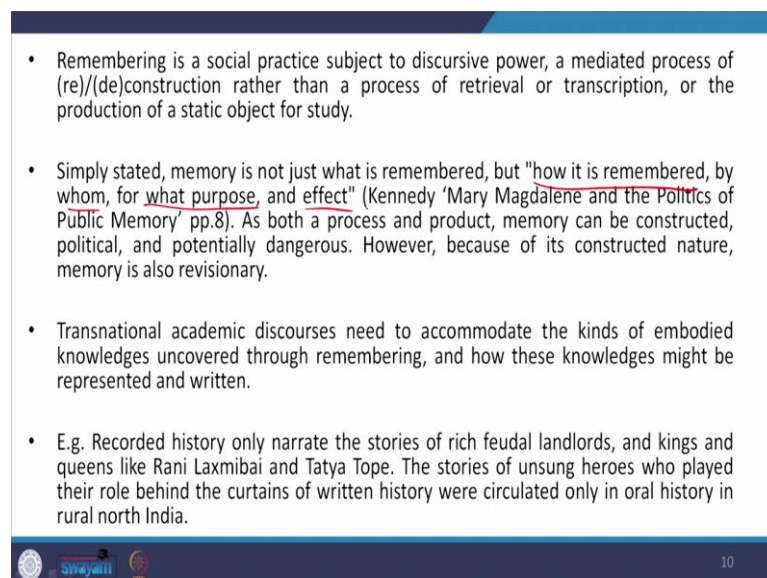
The testimonial accounts provide important insights into sectarian strife, violence, trauma issues that are ah of central concern to the historian. So, in the absence of a people's history and the difficulty of framing and establishing a historical truth; personal testimonies become crucial to the revisionist historiographer's task of reconstructing an alternative history.

So, they are essentially revisionist in nature. Butalia's recovery of hidden histories and disinterring of voices of different subjects, not only the males, but she is focusing on females and also the children, and their stories of excruciating experiences. Their excruciating experiences during Partition that remain silent till a long time after Partition.

All these works coming several decades after the Independence are considered as very important interventions in the already existent elite representations of the Partition. So, remembering is a social practice subject to discursive power. So, who gets to remember? What can you remember? What can you afford to remember and reflect on? So, a mediated process, remembering is a mediated process of reconstruction and deconstruction, rather than a process of retrieval or transcription.

So, it is not objective. Memory is not just what is remembered,

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- Remembering is a social practice subject to discursive power, a mediated process of (re)/(de)construction rather than a process of retrieval or transcription, or the production of a static object for study.
- Simply stated, memory is not just what is remembered, but "how it is remembered, by whom, for what purpose, and effect" (Kennedy 'Mary Magdalene and the Politics of Public Memory' pp.8). As both a process and product, memory can be constructed, political, and potentially dangerous. However, because of its constructed nature, memory is also revisionary.
- Transnational academic discourses need to accommodate the kinds of embodied knowledges uncovered through remembering, and how these knowledges might be represented and written.
- E.g. Recorded history only narrate the stories of rich feudal landlords, and kings and queens like Rani Laxmibai and Taty Tope. The stories of unsung heroes who played their role behind the curtains of written history were circulated only in oral history in rural north India.

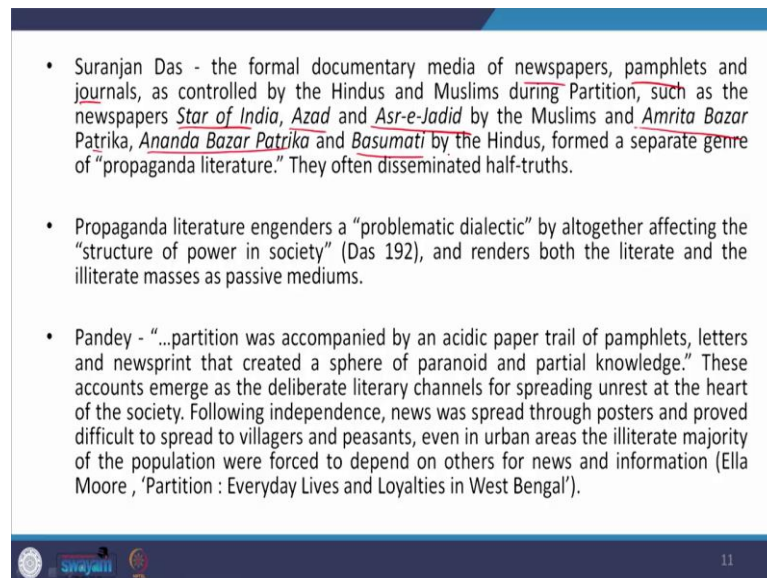
but "how it is remembered, by whom, and for what purpose, and to what effect," right. Transnational academic discourses accommodate the kinds of embodied knowledges

