

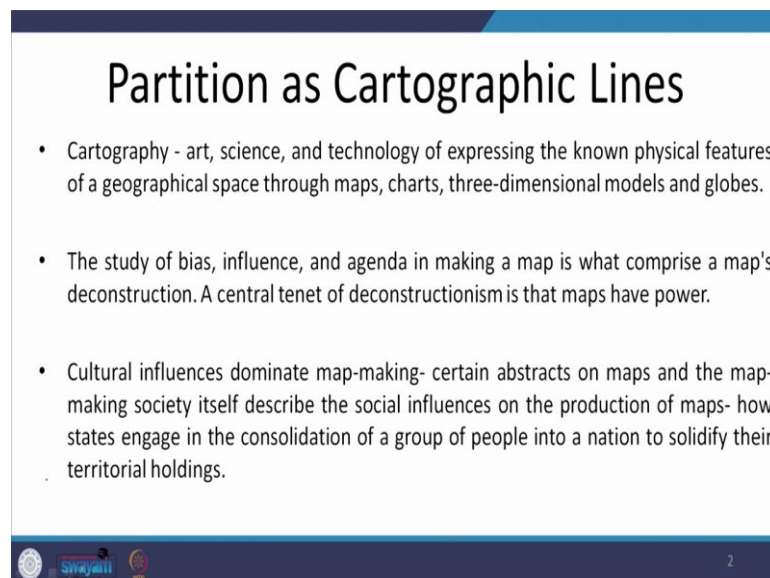
Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
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Lecture – 33
Home and Nostalgia – I

Good morning and welcome back to the lecture series on Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. We are discussing Home and Nostalgia. Today, we are going to talk about cartographic lines and the politics of map-making. So, before I start with this topic which is, in fact, very interesting; it is a burning topic, it is an urgent topic, it is certainly something that needs to be examined and discussed further.


We might start with how Baudrillard thinks of map. He is looking at the work by Borges; Borges calls map as the mad project, the mad project of map-making. Mapmaking is, according to Jorge Luis Borges, a mad project which tries to cover everything about a land and thereby claims that it is capable of unravelling/ of knowing all the realities, all the intricate realities belonging to a certain geographical space.

And, then in the discussion of simulation and simulacrum, J. Baudrillard talks about how the simulacrum precedes the real. And in fact, there is a point where finding the real is a crisis because there is no real as such; it is a simulacrum without an original reference. So, we make a map of a land and then the map precedes the territory. Thus, the kind of postmodern situation or reality that we are inhabiting. (Refer Slide Time: 02:43)



Partition as Cartographic Lines

- Cartography - art, science, and technology of expressing the known physical features of a geographical space through maps, charts, three-dimensional models and globes.
- The study of bias, influence, and agenda in making a map is what comprise a map's deconstruction. A central tenet of deconstructionism is that maps have power.
- Cultural influences dominate map-making- certain abstracts on maps and the map-making society itself describe the social influences on the production of maps- how states engage in the consolidation of a group of people into a nation to solidify their territorial holdings.

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A cartography or a cartographic project entails expressing the known physical features of a geographical space through the making of maps, charts, three-dimensional models and so on. There is a study of/ a process or there is some bias, some influence and agenda that goes into the map, that goes into the map-making process and this urgently calls for the map's deconstruction.

The central tenet of deconstructionism or the basic premise of deconstructing a map is that the map has some power that needs to be dismantled, that needs to be unpacked and further examined. So, cultural influences dominate map-making. The abstracts on maps and the map-making society itself describe the social influences on the production of maps.

So, the process of making a map is not transparent, it is not a neutral and disinterested one. In the process of making a map, the nation-state or the body politic engages in the consolidation of a group of people into a nation, in order to hold them together as a part of a common territory. It certainly reminds us of Benedict Anderson's essay, where he says that nation is an imagined community.

And, it is holding people together, I mean there is no organic glue that holds people together apart from this project of map-making, which enables a group of people at the expense of perhaps jeopardizing the positions of several others that inhabit in the fringes. So, historically if we see, map-making was associated with the colonial projects.

