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TOR'S NOTE

ANEESHA DHARWADKER

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MEMORIES OF
PARTITION

DEOKI NANDAN BHARGAVA 10

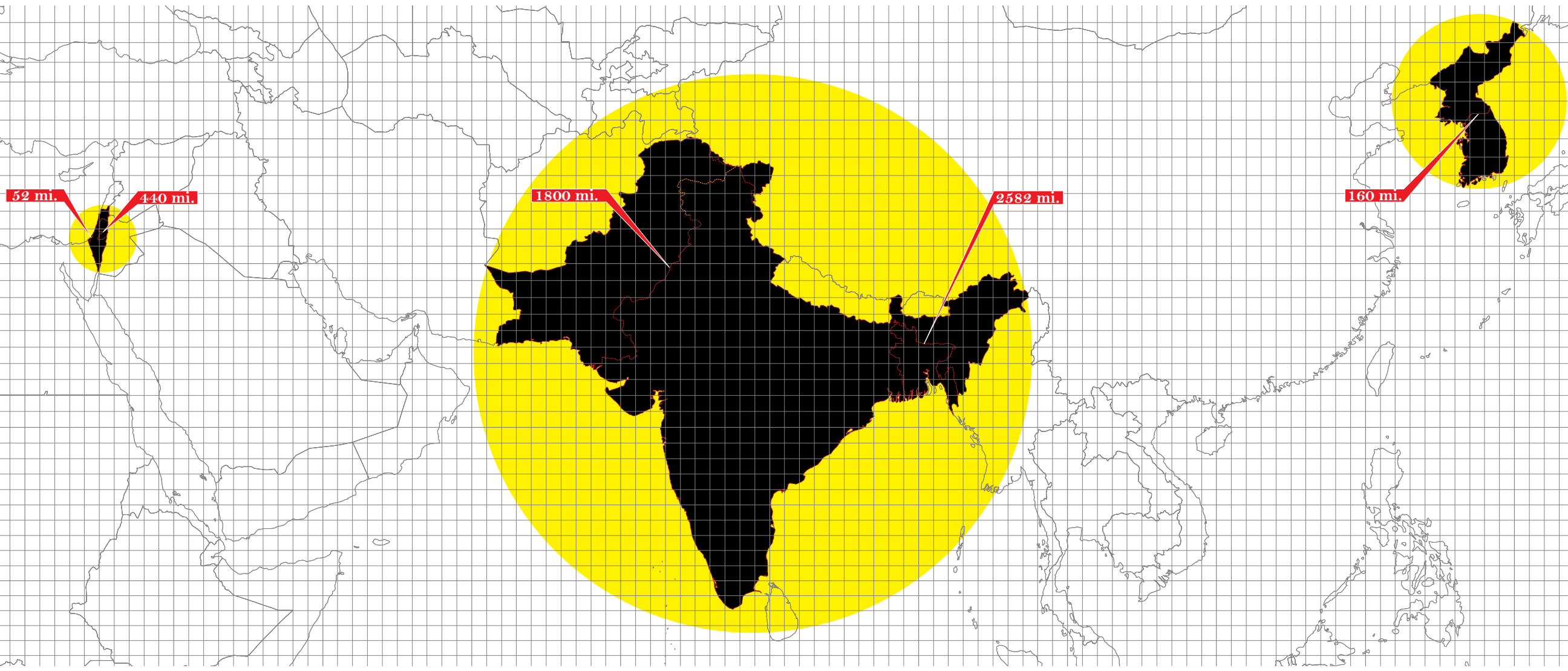
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EDI TOR'S NOTE

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AUGUST 15, 2017 marked the seventieth anniversary of India's birth as a sovereign modern nation after centuries of conquest and colonialism. West Pakistan, now Pakistan, celebrated its anniversary a day earlier, and East Bengal, which first became East Pakistan and is now Bangladesh, became an independent nation less than fifty years ago. Together, these nations, along with Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives, make up the Indian Subcontinent.

Although we associate the term “colonialism” primarily with European practices, political power on the subcontinent was traded multiple times through cultures, kingdoms, and empires before Europeans arrived in the region. Two waves of expansion were essential drivers of change in the territory: the spread of Islam, which arrived in India around 1000 CE, and contact with Europe, which began with Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1498.

The Islamic conquest of northern India towards the end of the twelfth century led to several hundred years of Mughal rule and major cultural shifts. Delhi, strategically positioned in the middle of the Indo-Gangetic Plain and along the Yamuna River, was cemented as the capital of the region under the Delhi Sultanate; language, art, music, and poetry were fundamentally transformed; and architecture and urban design hybridized Persian and Indian spatial vocabulary, themes, and craft into an aesthetic that persists today.