uncovered through remembering, and how these knowledges can be represented and written. So, we see that history has, for a long time, been history of the kings and the queens.

So, Badri Narayan Tiwari actually makes a very important contribution vis-a-vis memorization. So, he talks about certain stones, and certain artifacts that have been made as a way of commemorating the Dalit freedom fighters.

The Dalits that fought in the 1857 Sepoy mutiny. While we talk about queens like Laxmibai and Tatya Tope, we do not really talk about the Dalit freedom fighters; but they are celebrated locally in certain villages of Uttar Pradesh. And this is a very important contribution that Badri Narayan Tiwari's work makes to the memory studies vis-a-vis Partition.

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- Suranjan Das - the formal documentary media of newspapers, pamphlets and journals, as controlled by the Hindus and Muslims during Partition, such as the newspapers *Star of India*, *Azad* and *Asr-e-Jadid* by the Muslims and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Basumati* by the Hindus, formed a separate genre of "propaganda literature." They often disseminated half-truths.
- Propaganda literature engenders a "problematic dialectic" by altogether affecting the "structure of power in society" (Das 192), and renders both the literate and the illiterate masses as passive mediums.
- Pandey - "...partition was accompanied by an acidic paper trail of pamphlets, letters and newsprint that created a sphere of paranoid and partial knowledge." These accounts emerge as the deliberate literary channels for spreading unrest at the heart of the society. Following independence, news was spread through posters and proved difficult to spread to villagers and peasants, even in urban areas the illiterate majority of the population were forced to depend on others for news and information (Ella Moore, 'Partition : Everyday Lives and Loyalties in West Bengal').

And Suranjan Das also talks about the propaganda literature that had electrifying effects. So, Das says that the formal documentary media of newspapers, pamphlets, journals were controlled; they were being controlled by different governments and different communities. So, newspaper such as Star of India, Azad, Asr-e-Jadid were controlled by the Muslims; Amrita Bazar Patrika, Ananda Bazar Patrika, Basumati were controlled by the Hindus. He is talking about the case of Bengal,

and these newspapers and pamphlets would form a separate genre of propaganda literature, and they most often disseminated half-truths. Propaganda literature engenders a problematic dialectic by altogether affecting the structure of power in society, and it renders both the literate and the illiterate masses as passive mediums.

Similarly, Gyanendra Pandey would say - "Partition was accompanied by an acidic paper trail of pamphlets, letters and newsprint that created a sphere of paranoid and partial knowledge." So, news that is being spread before, during and after the Partition... news spread through posters that could not be interpreted by the villagers, but also by a huge section of illiterate masses that lived in the urban regions.

So, they were forced to depend on others in order to know the real information. And so, manipulated news, half-truths were disseminated. They actually led to, they instilled fear, they spread unrest at the heart of society and they instilled fear at the heart of an entire population. So, by its very nature, when we talk of traumatic event in the past and how it needs to be accessed, we see that language fails to account for the event of the trauma. (Refer Slide Time: 28:10)

- When the traumatic event remains within a past unable to be accessed as an experienced present through memory, language fails to account for the event of the trauma in the present tense.
- By its very nature, trauma takes away the possibility of witness. As such, the question of how to talk about trauma becomes a question of how to refer to trauma when language cannot account for the traumatic event in the present. Fiction opens up the possibility of witness within the tension between the problem of language and the obligation of memory.
- Walter Benjamin - "There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism" ('Theses on the Philosophy of History', 1955: 256). The partition of India in 1947 has to be one such historical event and experience.