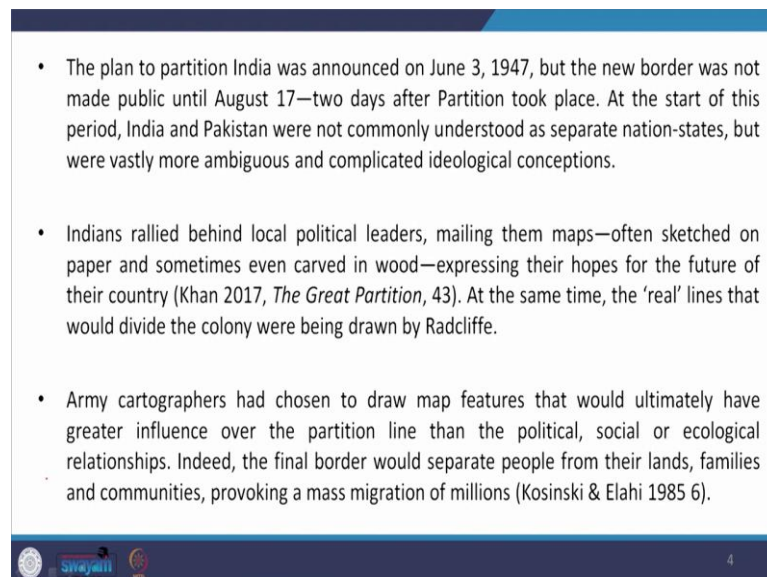
So, who makes the map, who looks at the territory and simulates in the map and who is being mapped is very important in this entire question. (Refer Slide Time: 05:20)

- According to deconstructionist models, cartography was used for strategic purposes associated with imperialism and as instruments and representations of power during the conquest of Africa. The depiction of Africa has been interpreted as imperialistic and a symbolic of subjugation due to the diminished proportions of certain regions compared to Europe.
- In the case of Africa, maps furthered imperialism and colonization through showing basic information like roads, natural resources, settlements, and communities. Maps made European commerce in Africa possible by showing potential commercial routes and made extraction of natural resource possible by depicting locations of resources.
- Maps also enabled military conquests and made them more efficient, and imperial nations used them to put their conquests on display.

According to deconstructionist models, cartography was used for strategic purposes associated with imperialism and it was instrumental and represented power, especially when we look at the context of Africa. So, depiction of Africa has been interpreted as imperialistic and a symbol of subjugation.

The way Africa is mapped, it symbolizes its subjugation due to the diminished proportions of certain regions as compared especially with Europe. So, in the case of Africa, maps would further imperialism and the process of colonization through showing basic information, such as roads, natural resources, settlements and communities. When all these things were mapped or represented in a two-dimensional way, it made European commerce in Africa possible.

It, in fact, facilitated European commerce in Africa by showing potential commercial routes, and made thereby extraction of natural resources possible/ easier through depicting the location of these valuable resources. So, maps also enable, if we historically look, map-making is also associated and enables the process of military conquest. It gives any military body more efficiency, more precision and so, imperial nations have always used maps to put their conquests on display. (Refer Slide Time: 07:09)



- The plan to partition India was announced on June 3, 1947, but the new border was not made public until August 17—two days after Partition took place. At the start of this period, India and Pakistan were not commonly understood as separate nation-states, but were vastly more ambiguous and complicated ideological conceptions.
- Indians rallied behind local political leaders, mailing them maps—often sketched on paper and sometimes even carved in wood—expressing their hopes for the future of their country (Khan 2017, *The Great Partition*, 43). At the same time, the ‘real’ lines that would divide the colony were being drawn by Radcliffe.
- Army cartographers had chosen to draw map features that would ultimately have greater influence over the partition line than the political, social or ecological relationships. Indeed, the final border would separate people from their lands, families and communities, provoking a mass migration of millions (Kosinski & Elahi 1985 6).

So, when we have this background and we try to locate the partition of India against this scenario, this observation; the plan to partition India was announced on June 3rd 1947,

but the new border was not made public until as late as 17th of August - two days even after partition had actually taken place.

So, at the start of the period, at the very immediate period after the partition, India and Pakistan were not commonly understood as entirely separate nation-states. There were many spaces of liminal existences, there were many overlaps and there were a lot of chaos and confusions.

But, this entire process of (like I said) two nations, separate existences was fraught with ambiguity, complications and complicated ideological conceptions, that really made a lot of people residing the borderland areas as nowhere people. They were made as Toba Tek Singh and they did not know where their...for a while they did not know where their land belonged, where their homes belonged really, which country they belong to.

So, Indians rallied behind local political leaders, and research shows that ordinary people were mailing the political leaders maps. They were suggesting maps based on what suits them of course. And, they often sketched these maps on paper and sometimes, even carved them in wood, expressing their hopes for the future of their country.

At the same time, the real lines that would divide the colony were drawn by someone totally external to the system... to the ecosystem, to the cosmos, to the ethos of the subcontinent, someone called Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who had never come to India before. He had not much idea about India, and yet he was taking such a momentous decision. So, army cartographers from the Indian side... the army cartographers had chosen to draw map features that would ultimately have greater influence over the partition line than any political, social or ecological relationships.