Beginning in the 1500s, colonization by Europeans—the Portuguese, followed by the

Dutch, French, and British—brought a new scale of transformation to the landscape. The British East India Company, a trading company formed in 1600, was the primary conduit channeling Indian resources out of the subcontinent and into British control. South Asian natural resources and labor were exploited for economic gain, leading to the emergence of port urbanism in cities like Bombay and Calcutta, logistics infrastructure like roads and railways, and an “operational” agricultural hinterland to fuel industrialization in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other colonial metropolises.¹ Indian cotton, for example, made up the second-largest supply of raw material for the British textile industry during the 19th century, and India was practically the exclusive supplier of this commodity in the years surrounding the American Civil War.²

The Mutiny of 1857 was the first wide-spread military rebellion against the British, and it was violently suppressed. This event led to the creation of the “British Raj,” which, unlike the East India Company, was a form of direct political rule—a major swath of India came under the authority of the British Parliament and remained so for the next ninety years. During this time, Indians served in the British

1. For an explication of the “operational landscape,” see Neil Brenner, “The Hinterland, Urbanized?,” *AD / Architectural Design* (July/August 2016): 118–127. Available for download at www.urbantheorylab.net.

2. See G. Wright, “Cotton Competition and the Post-Bellum Recovery of the American South,” *The Journal of Economic History* 34: 3 (1974); and H.R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

army in World War I, and an estimated 74,187 soldiers were lost in various campaigns.³ When the British entered World War II in 1939, Indians felt they were being led into another conflict over which they had no direct control. The early 1940s were a critical period for Mohandas K. Gandhi, the era's foremost intellectual and moral leader, to advocate a philosophy of non-violent but proactive resistance to colonialism.

The Partition of India was the result of a difference in the respective visions of Gandhi and his Indian National Congress Party, and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League. Thomas Trautmann notes that "Jinnah was, like Gandhi, a lawyer; but there the similarity ends."⁴ Jinnah argued for the creation of Pakistan in part to ensure that Muslims would not be a perpetual minority in the newly independent nation. After months of negotiations and failed peace talks, the Partition was announced by radio on June 3, 1947: the troubled provinces of Punjab and Bengal would be divided between the two nations. The areas with majority Hindu populations would remain within India, while the areas with Muslim majorities would become West and East Pakistan.

Yasmin Khan succinctly describes the process of splitting this complex territory:

The border would be devised from a distance; the

3. "Why the Indian Soldiers of WWI Were Forgotten," *BBC News* (2 July 2015), accessed 14 April 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33317368>.

4. Thomas R. Trautmann, *India: Brief History of a Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 196.

*land, villages and communities to be divided were not visited by the imperial map-maker, the British judge, Cyril Radcliffe, who arrived in India on 8 July to carry out the task and stayed in the country only six weeks.*⁵

The Radcliffe Lines indeed produced new international borders, but the careless and hurried way in which they were drawn led to horrific violence. More than 1.5 million people lost their lives in the massive migrations that took place in both directions across the invisible borderlines in 1947-48.

The term "partition" itself does not fully capture the complex territorial reorganization that occurred at this time. In the early 20th century, British India extended from modern-day Pakistan to modern-day Myanmar; but within this territory there were several hundred Princely States and other zones under "native" control, carved out like a massive archipelago from north to south. These areas maintained economic relationships and agreements with the British (primarily benefitting the British) but were administered by Indian royalty. Thus, the eventual partitioning involved not only the division of the subcontinent based on religious identity, but also a consolidation of many smaller entities into unified regions and states.

This issue of *Transect* addresses the methods, problems, and ambiguities of partitioning complex territory with borders that correspond to lines on a map. The three regions under scrutiny—South Asia, the Korean Peninsula, and Palestine—were all divided and re-mapped

5. Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 3.

after 20th-century warfare. Each still struggles with contested lines imposed or negotiated by outside forces whose names begin with the same (ironic?) adjective: the United Kingdom, the United States, the United Nations.

In **Memories of Partition**, D.N. Bhargava, the former Controller-General of the India Bureau of Mines, describes his pre-Partition memories of Jaipur, which was at the time a Princely State within the region of Rajputana. His essay traces the events leading to the creation of the Indian and Pakistani governments, and the impact of this separation on industry and society in India. He reminds us of the significant differences between the development of India and Pakistan as modern nations, and argues for prioritizing the "economic emancipation of the common people of both countries" above other kinds of inefficient and unnecessary pursuits. **Recalling 1947**, a poem by the late Indian poet Kedarnath Singh, acts as a resonant post-script to this essay.