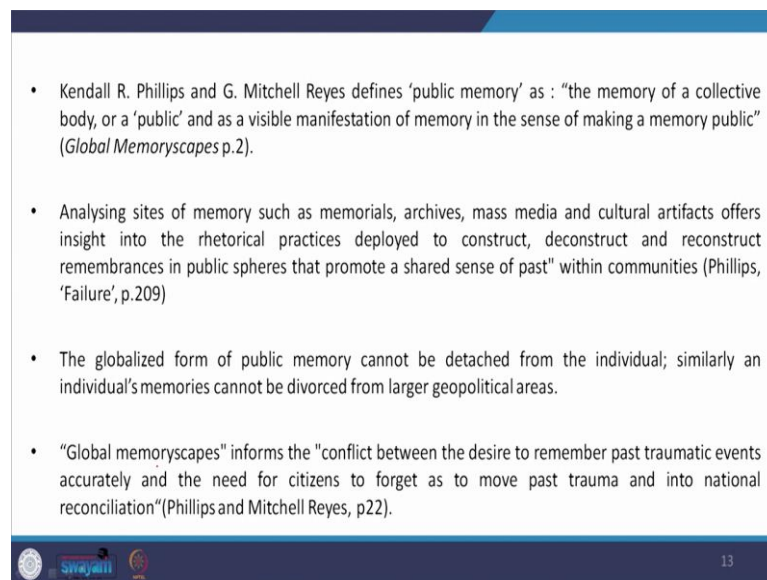


And trauma takes away the possibility of witness. So, the question of how to talk about trauma, the question of unspeakability arises. The question of how to talk about trauma becomes a question of how to refer to trauma, when language cannot account for the traumatic event. Fiction opens up the possibility of witness within the tension between the problem of language and the obligation of memory.

So, when we are intercepting trauma through artwork, we are dealing with two things. One is the slippage at the level of language, at the semantic level, and slippage at the level of memory. So, not everything can be remembered. There are certain reflections and there are certain blind spots, that one cannot go back to.

So, Walter Benjamin would say that "There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism," and Partition of India is no different from how he defines documentation of civilization or formal history. So, Phillips and Reyes would define 'public memory' as: "the memory of a collective body or a public and as a visible manifestation in the sense of making a memory public."

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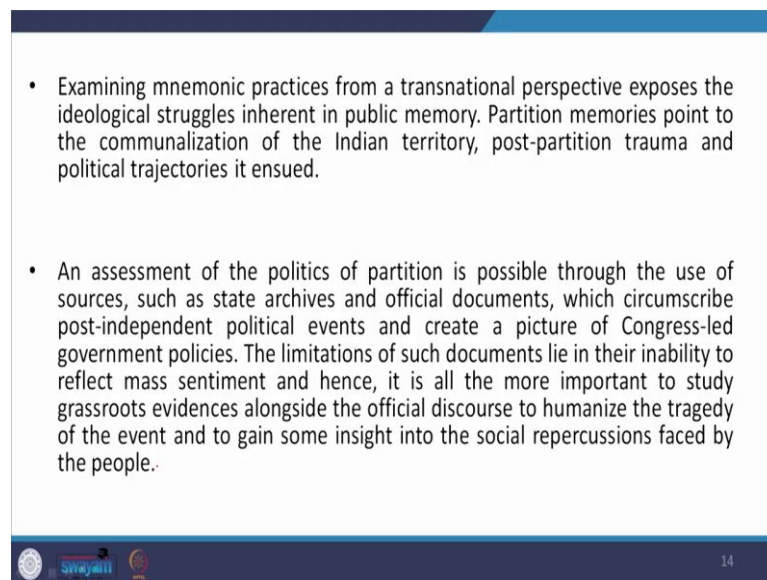
- Kendall R. Phillips and G. Mitchell Reyes defines 'public memory' as : "the memory of a collective body, or a 'public' and as a visible manifestation of memory in the sense of making a memory public" (*Global Memoryscapes* p.2).
- Analysing sites of memory such as memorials, archives, mass media and cultural artifacts offers insight into the rhetorical practices deployed to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct remembrances in public spheres that promote a shared sense of past" within communities (Phillips, 'Failure', p.209)
- The globalized form of public memory cannot be detached from the individual; similarly an individual's memories cannot be divorced from larger geopolitical areas.
- "Global memoryscapes" informs the "conflict between the desire to remember past traumatic events accurately and the need for citizens to forget as to move past trauma and into national reconciliation"(Phillips and Mitchell Reyes, p22).

