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Partition and its Impact

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Abstract

This paper analyzes studies and critically examines the partition of India and Pakistan and its impact both nations. Firstly taking the political dimension of the partition along with the economic dimension which was very crucial to the formation offers separate countries based on the communal lines apart from that it also studies how did 2 major political parties during the partition the Congress and the Muslim league took steps in order to legally divide the nations and also the contribution off important political leaders like like Mahatma Gandhi Jawaharlal Nehru Muhammad Ali jinnah Sardar vallabhai Patel and their agreements and disagreements on this historical event. ¹

The only positive outcome of partition was the literature videos also known as the partition literature return in different languages ranging from Hindi English Urdu another regional language Any writings of important authors who portrayed the sufferings and pains of partition in a compelling and sensitive way. This paper also throws light one of the important pillars of democracy which is media and in it was the newspapers who covered the important political events and impacted the minds of educated Indians. One of the important case studies has to be of the state Punjab which went through a lot of massacre, violence and the problem of refugees and the step taken by the Government of India iaftereffectsan urban development planning in order to give shelters to the refugees and the last aspect has to be the after effects of partition which covers all the socio cultural religious economic and study of the most vulnerable groups of people which included women children hand old age people.

Keywords: Communal, Refugees, Congress, Muslim League

INTRODUCTION

The partition of India Pakistan has been one of the most important historical events in the past. With the departure of the colonial power from the Indian subcontinent it led to one of the most horrific and deadly division of countries based on communal lines. However, partition wasn't simple as it meant on paper it took a toll on the lives of millions on both the sides of border. Partition needs to study and analysed from various dimensions starting from political, economic, social and geographical. The important role in the division was played by Indian National Congress and Muslim League. With opposition from many of the leaders who didn't wanted to divide the country also needs to be studied from unbiased approach. Apart from this we across brillant works of literature and poetry describing the painful event of the partition, it gives us an insight into the sufferings of the people who simply didn't had the idea of the attrocities that was coming. Along with this the contribution of the media couldn't be ignored especially of the leading newspaper covering the partition and printing the journals, it gives an unfolding series of events that led to

¹ Rajendra P. (1947), India Divided

² Rajendra P. (1947), India Divided



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this division and the quotations, statements, opinions of the political leaders in this. Partition also impacted the international relations and the global network of the countries connected to the Subcontinent, the focus should also be on the study of how the powerful countries and the international organisation reacted the perceived the partition of the India and Pakistan. Case studies of the migrants and refugees coming to Punjab is very important and it was the most affected Indian state. To also analyse the after effects of the partition with respect to all the various sectors including the employment sector education health in various other indexes which were affected after the partition and what are the contemporary situation of the current international relationship between India and Pakistan and why the study of partition is necessary in the contemporary times what is its importance India current world order and also to dig closer to the human side of the partition which needs to be studied from an unbiased and and political point of view.

POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE PARTITION

The Hindus and the Muslims of India had been living peacefully with each other for centuries despite all the problems in the past date come across medieval history the year between 1937 to 1947 has been very important as it was a major decade for all the political developments that was happening across India particularly in the north western part of India and with this we also come across to see the demands of the various communities including the Muslim community of India which kind of felt isolated and didn't see their demands and their requirements getting fulfilled by the political parties like Indian National Congress.³ Division of India which resulted into the formation of new countries to new countries like India and Pakistan was not a rapid development but it was some of the britishers policy in order to spread the communal violence and communal lines in India which goes back to their policy of divide and rule which they initially initiated in the in the army bhama choose the series of events where we see the Hindu and Muslim majority getting separated n also d start of the Hindu Muslim separation division in India it goes back to the partition of Bengal in 1905 which was intended to divide the Bengal into 2 separate parts with Hindu majority in a Muslim majority province apart from this we also come across formation of a political party known as Muslim league in 1906 with people like nawab Mohsin Ul Mulk Aga Khan nawab dhakka apart from this the British also intended to support this communal lines with the formation of Morley minto reforms which specifically intended to form 2 separate electorates for the Muslim community the next Hindi series of events is the Lucknow pact of 1916 where the Congress agreed to give separate electorates shruti Muslims to the Muslim league for the participation for the further participation of national movement in India apart from this we also come across various Hindu movements like the shuddhi movement and and other social reform movements in the 18th 19th century in the late 19th century where arya samaj brahmo samaj and values of swami vivekananda dayanand saraswati ishwar Chandra vidyasagar all these were particularly in directly intended in order to promote the Hindu philosophy and Vedanta philosophy which in kind