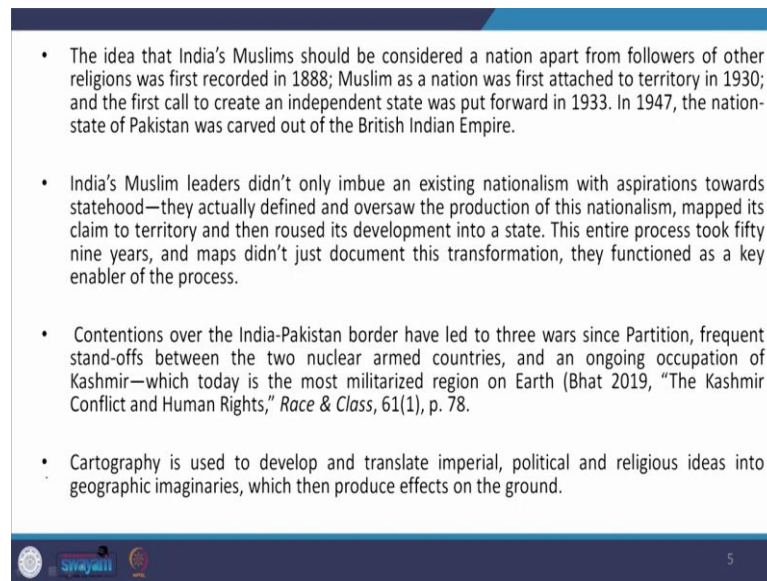
Indeed, the final border would separate many people from their homelands, from their families, communities provoking a mass migration of millions of people. So, we have seen this case of a brothel being partitioned in the film Begum Jaan, where all the women vociferously and very passionately fight against this decision because the brothel is their home.

Most of them are partition victims and do not have a home to go. They have resorted to flesh-trade and that is how they make their living. So, if the house is snatched away, if the house is in fact, demolished or appropriated, ah they they are rendered ah a homeless

status. And, the women fight like queens till the end, defending their positions and vindicating their rights and voicing against the decision, the governmental decision or the state's decision imposed from above.

So, this has been the case for many, where the line, the arbitrary Radcliffe line went through houses and through people's property. It actually harkens back and exposes further... exposes the insanity of this decision about partitioning the subcontinent.

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- The idea that India's Muslims should be considered a nation apart from followers of other religions was first recorded in 1888; Muslim as a nation was first attached to territory in 1930; and the first call to create an independent state was put forward in 1933. In 1947, the nation-state of Pakistan was carved out of the British Indian Empire.
- India's Muslim leaders didn't only imbue an existing nationalism with aspirations towards statehood—they actually defined and oversaw the production of this nationalism, mapped its claim to territory and then roused its development into a state. This entire process took fifty nine years, and maps didn't just document this transformation, they functioned as a key enabler of the process.
- Contentions over the India-Pakistan border have led to three wars since Partition, frequent stand-offs between the two nuclear armed countries, and an ongoing occupation of Kashmir—which today is the most militarized region on Earth (Bhat 2019, "The Kashmir Conflict and Human Rights," *Race & Class*, 61(1), p. 78.
- Cartography is used to develop and translate imperial, political and religious ideas into geographic imaginaries, which then produce effects on the ground.

So, the idea that India's Muslims should be considered a nation apart from followers of other religions. So, a point where people started thinking in terms of Muslims, and then there are others [that] were non-Muslims.

And, this way of thinking was first recorded in 1888; Muslim as a nation was first attached to a territory. So, Muslim people purely belonging to one specific geographical territory was a kind of idea that started getting some kind of encouragement from the authorities in the 1930s. And, the first call to, in fact, separate and to create...the first call to create an independent state was put forward in 1933.

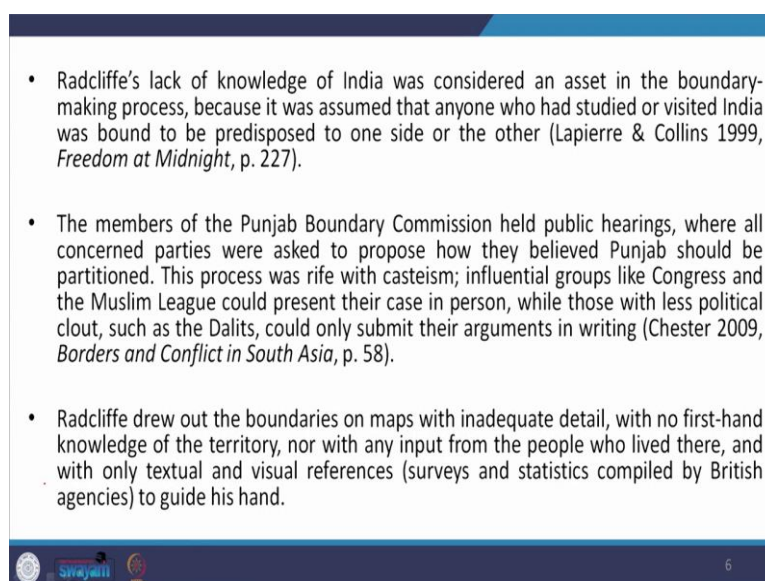
So, in 1947, the nation-state of Pakistan was carved out of the British Indian empire. India's Muslim leaders did not only imbue an existing nationalism with aspirations towards statehood, they were actually defining and overseeing, supervising the process