Swajathi 13

When we talk of global memory scapes, we look at the conflicting between the desire to remember past traumatic events accurately and the need for citizens to forget and move past trauma and into national reconciliation, right. There are two of these things working in tandem; on the one hand we want to remember, and, you know, account for the trauma and at the same time, there is a need for the citizens to forget and move past the trauma.

Analyzing sites of memory, such as the archives, the museums, the cultural artifacts... offer insights into the rhetorical practices, that are deployed to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct the memories that exist in public spheres and that promote a collective meaning of the past.

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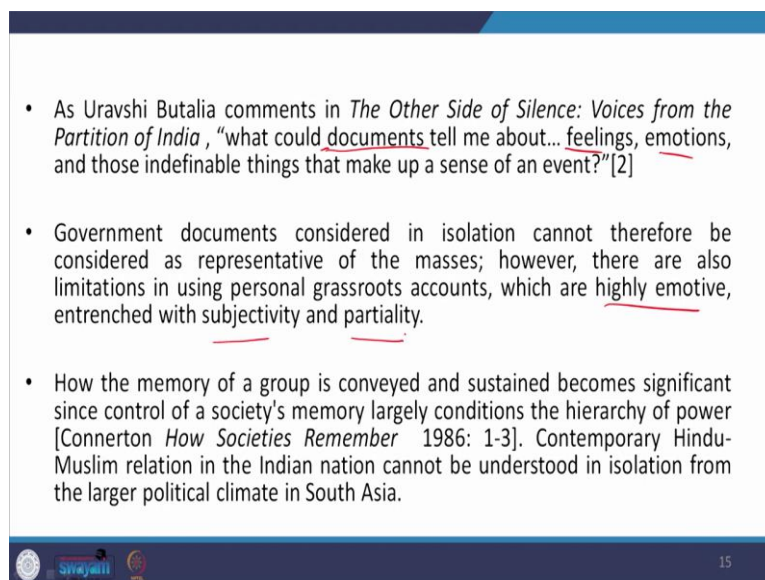


- Examining mnemonic practices from a transnational perspective exposes the ideological struggles inherent in public memory. Partition memories point to the communalization of the Indian territory, post-partition trauma and political trajectories it ensued.
- An assessment of the politics of partition is possible through the use of sources, such as state archives and official documents, which circumscribe post-independent political events and create a picture of Congress-led government policies. The limitations of such documents lie in their inability to reflect mass sentiment and hence, it is all the more important to study grassroots evidences alongside the official discourse to humanize the tragedy of the event and to gain some insight into the social repercussions faced by the people.

So, when we assess the politics of Partition, it is possible to use the different sources, such as the state archives, the official documents, which attest to, which describe the post-Independent political events and create a picture of Congress-led government policies. So, this is where there is a lapse, there is a deficit, they are limited. These documents are unable, for example, to reflect the experience of the masses, the mass sentiment.

And hence, it is important to study the grassroots evidences alongside the official discourse, something that we get from the archives and the official records, right. So, the unofficial records tell us about the social repercussions faced by the commoners. So, Butalia tells us, "what could documents tell me about feelings?"