of neglected the Muslim population in India and also the formation of Hindu mahasabha in 1915 and the rashtriya swayam sevak sang in 1925 further facilitated this process. You are a series of event which intended slowly towards the creation of Pakistan in the end in 1947 starting from the britishers stands in 1940s Britishers needed Indian when the parliament.se Indian support for the Second World War and also they supported the jinas demand for Pakistan apart from this Ind Lahore resolution of 1940 at Lahore jeena clearly indicated and stated the demand for 2 nation theory the next in the series of events was the Cripps

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mission in 1942 Where am mission was formed consisting of 3 British cabinet members which proposed for dominion status a constituent assembly but however the Congress rejected both their offi b proposals and similarly Muslim legal also did the next in the event was the rajagopalachari formula in 1944 which was intended that the Muslim league need to support Congress towards the finest steps of independence and after this the war al Commission would be appointed in order to create a absolute Muslim majority and the separate state for them however when Mahatma Gandhi met jinnah in September 1944.⁴ The proposal and the talk was declared a failure In 1945 viceroy Lord wavell intended to join the shimla conference the main proposal in this conference was dead Muslims would be given 6 posts in the 14th member executive council however Congress and jinnah both rejected this proposal ash both of them had their own political parties to represent the Indian Muslims D year between 1945 to 1926 is an important one as it clearly demarcated the elections which happened in 1945 and which led to the success of Muslim votes particularly in the Muslim dominated areas in in grabbing 442 out of 509 Muslim seats in the provinces which clearly indicated deep further development of a particular community in creating a separate nation the cabinet mission in 1946 was established in order to make a federal government in India however it rejected the demand of Pakistan and Congress initially refused this this but Muhammad Ali jinnah on August 16 1946 declared direct action day for the demand and creation of Pakistan did left to use communal violence in states of Bihar Bengal and also resulting around 50000 deaths in Calcutta only however when Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the viceroy of India he proposed for the Mountbatten plan which created for a which created a Indian union in Pakistan after facing the strong resistance in oppositions from leaders like Mahatma Gandhi the final consent led to the passing of Indian independence act of 1947 in the British parliament.

ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THE PARTITION

Economic condition off the post partition years we're very terrible and filled with hardship as different sectors of the economy of the India who is effected as well as vidhi uncontrollable population of refugees and migrants which came from both sides of the borders also interrupted the employment opportunities in India and Pakistan Deepak partition innova way divided the combined economy and the wealth and the trade commerce that was meant and was connected with the Central Asia and to Europe in the colonial times but with the division it lead to more narrower trade and transport of 2 separate countries and which disadvantage his advantages the country's in terms of the sea roots and the land routes vichar which will which will have new jurisdiction with the introduction of new tariffs in taxes laid out by different nations apart from this we see the most affected area of the economy was agriculture as the newly formed area in Pakistan had a large uncultivated land and for a new country 2 drive its economy it needed to settle down the agricultural needs of the country apart from this one of the important nfs most effected area was employment as with the with d arrival of refugees there were shortage of food housing lack of jobs which impacted the Indian authorities in order to draw out the planning committees and planning commissions in order to draw out and need to create the new employment opportunities apart from this t bulk of Muslim refugees dead for that earlier used to be in a different employment sector noun need to settle down to low economic activities like that of peasants ruler handicraft and etc.⁵

The next in the area was the industries as with the division of India and Pakistan the industries were now

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divided what we come across to sea is dead the major establishment of industries was in India approximately 85% and it provided a slightly better opportunities for Indians rather than as we compare to the people of Pakistan in the coming decade coming decades.