Dongsei Kim reveals that partitions do not only take place on land: our airspaces are divided, mapped, and contested as well. His essay **Mapping Precedes Territory** closely analyzes the Air Defense Identification Zone (AIDZ) maps of East Asia produced by China, Korea, Japan, and the United States, and addresses the impact of seemingly neutral mapping practices on the construction and expression of the nation-state.

Avi Taranto, a photographer, writer, and tour guide based in Tel Aviv, frames the ambiguities of border conditions in contemporary Israel through a practiced lens. In **The Jordan River**

Is So Slender, a photo essay, his images of edges in and around Jerusalem and Gaza reveal the conflicts between complex physical space and reductive lines on a map.

By their nature, maps are scaled representations that can never completely capture the experiential qualities of a territory. In contemporary design research and practice, maps are used to express conditions we can and cannot see, revealing invisible problems and prompting unique design proposals. But their irresistible, inescapable abstraction may also create unanticipated conflict. "Partitions" seeks to unpack what lines on maps mean when we have to live with them.

ANEESHA DHARWADKER is the founder of **Chicago Design Office** and founding editor of its magazine, *Transect*. She is an architectural designer with interests in landscape architecture, global urbanism, and the North American built environment.

MEMORIES OF PARTITION

LIVING THROUGH THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE

AND AFTER

DEOKI NANDAN
BHARGAVA

MY MEMORIES GO BACK to the year 1939 when I was a boy of eight years.

Jaipur State, a princely state where I was born and brought up, was ruled by Maharaja Sawai Man Singh, a benevolent ruler popular with the public. Under his reign there was no personal income-tax. Rupees 100/- per month (the equivalent of about 33 USD at the time) was a decent monthly income for an average household; my father was a gazetted officer who received Rs.150-250 per month. The currency at the time was a Jhadshahi Rupee, made of eleven grams of pure silver. The smallest coin was a *paisa* made of pure copper. One rupee was worth 64 *paise*. There was no paper currency.

Our family lived in Jaipur, also known as the Pink City, where the exterior of every house was painted a pink color. Jaipur was the capital of Jaipur State. It was founded in 1728 by Maharaja Jai Singh, after whom it was named. The city was comprised of six squares of 880 yards by 880 yards, as well as peripheral areas. Each square was crisscrossed by lanes 220 yards apart. The city had an underground drainage system. The rows of shops on the opposite side in the main markets were 40 yards apart. The roads for vehicular traffic were 20 yards wide.

Jaipur was home to Maharaja's College and nearly half-a-dozen high schools. The population of the city was around 175,000 at the time. In comparison, the current population of the extended city is now nearly 4 million. The city is surrounded by hills on three sides and, when I was young, was picturesque.

Nahargarh, a local fort, was located at the top of the hill on the west side. There was an electric light at the top of a tall pole at this fort. When it was lit at night, it signified that the Maharaja was in the city.

Even at this young age, I took an interest in reading the national newspaper *The Hindustan Times*. It covered news about India in detail, and also covered important news about the world. The two main themes that occupied the most space in the newspaper were the ongoing World War II and political developments within our country.

Cartoons by the well-known political cartoonist K. Shankar Pillai appeared every day in the paper. They depicted important events of the day in very interesting visual forms. I cut out the cartoons and saved them in an album. Turning the pages of the album was an interesting way of revisiting the recent history of political and social events. They presented exciting caricatures of public figures. Much later, when Aneesha's father Vinay was between the ages of eight and twelve, he won national prizes thrice in the annual painting competition organized by *Shankar's Weekly*, a popular magazine edited by Pillai.

The princely states were governed independently of the colonial state. In the late 1930s, the people in adjoining British India felt the pangs of subjugation to the British, but the people in Jaipur State did not feel such agony. They felt secure under the rule of the Maharaja. It was another matter that the

British Government had bound the Maharaja with some treaty; however, he enjoyed internal autonomy.

In British India, the Indian National Congress was the largest political party spearheading the campaign for freedom from British rule. It had a mass following and its members came from every religion, community, and sect. The All-India Muslim League was the second major Party, and at that time it was under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Its goal was to protect the interests of Muslims, and it did not trust the Congress party to do so.