of producing this nationalism. They were mapping their claim to a certain territory and this territory would later be solidified and claimed as a separate nation-state.

So, this is where we see how map-making is intricately linked with the question of power, and the two cannot be divorced, in fact. So, this entire process took 59 years and maps did not just document this transformation of Muslim separate electorate to the process of having an actual separate land as a Muslim nation for Muslim people. But, the map in this entire journey was a key enabler, it enabled the process.

Contentions over the India-Pakistan border have led to three wars since the partition, and there have been frequent standoffs between the two nuclear armed countries and an ongoing occupation of Kashmir, which is today known as the most militarized region on earth. So, cartography is used to develop and translate imperial, political and religious ideas into geographical or into geographic imaginaries. These imaginaries produce effects on the ground.

Radcliffe did not know about India and this was considered as an asset in the boundary-making process. And, this is because all the three parties involved the plenipotentiary -- the British Raj, the British representatives, the Congress representatives and the stakeholders from Muslim League thought that a neutral person who had never studied or visited India before was bound to give a decision that would not be predisposed, that would not be inclined or biased to one party or the other. (Refer Slide Time: 15:18)



- Radcliffe's lack of knowledge of India was considered an asset in the boundary-making process, because it was assumed that anyone who had studied or visited India was bound to be predisposed to one side or the other (Lapierre & Collins 1999, *Freedom at Midnight*, p. 227).
- The members of the Punjab Boundary Commission held public hearings, where all concerned parties were asked to propose how they believed Punjab should be partitioned. This process was rife with casteism; influential groups like Congress and the Muslim League could present their case in person, while those with less political clout, such as the Dalits, could only submit their arguments in writing (Chester 2009, *Borders and Conflict in South Asia*, p. 58).
- Radcliffe drew out the boundaries on maps with inadequate detail, with no first-hand knowledge of the territory, nor with any input from the people who lived there, and with only textual and visual references (surveys and statistics compiled by British agencies) to guide his hand.

A neutral person, an unknown person was brought presumably for the sake of neutrality or lack of objectivity. So, no one gains over the other. So, the members of the Punjab Boundary Commission held public hearings, where all concerned parties were asked to propose how they would like Punjab to be partitioned. This process was, however, very elitist and we have already discussed this in some of our earlier lectures.

If we could remember, the process of partitioning was rife with an elitism, with castism. Influential groups with more access to... more resources, such as the Congressmen and Muslim League leaders would... they could present their case in person. Not everyone could represent or could voice out their case, not everyone would be heard.

So, the ones with less political clout, such as the Dalits, that had no resources whatsoever could only submit their arguments in writing. So, the case of the Dalits [is] peculiar. First, they do not have much political knowledge, they did not have a lot of access to newspapers.

We see the situation of the asylum in Toba Tek Singh right, where the inmates in an asylum, in a mad-house are in a way analogical with the case of the villagers, the rural people, the laymen who would not read newspapers, who could not interpret the larger political scenarios.

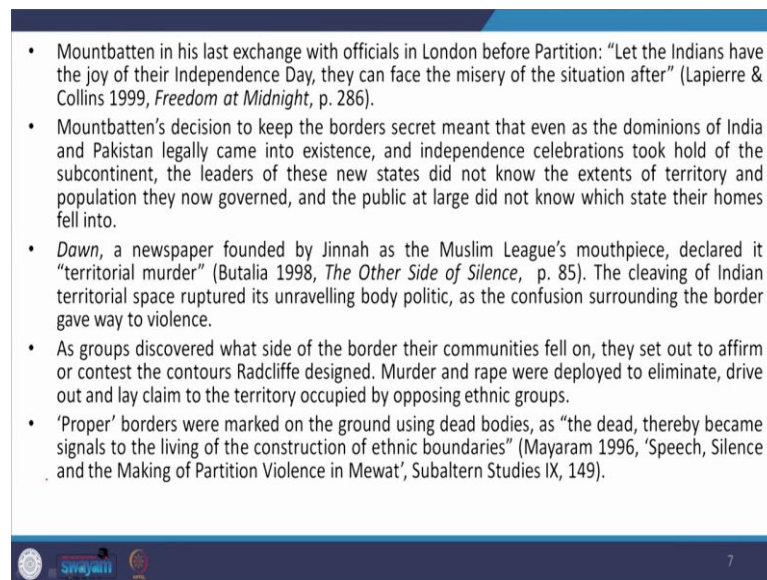
So, their misplaced notions were misused, their wrong notions, their lack of agency was misused by several major political parties. And, they gave votes without knowing what they were voting for, unless there was a ...until there was a time where they saw themselves completely jeopardized.