CONGRESS AND PARTITION

From the analysis of various studies of the partition we find that Congress as it was established in 1885 with the policy with the different wings like moderates and extremists there initial aim to provide platform for different communities was very short lived as we as in the latest status we come across to seat that the Indian National Congress was unable 2 key to the Muslim masses and also respond to their needs and demands we come across various Indian National Congress leaders some of them who supported the partition and majority of them rejecting to the idea of 2 nation theory however in Congress itself leaders like bipin Chandra who argued for a Hindu twins in the nationalism with leaders with extremist Hindu leaders like lala lajpat Rai and madan Mohan malviya who were strongly invested in the idea of spreading Hinduism and also they were able to create the Hindu communalist policies in India in the latest stages he come across that Congress didn't approach the Muslim community in India which led to their isolation from the national movement and with the creation of Muslim league it directly prove the evidence that the needs and requirements of a community was not getting a platform in the national movement also we come across leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru in Sardar vallabhai Patel who were who wanted to create a more centralised state with the involvement of Muslim league thats why they rejected the confederation that was recommended in 1946 by the cabinet mission that came to India with this we also need to study leaders like Mahatma Gandhi who was from the very beginning opposed to the idea of Pakistan and the 2 nation theory he believed that the britishers were responsible for creating this communal lines in the country and it could be only solved when the colonial power leaves the country gandhiji believed in the idea of secularism in the idea of Hindu Muslim unity.⁶

It is also very evident from his actions in one of the incidences he is believed to appeal to Maulana abul kalam Azad who was the pan Islamist how to preserve to the unity of country which country we need to traditionally analysing ideas of Mahatma Gandhi ash he supported secularism but on the other hand we come across many events where hi upset and disappointed the Muslim community in India particularly in the khilafat non corporation movement he disappointed the Ali Brothers with his sudden withdrawal of the moment also we also see many contradiction in his ideas with the idea of ram rajya he was kind of spreading the Hindu ideas vishwas slightly upsetting for the Muslim community in India apart from this after the Gandhi ambedkar pact of 1932 which led to the Hindu consolidation in the areas of Bengal there have been many instances where Congress tried to Pramod the Hindu Muslim unity but had subsequently failed in achieving so starting from the separate electorates for the Muslim community and the field in persuading juna to give a his idea and for separate demand for Pakistan.⁷

Apart from this Congress has tried to accommodate the demands of the Muslim league through various packs like the Lucknow pact the non corporation khilafat movement but both of them failed terribly and they were unable to keeter to the Muslim Muslim Indian Muslims we also come across many Congress leaders like vallabhai Patel Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi who were registant and work opposed to the jenna's call of the direct action day which was followed by by the communal violence in the states of

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Bengal however with the influence of Mahatma Gandhi we see that in 1946 the Hindu Muslim violence in Bengal seized due to Gandhi's influence but it didn't stop towards the creation of Pakistan which ultimately happened in 1947 itself and which led to mass migration brutality atrocities on both side of the border with violence against children women older people and the after effects on the economy socio cultural aspect of the countries and the long and brutal instances of violence between the Hindu community and Muslim community.

MUSLIM LEAGUE AND PARTITION

Navdeep most important figures in Muslim league was Muhammad Ali jinnah he was the important figure who played a whitetail role in the creation of Pakistan many historians have analysed and argued that the demand for Pakistan was not very strongly taken by jinnah earlier however with the alienation of the Muslims Indian Muslims in by the Congress party lead Jenna to the development of the further communal lines in India he was initially a supporter of Hindu Muslim unity but later turned hostile towards it he has been opposed to the Nehru report of 1928 data advocated for a unitary government and representation to minorities on numerical importance apart from this what disappointed him was the 19 37 elections to the provincial assembly that compelled him to think and led to his rejection of collision government in Uttar Pradesh it was in 1940 dad the Muslim league most determined for d declaration of the Muslim majorities in the northeast and northwest India The core idea of the Muslim league was to protect the interest of Muslims in India ⁸.

PARTITION LITERATURE

The history of partition has been studied from political economic point of views and dimensions but a static and factual study of the partition has been unable to reveal the suffering pains brutality difficulties miseries and tragedy faced by people on both side of the border that's why we come across literature which was written during the partition which is known as the partition literature literature holds a very important place in understanding the tragedy of partition as literature is a representation off lives of ordinary people their stories their sufferings and it explores the section of society. Welcome across the stories poetries novels which were written in different Indian languages such as Hindi English Urdu Punjabi Bengali Telugu and other languages which display the pain and the suffering of the partition. ⁹