In 1940 the party proposed a separate homeland for Muslims called Pakistan. In July 1946, it declared its intention to abandon constitutional methods and undertake direct action on 16 August 1946. That day riots occurred in Calcutta, the capital of the Bengal province governed by the Muslim League, which involved attacks on Hindu men, women and children, raids on their houses, shops and other properties, and widespread looting and arson. This led to retaliation by Hindus and riots took place in Bihar and Assam, in addition to a backlash in Calcutta. Both Muslim and Hindu communities suffered. But the Muslim League interpreted these events as proof that it could not live in peace in India, and so it pursued the creation of Pakistan.

The British Government, however, indicated its intention to transfer power to a unified India, and proposed the formation of an interim government. This government was initially formed on 2 September 1946 with



Figure 1
South Asia before Partition

Drawn by Aneesh Dharwadker
Sources: ARC GIS; Bartholomew, J.G. "The Indian Empire." *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1922. Map.

Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister, six ministers from the Congress, and three others, with five ministerial berths set aside Muslim representatives. The British Government envisaged that all these would be reserved for the Muslim League, but initially, the League did not join the new effort. In October 1946 they agreed to join the interim government, which was then reconstituted. At about the same time, the Maharaja of Jaipur also instituted constitutional reforms and a popular government was formed in Jaipur State. Unfortunately, the interim government did not function harmoniously. Eventually the Congress agreed to the creation of Pakistan as a separate nation. The general opinion was that after the formation of Pakistan, the rest of India could be administered in the best interests of all its citizens. The nation of Pakistan was inaugurated on 14 August 1947; Jinnah became its Governor General and the Muslim League formed the government.

In India, Parliament was in session on the night of 14 August. When the clock ushered in 15 August, it heralded India's freedom. The next morning Nehru hoisted the national tri-color flag at the Red Fort in Delhi, and flag-hoisting ceremonies took place far and wide throughout the country. But the celebrations lasted hardly for a day.

Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims all came under attack from different sides; because of the Partition lines, many were made to flee their homes. While on their way to India, many Hindus were abducted or killed. The