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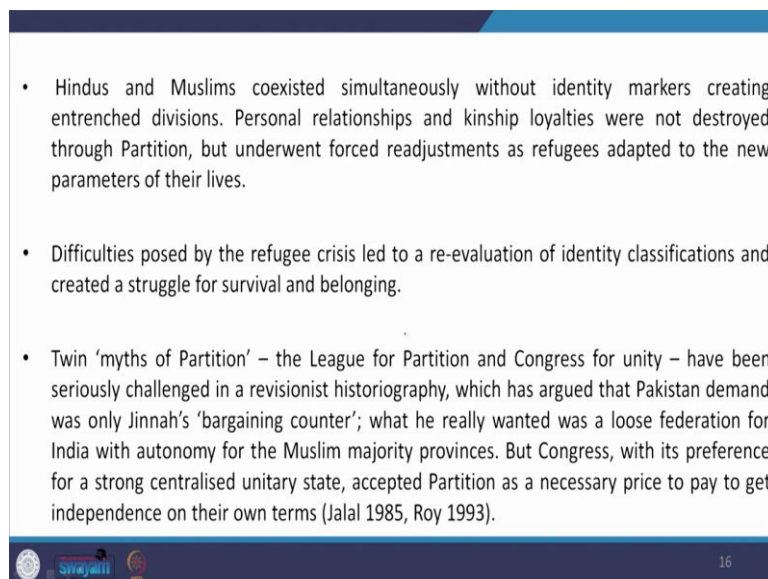
- As Uravshi Butalia comments in *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, "what could documents tell me about... feelings, emotions, and those indefinable things that make up a sense of an event?"[2]
- Government documents considered in isolation cannot therefore be considered as representative of the masses; however, there are also limitations in using personal grassroots accounts, which are highly emotive, entrenched with subjectivity and partiality.
- How the memory of a group is conveyed and sustained becomes significant since control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power [Connerton *How Societies Remember* 1986: 1-3]. Contemporary Hindu-Muslim relation in the Indian nation cannot be understood in isolation from the larger political climate in South Asia.

See this is very important. How could official documents actually attest or account for feelings, emotions, and those indefinable things that make up a sense of an event? Now, how the memory of a group is conveyed and sustained becomes significant. Since, control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power, right.

How memory remains at the heart of a society in a given space, in a given time is also something very interesting. So, government documents considered in isolation cannot be considered as representative of the masses. This is one point we are trying to drive home today. There are also limitations in using only personal grassroots accounts.

So, we need to have a well-rounded version. We need to understand official in tandem with the unofficial documents, because only unofficial documents can be in themselves they can be highly emotive, they can be entrenched with subjectivity, bias, and they could have lopsided meanings, right.

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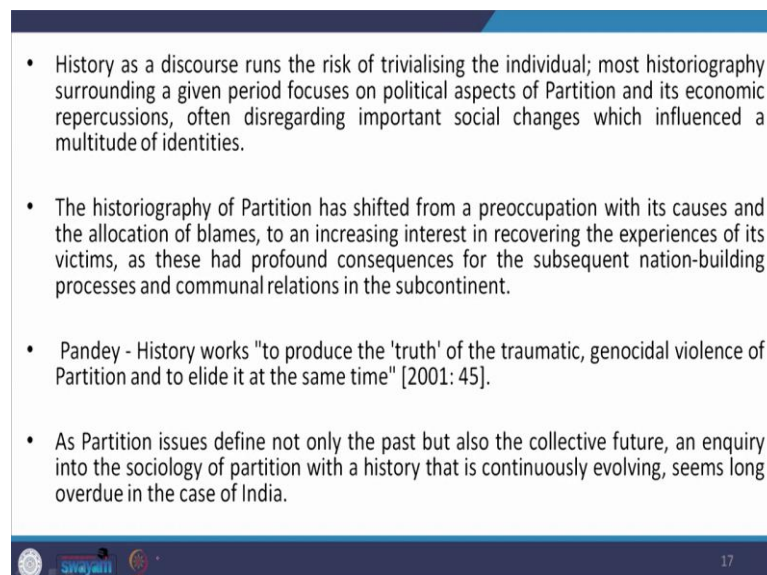
- Hindus and Muslims coexisted simultaneously without identity markers creating entrenched divisions. Personal relationships and kinship loyalties were not destroyed through Partition, but underwent forced readjustments as refugees adapted to the new parameters of their lives.
- Difficulties posed by the refugee crisis led to a re-evaluation of identity classifications and created a struggle for survival and belonging.
- Twin 'myths of Partition' – the League for Partition and Congress for unity – have been seriously challenged in a revisionist historiography, which has argued that Pakistan demand was only Jinnah's 'bargaining counter'; what he really wanted was a loose federation for India with autonomy for the Muslim majority provinces. But Congress, with its preference for a strong centralised unitary state, accepted Partition as a necessary price to pay to get independence on their own terms (Jalal 1985, Roy 1993).