So, we see that situation. Many lost their villages, many lost their Toba Tek Singh and they became Toba Tek Singh thereby, they died in the no man's land. The repercussions of partition keep haunting these people; for these people, it is still a burning reality. For the Dalits, the aftermath is never gone.

The Dalits could not submit their arguments in writing and Radcliffe drew out the boundaries on maps with inadequate detail, with no first-hand knowledge of the territory nor with any input from the people who actually lived there, often from the lower rungs of the ladder and with only textual and visual references.

So, all Radcliffe had in his hand were the surveys and the statistics that were compiled by British agencies, which was not much. So, Mountbatten says in one of his last exchanges with officials in London before India's partition - "Let the Indians have the joy of the Independence Day, they can face the misery of the situation later."

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- Mountbatten in his last exchange with officials in London before Partition: "Let the Indians have the joy of their Independence Day, they can face the misery of the situation after" (Lapierre & Collins 1999, *Freedom at Midnight*, p. 286).
- Mountbatten's decision to keep the borders secret meant that even as the dominions of India and Pakistan legally came into existence, and independence celebrations took hold of the subcontinent, the leaders of these new states did not know the extents of territory and population they now governed, and the public at large did not know which state their homes fell into.
- *Dawn*, a newspaper founded by Jinnah as the Muslim League's mouthpiece, declared it "territorial murder" (Butalia 1998, *The Other Side of Silence*, p. 85). The cleaving of Indian territorial space ruptured its unravelling body politic, as the confusion surrounding the border gave way to violence.
- As groups discovered what side of the border their communities fell on, they set out to affirm or contest the contours Radcliffe designed. Murder and rape were deployed to eliminate, drive out and lay claim to the territory occupied by opposing ethnic groups.
- 'Proper' borders were marked on the ground using dead bodies, as "the dead, thereby became signals to the living of the construction of ethnic boundaries" (Mayaram 1996, 'Speech, Silence and the Making of Partition Violence in Mewat', *Subaltern Studies IX*, 149).

Mountbatten's decision to keep the borders as secret would mean that even as the dominions of India and Pakistan legally came into existence (through this separation) and the independence celebrations took hold of the subcontinent, in this temporary frenzy-making, people forget about the larger consequences and what would happen in the long run.

The leaders, till until some time... the leaders of the new state did not know the extents of the territory where India ended in Pakistan or East Pakistan or West Pakistan began. And so, the population; what exactly is the population that they governed. So, the public at large did not know which state their homes fell into, especially this was the case of the borderlands.

Dawn, which is a newspaper founded by M. A. Jinnah, and which was Muslim League's mouthpiece, declared this Radcliffe Line as a territorial murder. The cleaving of Indian territorial space ruptured its unravelling body politic and so, confusion surrounded confusion pervading in the borders gave way to or broke out into violence, it paved way

to violence. So, groups were starting to discover what side of the body their communities fell on.

We see here something very interesting. On the one hand, an official ah decision has been imposed on the people and on the other, once this decision starts unfurling and people wake up to the reality, the reality dawns upon them; they want to negotiate and bargain with this reality. They want to get a few inches more than what has been sanctioned by the borderline (or you know take away), and this was a tendency from both parties.

So, people set out to affirm or contest the contours that Radcliffe suggested or designed. And, this led to ensuing murder, rampant cases of rapes which were deployed in order to scare people, to make people afraid and thereby eliminate them/ drive out and finally, lay claim on the territory which was supposed to be occupied by the opposing ethnicity or opposing ethnic communal groups.

This would be more pertinent in cases where, let us say, a Hindu minority still resides in a land that is declared as part of India, but still bordering with Pakistan. So, if some villages are destroyed and people killed, then people would automatically vacate them, abandon them. And, it would be part of Pakistan, and vice versa.

In the case of India, I mean people had the same endeavour to scare people and make people evacuate; so, they could occupy the evacuees' property and lands. So, proper borders were marked on the ground. People were trying to negotiate and play around with the Radcliffe line. Now, the proper borders were marked on the ground using dead bodies. The dead, thereby, became signals to the living of the construction of ethnic boundaries.