Sudhir one of the most renowned author who was in Indian official earlier who had experienced the the trauma on the borders of Punjab when the Hindus who lived in the other side of the border came to India and the Indian Muslims who went to Pakistan show his book the train to Pakistan return in 1956 it displays story of small village known as Manu manjari at the proximity of the Punjab border it displays how small village before partition accommodated people from Sikh community Muslim community and Hindu community all live with all lived in peace and harmony with each other but just after the announcement and the violence of the partition begin in 1956 it shows that how a train carrying the bodies of dead people from Pakistan came from came to India and how the people in India were registering 2 except people from Pakistan there have been many instances there a person has to go through a lot of humiliation for example he mentioned in his book that d man aur mail was Astro strip office pan in order to check his religion whether he was Hindu or Muslim it displays the genocidal activities readwhere happening on the border

⁸ Rajendra P. (1947), India Divided

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apart from this it also displays that the pain and the suffering of the refugee camps in Pakistan there it has been around many characters ordinary characters which kind of explain the whole narrative of the partition apart from this we also see the influence of Sikh community and how they helped the Hindu and Muslims in their respective capacities.

Also come across Bapsi Sidhwa ice candy man it revolves around the parsi girl whose name was Lenny who witnessed the first and expiry hey horrors of the partition one of the disturbing parts of this book is directed in explains how things like partition wars effect the vulnerable groups like women children and elderly people particularly women he mentions that the barbaric and the violin events what happened to women this incident he mentions where he describes how are train carrying the breast of Muslim women came to the other side of the border and a character name mansoor whose sister was also killed in that horrific event Claims to take revenge from all those people hukuk the dignity and respect of a Muslim women all the incidents revolving around abduction of women molestation rapes are explained in this book.

The next in the list is Krishnan chander Peshawar express where he describes the suffering of ordinary people the whole lot of humiliation and disrespect they have to go through in order to stay in India and he also describes the conditions of refugee camps and there maintenance it also throws lies on the children who are traumatised and were exploited cut continuously some of them being separated from their mother father and other family members. ¹⁰

There have been some of the exceptional writers who had continuously from their end despite the residence from the britishers root the brutalities of the partition one of them was saadat Hasan manto who is who was from Punjab he is considered to be one of the brilliant writers who wrote short stories an expressed the anti fascist movement that rose during the British India he had he had been criticised by many of the historians because his works contains obscenity because of which he was tried 6 times on the obscenity charges both in India and Pakistan.

Faiz Ahmad faiz he was a poet was born in India letter he moved to Pakistan he also became the editor of Pakistan times his poems explain the pin and the suffering of ordinary people and also his personal experience when he was in jail.

One of the most prominent figures in this list has to be sahir ludhianvi who was a film musician who extensively wrote in Urdu literature he was born in ludhiana but he moved to Lahore apart from this when India got independent he moved to Delhi in 1949 he wrote songs for movies like naya daur kabhi kabhi his poetry along with faiz Ahmed poetry displays the chaos in the uncertainty that both India was witnessing after independence.

MEDIA'S ROLE IN PARTITION

Media was one of the important sources in order to study the historical context of the partition from the political dimension as most of the newspapers and printing presses we're under the British control before the independence and where single handedly following the British orders but after the independence of India things changed especially with the rise of educated middle class and spread of western education in India the importance of reading gained prominence however the terrors of partition and the political demands of Muslim league n Mohammad Ali jinnah vah printed again and again in the Indian newspapers ekma across a handful of newspapers like the Times of India the statesman Amrita bazar patrika star of

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India the Hindustan Times the civil and military Gazette who covered and printed the horrors of partition.

One of the prominent newspapers the Times of India on 4 June 1917 Prince about Jawaharlal Nehru recommendation plan a forming a nation Muhammad Ali jinnah's being hopeful of Muslim league acceptance. The statesman on 4th June 1947 on Wednesday Prince about how why should I of India regrets the unity of India cannot be preserved Lord Mountbatten broadcast personal message about the Gandhi jinna appeal the statement of Jawaharlal Nehru dad the final decision lies with peoples representation the star of India also prints that the division of India was decided upon and the conditions of Bengal in Punjab partition one of the most interesting advertisement came in the newspaper known as the civil and military gadget where the quote to all our patrons we offer our very best wishes on this auspicious occasion on the independence of India but on the other hand on the very same day the partition was also announced the statesman on 21st June 1947 prints about the Bengal partition being approved by the assembly members badhai Muslim majority districts was joining the Pakistan the progress of the east Bengal province the media the coverage of the Congress leaders suggesting the appointment of regional ministers the demand for dissolution of present cabinet also it mentions about how Karachi was going to be the capital of Pakistan.