So, we have already spoken about the twin 'myths of Partition,' and Ayesha Jalal looks at these twin myths. So, on the one hand, we have been listening to a traditional explanation, where the League supported Partition, whereas Congress supported unity. But this has been seriously challenged by the revisionist historiographers, who argued that Pakistan demand was only Jinnah's 'bargaining counter'; and he was asking for a loose federation for India with autonomy of the Muslims in their majority provinces.

However, Congress had a very centralized understanding of state formation, a strongly unified, a strongly unitary state is something that Congress was visualizing at that time. And so, Congress, according to Ayesha Jalal, a historian from Pakistan... according to Ayesha Jalal, Congress accepted Partition as a price to pay in order to have to get India's Independence on Congress's own terms, right.

So, we see that there are different versions of history, right. Revisionist history, historiography can actually... they can vouch for new significations. So, we do not get to hear the voice of the individual. Most historiography from a given period focuses on the political aspects of Partition and its economic repercussions, and disregard the social changes, which often influence the multitude of identities.

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- History as a discourse runs the risk of trivialising the individual; most historiography surrounding a given period focuses on political aspects of Partition and its economic repercussions, often disregarding important social changes which influenced a multitude of identities.
- The historiography of Partition has shifted from a preoccupation with its causes and the allocation of blames, to an increasing interest in recovering the experiences of its victims, as these had profound consequences for the subsequent nation-building processes and communal relations in the subcontinent.
- Pandey - History works "to produce the 'truth' of the traumatic, genocidal violence of Partition and to elide it at the same time" [2001: 45].
- As Partition issues define not only the past but also the collective future, an enquiry into the sociology of partition with a history that is continuously evolving, seems long overdue in the case of India.

So, historiography of Partition has shifted...in the current times it has shifted from its preoccupation with, you know, either the nationalist heroes or allocation of blames, to an increasing interest in the experiences of the victims. And how their victimization speak

to the subsequent nation-building processes and communal relations in the sub-continent, right.

So, there will be a section in our lecture where we talk about refugee and the journey of the refugee into becoming the citizen. The nation-formation and the refugee's journey are entirely interspersed. They cannot be understood in isolation from one another. So, Pandey says that history works "to produce the 'truth' of the traumatic, genocidal violence of Partition and to elide it at the same time."

So, history has an amazing role in delineating the truth and then actually, you know, invisibilizing certain truths that history itself is not comfortable with.

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The slide is titled "Subaltern Understandings of the Partition" and contains four bullet points. The second and third points have red underlines. The bottom of the slide features a dark blue footer with logos and the number 18.

**Subaltern Understandings of the Partition**

- As Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh mobs fought one another in the violence of India's Partition, women became, in the way that is typical of war, the primary symbolic and literal targets of communal violence.
- The nation forgot the existence of the women: Post war collective memory work and its sedimentation, national history writing, produced closure of the identity narrative that sealed the women off from the memoryscape of the nation. Forgetting is an integral element of memory work and national history writing.
- Feminist historians of the Partition have observed that, in addition to the staggering range of sexual brutalities women suffered from rioting mobs, another prevalent form of violence against women had long remained unacknowledged—although highly visible—in the powerful cultural memory of the Partition: the pre-emptive "sacrifice" of women by their families in order to save family and community honor.
- The subaltern faced the wrath of partition ;'ordinary' accounts of the 'everyday' violence unleashed by partition, a violence in which a substantial part of the rural and urban population was implicated, victims and aggressors were often the same people, and attack followed attack.

18

So, when we talk of subaltern understandings of the Partition, we see that as Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs fought one another in these violences, women became the war prize, just as it happens in the case of all wars. As is typical of wars, the primary symbolic and literal targets were the women.