Bodies would be lined up to etch out a boundary and so, that is how people would claim the land that they wanted to be a part of their own country; the extra land that they wanted to be a part of their own country.

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- Religious groups who found themselves in the minority abandoned their homes and began to move, packed together in trains or by foot in immense kafilas (caravans), towards the country where their community formed the majority.
- The border, demarcated on the basis of “ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims”, acted as a filter through which either side could only identify the other by their religious affiliation.(Tarar, *Mapping Partition: The Cartographic Construction of Pakistan*, 57).
- Emergence of a material formation (the border), derived from a particular marker of identity (religion), lead to the ascendance of that marker in the constitution of the body politic (who belongs to India or Pakistan). The sanctity of these body politic could be preserved through transference and obliteration of bodies who did not fit such molds (Tarar, 57).

So, religious groups who found themselves in the minority abandoned their homes and began to move. They packed together in trains, they started moving in foot, in huge kafilas or caravans. And, they moved to the country where their community would be considered as... their community would form the majority.

So, the border demarcated on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims acted as a filter through which either side could only identify the other by their religious affiliation. So, emergence of a material formation, such as the border, once the border comes into play, it has been juridically and legitimately given a real form, a real existence.

It is backed by a lawmaker, it cannot be denied anymore; the border, therefore, exists. People might want to play around, tamper with it, but it still exists. The emergence of this border is derived from a particular marker of identity, which is religion. So, a certain religion belongs to this side and the other religion belongs to the other side.

And, it is a common understanding that the two religions do not share harmonious relationship. Hence, the border; and this leads to the ascendance of that marker in the constitution of the body politic. So, what defines the body politic is not being the other. This is something I remember, I was talking another day how nations in defining themselves as who they are, they often define themselves in terms of negations, that they are not the neighbours, right.

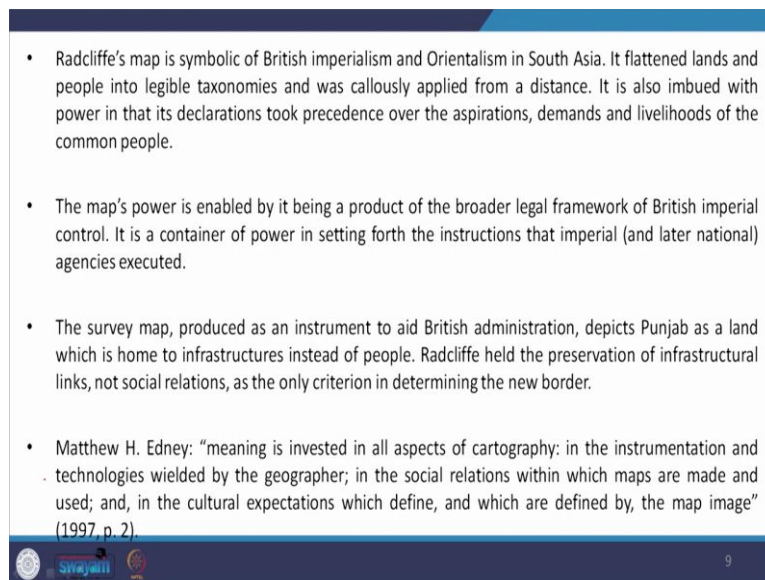
So, their own meanings are thereby deferred. They want to capture a sense about themselves through a grammar of hatred, a grammar of difference at least, an opposition, a grammar of rivalry, a grammar of opposition [between] two abutting nations that are not one another; that is what primarily and fundamentally define them. So, the sanctity of this body politic called the nation could be preserved only through transference and obliteration of bodies who did not fit such molds.

So, the immediate desire becomes to make it a pure space and that endangers the minority, they have to be uprooted, they have to be sent across the other side. Because the pure definition cannot be met by these people that in fact, these people endanger the pure definition and so, it is only through their transference, through giving a signal to them.

In the extreme case, killing them or in the less extreme case, giving an adverse signal and thereby telling them to abandon, to evacuate. It is only through such imperatives and such efforts that a body politic can further restore and celebrate its meaning and celebrate its definition in opposition to the abutting body politic.