One of the oldest newspaper of India Amrita bazar patrika which is almost completed 79 years of publication during the Indian independence on 22nd June 1947 prints about the article where it talks about Indian union joining was resolved by the margin of 58 to 21 about the s seceding part to join Pakistan constituent assembly it describes how the decision to divide Bengal was going to be remain attached to the Indian union and was going to be taken by the Bengal assembly which was representing the Hindu majority at the assembly house important decision was taken by 58 members who voted for it and 21 members who voted against it one of the important details that it gives was that the Congress leader JC Gupta was out of the country and was on his way from England Mr Anand Prasad mandal who had a fever of 104 degrees and was still present in order to cast vote in the favour of partition. The star of India hey on the same year on their front page print an article where they describe how West Bengal has voted for partition hey it also gives the important details like that at 11:00 AM on June 20 the legislature of the eastern Pakistan the new Muslim state had taken this week in the Bengal legislature assembly it also describes the on arrival of the speaker Mr nurul Amin. The statesman on June 24th 1947 describe that daddy Punjab partition was approved provincial member legislative assembly members did joint sitting favours a new constituent assembly leaders, tunava and other Muslim unionists voted with the lead party another interesting article on the same day in the newspaper having the title dividing assets of country mentions about the 9 committees appointed regarding the future of government of Pakistan and the rest of India¹².

Times of India on 15th August 1947 on their front page with the title birth of India freedom describes about the new cabinet of India how Jawaharlal Nehru was to be first Prime Minister of the independent India. Lord Mountbatten visited Karachi and met Mohammad Ali Jinnah to reform friendship with Britain. The properties and brutality of the partition was largely covered by the newspaper named the civil and military Gazette unjust 141947 it prints an article where it gives detail about the killings network continuously taking place in Lahore with 22 people dead and 25 injured on Tuesday on 15th August 1947

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¹¹ Kartik A. (2023), Partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947: A Historical View

¹² Michael K. (2017) Punjab after the Partition- (A Case Study of Rehabilitation of Refugees)



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it mentions another article where the number had reached with 111 killed in 116 injured in Lahore hey on 16th August 1947 it prints in map where radcliff demarcates east West boundary lines the division of Punjab province.

CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB

One of the most disturbed state of India during the partition was Punjab critical case study of rehabilitation of refugees was done by Michael kindo in 2017 where she explained how problem of non Muslim refugees the land resettlement the demands of displaced land Lords and land holders why are you getting spiked again and again after 1947 almost 50,000,000 non Muslim refugees move to east Punjab state one of the most affected area in Punjab was pepsu where the government face multiple problems after the formation of patiala and the east Punjab state union it had political social and economic implications also vidhi refugees moving to these areas it became difficult for the government to handle the huge population however the state of patiala was one of the first to receive the refugees we come across Maharaja yadvinder Singh offer to give an asylum where almost 50 1000 refugees came to patiala between March and July the faridkot slate offer to give shelter to 40,000 refugees the state of nabha offered relief 2 50,000 refugees in kapurthala state refugee camps were open dead kapurthala phagwara and sultanpur lodhi one of the important decisions came on 3rd December 1947 when the east Punjab government held in conference at Jalandhar which resulted in the formation of rehabilitation council pepsu government form the relief and rehabilitation secretariat at patiala in 1948 varied appointed in all districts assistant directors and assistant commissioners of rehabilitation these officials what to look on the demands of displaced land holders and also they were 2 distribute the land of the displaced people hey how about the land planned resettlement process was difficult because the areas were mostly rural economy. 13