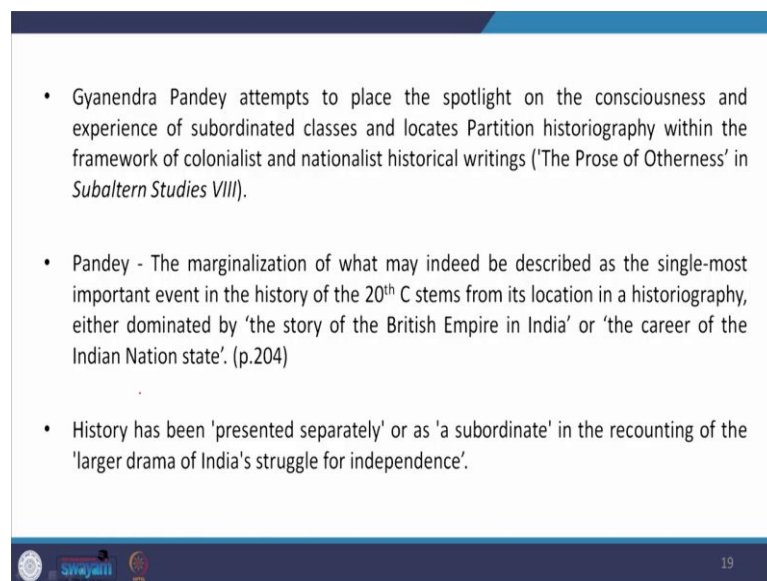
And the nation actually afterwards forgets the version of women: the existence of women. Post-war collective memory work, the national history writing actually put a closure of identity narrative that sealed off women's voices from the memoryscape of nation. So, the mainstream memory formation excludes the voices and the experiences and the sufferings of women. Forgetting is an integral element of memory work.

Mainstream memory functions through forgetting and that is how it converges into national history writing, right.

So, the pre-emptive sacrifice of women by their families is something, for example, that we have not heard. It is an aspect of Partition history that has been swept under the carpet until a long time. Women being goaded to suicide by their family patriarchs in order to save the family and community honor. And feminist historians have contributed greatly through disinterring these alternative aspects, the unspoken aspects of history.

So, the subaltern faced the wrath of Partition. The ordinary accounts of the everyday violence unleashed by Partition, violence in which a substantial part of both the rural and the urban population suffered, right. So, we get to understand all these details through personal narratives, through accounts of survivors, and through the voices coming from different quarters - from the Dalit, from the juvenile, from the unisex and the specially-abled.

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- Gyanendra Pandey attempts to place the spotlight on the consciousness and experience of subordinated classes and locates Partition historiography within the framework of colonialist and nationalist historical writings ('The Prose of Otherness' in *Subaltern Studies VIII*).
- Pandey - The marginalization of what may indeed be described as the single-most important event in the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> C stems from its location in a historiography, either dominated by 'the story of the British Empire in India' or 'the career of the Indian Nation state'. (p.204)
- History has been 'presented separately' or as 'a subordinate' in the recounting of the 'larger drama of India's struggle for independence'.

So, Gyanendra Pandey attempts to place the spotlight on the experience of the subordinated classes and locates Partition historiography within the framework of colonialist and nationalist historical writings. So, while he is looking at the grand narratives, going back to our previous lecture, he is attempting the problematic wedding between grand narrative and personal narratives, right.

So, the marginalization of what may indeed be described as the single most important event in the history of 20th century, stems from its location in a historiography. Pandey wants to unsettle how we have been traditionally reading history either through the story of the British Empire in India or through the lens of the Indian National Congress. So, he wants to break away from this, make a departure from this, and then understand this single most important event that Partition is in the history of the 20th century.

So, history has been presented separately or as a subordinate in the recounting of the larger drama of India's struggle for independence. So, what Pandey says is that our focus has been in the wrong direction. We have looked at the... we have discussed the empire a way too much and in the process, we have disregarded the important aspects, such as who were rendered the status of refugee, who were rendered the status of war victims, the children born of rape. This is something that we will discuss more when we discuss the women's experience.

So, the illegitimate children born of rape, but who talks of them when we talk of Partition? Pandey argues that we need to talk more about that and that is something that makes more sense, when we want to write the history of Partition. With this, I am going to end today's lecture. Thank you, I will meet you again for the next lecture.