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- Radcliffe's map is symbolic of British imperialism and Orientalism in South Asia. It flattened lands and people into legible taxonomies and was callously applied from a distance. It is also imbued with power in that its declarations took precedence over the aspirations, demands and livelihoods of the common people.
- The map's power is enabled by it being a product of the broader legal framework of British imperial control. It is a container of power in setting forth the instructions that imperial (and later national) agencies executed.
- The survey map, produced as an instrument to aid British administration, depicts Punjab as a land which is home to infrastructures instead of people. Radcliffe held the preservation of infrastructural links, not social relations, as the only criterion in determining the new border.
- Matthew H. Edney: "meaning is invested in all aspects of cartography: in the instrumentation and technologies wielded by the geographer; in the social relations within which maps are made and used; and, in the cultural expectations which define, and which are defined by, the map image" (1997, p. 2)



So, Radcliffe's map is symbolic of British imperialism and orientalism in South Asia. It flattened people and lands into legitimate taxonomies, and it was carelessly applied from a distance. The Radcliffe line is imbued with power in that its declarations took precedence over the demands, and the realities of the common people, their understandings or their aspirations, what they wanted what the poor people, laymen wanted was never taken into consideration.

So, the map's power is enabled by the map being a product of the broader legal framework of British imperial control. So, the British mapmaking is a maturation of the different policies that the colonizers made in the early 20th century. At the turn of the century, policies such as Morley-Minto reforms and Montagu Chelmsford reforms, then the Government of India Act and the Communal award... all these things were creating separate electorates and the divisions had begun, which translated on the map finally, in 1947; they translated on the map in 1947. So, we see the map's power. We see that the survey map, which is produced as an instrument to aid British administration, depicts Punjab very interestingly as a land which is home to infrastructures.

So, the version of Punjab's map that aided British administration would show infrastructures more than people, or rather than people. So, Radcliffe held the preservation of infrastructural links as the only criteria in determining the new border. When the border was drawn, only the infrastructures and not the social relations were considered.

Matthew Edney states that meaning is invested in all aspects of cartography, in the instrumentation and technology wielded by the geographer, in the social relations within which maps are made and used and in the cultural expectations which define and which are defined by the map image.

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- Matthew Edney writes in his detailed history of British cartography in South Asia, “many aspects of India's societies and cultures remained beyond British experience,” and thus “India could never be entirely and perfectly known” (Edney 1997, p. 2).
- In their survey maps, the British merely “mapped the India that they perceived and that they governed” (Edney, 1997, p. 2). The ‘India’ these maps depicted was later taken up uncritically by nationalist leaders as a conception which preceded the Raj (Edney, 1997, p. 15). It served as the territorial foundation for the aspirations and demands of their movements.
- Maps continue to be the dominant method of communicating spatial information, though they are now updated and circulated at incredible pace over the internet. The India-Pakistan border, though clearly visible from space, still continues to be negotiated on maps.

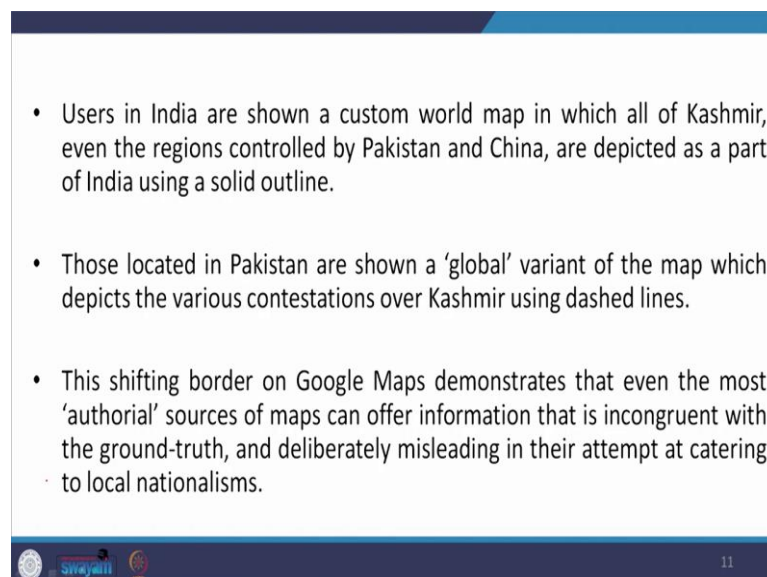
Edney writes in his detailed history of British cartography in South Asia, that many aspects of India's societies and cultures remained beyond British experience and that India could never be entirely and perfectly known by the colonizers. The British merely were mapping the India that they perceived and that they had governed, that was known to them.

The India these maps depicted was later taken up uncritically. And what is paradoxical is that the way the Britishers had conceived and transcribed their understanding of India onto a map was problematically and very simplistically carried forward. It was bequeathed to the Indian nationalist leaders, and they conceived the idea of independent India from this map.

The India these maps depicted was later taken up uncritically by nationalist leaders as a conception which preceded the Raj. So, it served as the territorial foundation for the aspirations and demands of their movements. We see that the British India's map is almost naturalized.