With this we also see the political developments and this issue particularly by political parties and conferences like the reference soft jansangh akali party the refugee conference where they all wanted daddy displays person should be given full compensation because of the property they left in Pakistan the Communist Party the pepsu government made an effort and the establish some suburban colonies with model Township to accommodate the refugees some of the statistical data where 1.10 lakhs houses were allotted to displaced persons 62,000 houses were allotted to refugees before January 1951 one of the important committees of India the gopalaswami ayyangar committee which was appointed by the ministry of rehabilitation by the Government of India in order to review the rehabilitation work and recommend a rehabilitation plan submitted its scheme in the year 1950 to 51 the committee estimated that almost 1,00,000 houses would be required for people who came from West Pakistan and they calculated that almost ₹50,00,00,000 were required for the purpose of housing we also come across the pepsu government a middle income housing scheme where the aid was give of 10,97,000 Indian rupees were sanctioned for the housing models in patiala you also come across some of the figures like ₹2.54 1000 lakhs which were given for the construction of complex near gurudwara in dhunki baran patiala one of the major developments was in the Township of patiala where amount of ₹13,00,000 were spent and 1100 houses were built my 1954 the pepsu government almost spend ₹16,00,000 on the ₹16,00,000 on the construction of houses. 14

¹³ Michael K. (2017) Punjab after the Partition- (A Case Study of Rehabilitation of Refugees)

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AFTER EFFECTS OF THE PARTITION

To understand the contemporary situations and the conditions of both nations India and Pakistan we also need to critically analyse the aftereffects of the partition deep contemporary economic political cultural social geographical establishments and the condition has its link to the partition with the division of countries on the communal lines it is also important to study what followed the partition in the various aspects.

The after effect of partition what's the growth of communalism in India and it had its link with the demand of Muslim leg in Mohammad Ali jinnah's for a separate nation but d socio economic conditions and the backwardness of the Muslim community also need to be understood as they were not educated and with the divide and rule policy of britishers it further broaden the gap between the Hindus and Muslims one of the socio economic factors did followed the partition mujhe Hindi economic dominance which was not at all excepted by the Muslim community and they were continuously pushing their demands through political parties like Muslim league the Muslim units world western educated saw partition as an opportunity in order to be in a better economic condition the other difference that came was the Urdu Hindi divide that was very prominent as d Infosys on the national language and the proposal for Hindi had already isolated the Muslims wanted Urdu and the linguistic divide further gave rise to the communal tensions in India . ¹⁵

Partition was very tough for the ordinary people as almost 15,000,000 people were relocated and we see that Hindus living in the Karachi Lahore had to shift to India and similarly the Muslims living in the northern state and the Bengal wanted and left to Pakistan partition bring the most dangerous side of the humans as we witness mass killing in atrocities brutalities on women children it highlights that humans can go to this level of barbarism particularly the violence against women was very disheartening and hurtful not only they were kidnapped raped but they were also publicly humiliated Vikram across many instances where because of their religion and then nationality where chopped off partition led to the division of the economic resources particularly the industries the major industries that was in Bombay Madras another parts of India which earlier had it connections with Karachi port now had 2 operate independently n the newly formed Pakistan didn't had their own economic trade and commerce opportunities were spread across they are territorial extent.

What partition left behind was the problem of refugees and relocation and rehabilitation which was difficult for both the sides of the government however we come across various steps and committees being formed by the Government of India in order to accommodate the refugees particularly in Punjab Delhi but with the shifting of refugees it created a huge economic burden on Indian government particularly deep basic requirements like food shelter water it became difficult 2 sustained that and also the refugee camps what not enough to accommodate such a huge population coming from the West Pakistan. ¹⁶

The bloodshed of partition kind of facilitated the violence hostility and the environment of suspicion environment two nations this continued in the post independent era also and the contemporary situations of India and Pakistan is the accumulation of this political and geographical divide which continue to affect the foreign policies and international relations of India with the Pakistan government.

¹⁵ Kartik A. (2023), Partition of Indian Subcontinent in 1947: A Historical View

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CONCLUSION

The partition holds an important place in the Indian history when look from the political point of view with the formation of India and Pakistan as 2 separate nations the economic relation in context of trade and commerce also changed and benefited India. Steps taken by leaders like Gandhi Nehru and Jinnah were very crucial individual the nations and also giving the platform population of people after particular religion who feared the domination off the Hindu majority the demands of Muslim league are very important which further laid down the foundation brick for a new nation we important aspect watch the social impact which watch covered through partition literature and writings of rajendra Prasad's book India divided through the case study of Punjab we get to know the problems of refugees and these tips taken by the government in order to manage end to fulfill the demands of people coming from the other side of the borders. ¹⁷

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