It is rendered a historical status, as though it was the map that defined India even before the British Raj, but that was never the case. Maps continue to be the dominant method of communicating spatial information, though they are now updated and circulated at an incredible speed due to the internet. And so, the India Pakistan border, although clearly visible from space, still continues to be negotiated on the maps.

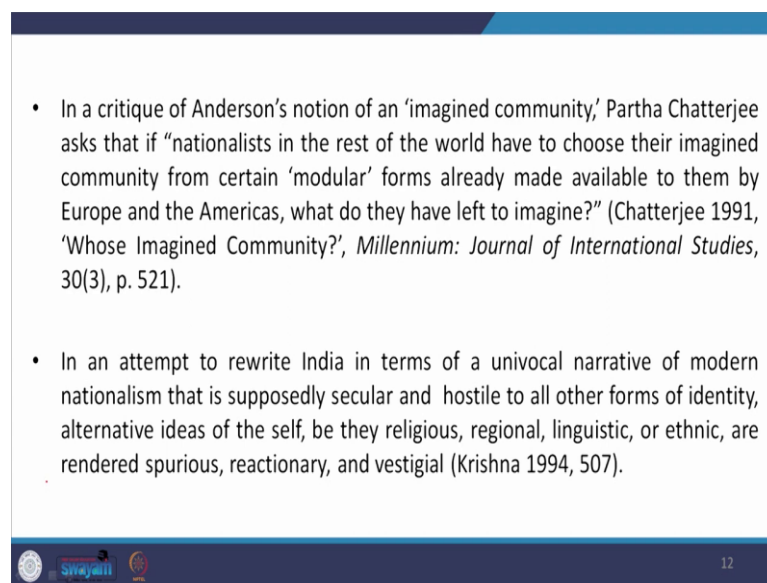
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- Users in India are shown a custom world map in which all of Kashmir, even the regions controlled by Pakistan and China, are depicted as a part of India using a solid outline.
- Those located in Pakistan are shown a 'global' variant of the map which depicts the various contestations over Kashmir using dashed lines.
- This shifting border on Google Maps demonstrates that even the most 'authorial' sources of maps can offer information that is incongruent with the ground-truth, and deliberately misleading in their attempt at catering to local nationalisms.

This was also something very critical and an important point in our concerned study here. The users in India are shown a customized world map, where all of the Kashmir and the region that is currently occupied by Pakistan and China are depicted as part of India with a solid outline.

On the other hand, Pakistan shows the global variant of the map, which depicts the various contestations over Kashmir and they use the dashed lines not the solid lines. So, these shifting borders on Google Map demonstrates that even the most authorial sources of maps can offer information that are incongruent with the ground reality and so, they rather serve the purpose of local nationalisms. (Refer Slide Time: 33:48)



- In a critique of Anderson's notion of an 'imagined community,' Partha Chatterjee asks that if "nationalists in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?" (Chatterjee 1991, 'Whose Imagined Community?', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 30(3), p. 521).
- In an attempt to rewrite India in terms of a univocal narrative of modern nationalism that is supposedly secular and hostile to all other forms of identity, alternative ideas of the self, be they religious, regional, linguistic, or ethnic, are rendered spurious, reactionary, and vestigial (Krishna 1994, 507).

When we talk of reality, we see in the context of simulacrum and reality, critics such as Deleuze and Guattari would say that when we try to probe into reality, we must think of a group's fantasy. What a collective fantasy conjures becomes the reality.

The question of fancy and fantasy is simplistically related with the real and reality. So, in a critique of Anderson's notion of an imagined community, Partha Chatterjee asks if nationalists in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain modular forms that are already available to them from Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?

So, when already the models are set forth and pre-given, they are a priori almost and naturalized, is there anything to imagine at all in the map? The concept of map itself is so Americanized and even prior to that it is so Europeanized, it is born of Europe's

mastermind in a way. So, can anyone even tamper or intervene with this imagination? It is always already there/ already always there

in an attempt to rewrite India in terms of a univocal narrative of modern nationalism, which is supposedly secular and hostile to all other forms of identity, alternative ideas of self. So, once we have India in our preamble defined in a certain way, with certain adjectives or words used for the independent, for the free nation, the independent country -- it is secular, it is republic...we use a word like sovereign.

[We use the word socialist]. So, when we use these words, we are thereby making other forms of... we are consolidating one identity for all the people inhabiting this geopolitical space and, thereby, other forms of identity, alternative ideas of self which are hinged around/ centered on religion, region, language, ethnicity are rendered a backward, spurious, reactionary, vestigial and thereby non-existent status.

It's also a kind of artificially converging people to a few reduced meanings about a nation, where everyone has to identify with that. On this note, I am going to stop today's lecture, and we will meet again for another round of lecture and discussions.

Thank you.