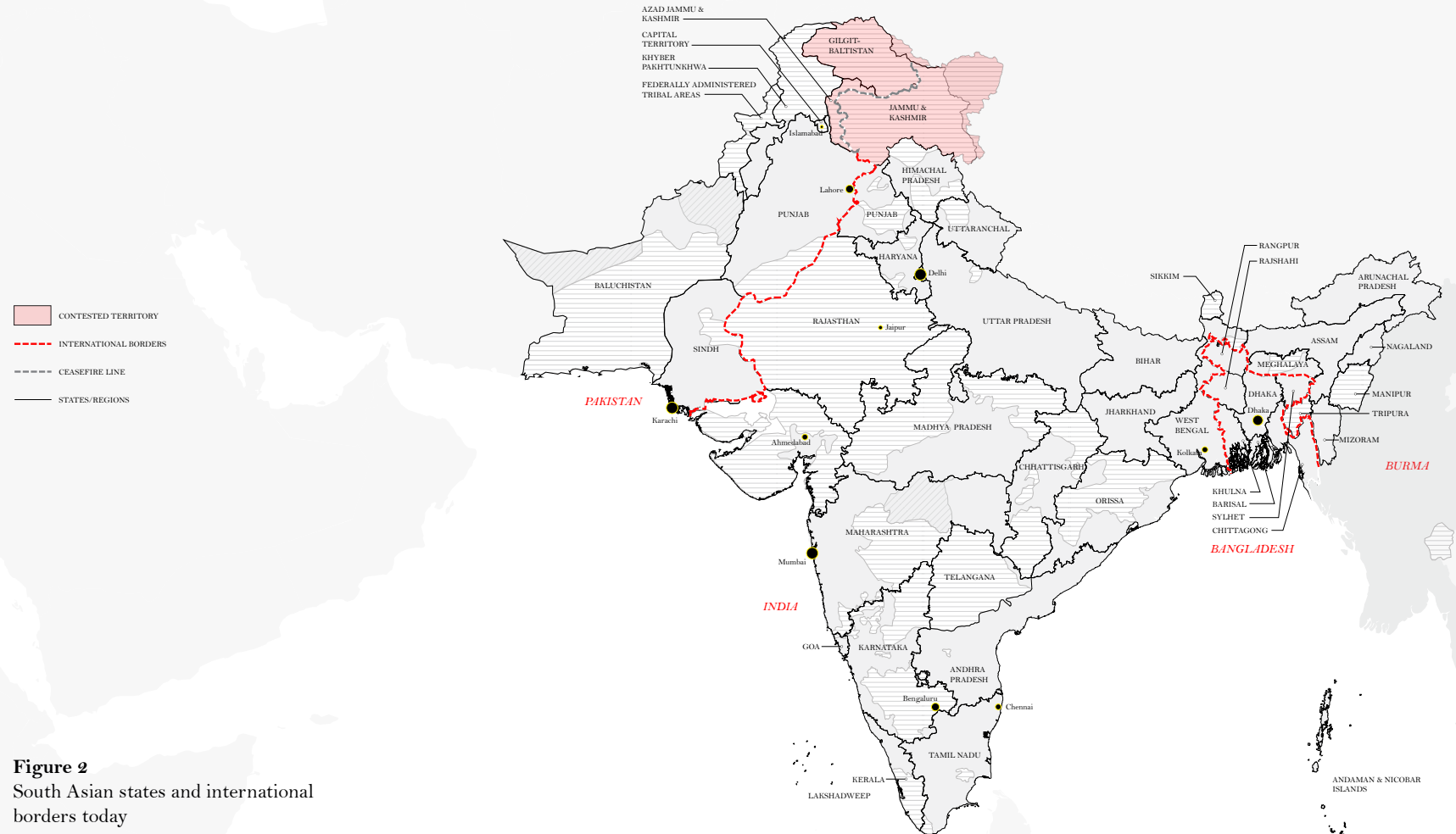


Figure 2
South Asian states and international borders today

Drawn by Aneesa Dharwadker
Sources: ARC GIS; Bartholomew, J.G. "The Indian Empire." *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1922. Map.

Nehru hoisted the national tri-color flag at the Red Fort in Delhi and flag-hoisting ceremonies took place far and wide throughout the country. But the celebrations lasted hardly for a day.

Government of Pakistan abdicated its responsibility of protecting the victims. The news of happenings in Pakistan caused retaliation in India, but the Indian government took strong measures to protect Muslims. Many Muslims chose to stay back in India. Jaipur State remained free from communal tensions; indeed, its Muslim population increased as Muslims from neighboring areas came and settled in Jaipur.

While power was being transferred to the Congress by the British, the rulers of some 400 separate states, big and small, were left without any bond with Independent India. It was the foresight and tact of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of the Home Ministry, that very swiftly allowed the States (with a few exceptions) to join the Indian Union and eventually merge into larger entities. The Maharaja of Jaipur was among the first rulers to accede to India. He became the Raj

Pramukh of the larger State of Rajasthan, formed by merging several neighboring princely states that were part of the erstwhile region of Rajputana.

India has remained under civilian rule since then. Its Constituent Assembly framed a judicious Constitution under which it officially became a Federal Republic on 26 January 1950. Prime Minister Nehru took major steps to lay the foundations for techno-economic and social development. He found in Dr. Homi J. Bhabha an eminent atomic scientist—this led to the formation of the Atomic Energy Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhabha¹. The Commission pioneered peaceful uses of atomic energy, and now India has become an atomic power. I began my first job at the Atomic Energy Commission doing the beneficiation of uranium ores. This eventually led to the mining of uranium in India.

Another scientist, Dr. Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar, established a chain of Scientific Research Laboratories with Nehru's patronage. Yet another, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, led the Indian Space Research Organization. India has made rapid strides in space research and has successfully launched multiple satellites.

India began major mineral exploration in the 1950s to provide raw materials to steel and thermal power plants. By 1965, three steel plants emerged in the government sector. Dams constructed for irrigation and hydro-power

1. Homi J. Bhabha was the uncle of the well-known Harvard University humanities scholar Homi K. Bhabha.

were also taken up; of these, Bhakra Dam was the most prestigious. For this project I served at the mine of a cement plant which provided quality cement—one full goods train every day—for construction.

In 1973, I took charge of the Indian Bureau of Mines. I was involved in promoting the conservation and development of mineral resources, exciting work in which I remained engaged for the next sixteen years.

The establishment of the basic industries in India led to significant industrial progress; at the same time, the manufacturing sector also made rapid strides. During the last three decades India has become a leading country in information technology. There has been tremendous progress in communications, and mobile phones have become very popular with the common man. The number of mobile phones has grown into the tens of millions.

In contrast, the civilian rule in Pakistan lasted for just eleven years. A military coup took place in 1958 and direct military rule lasted till 1971. Since then Pakistan has been under direct military rule twice, from 1977 to 1988 and from 1999 to 2008. Even when civilian rule was restored, the military held a tight grip over civil administration. Compared to India, Pakistan has not made as much all-round progress. But its emphasis has been on building up its military; the welfare of its people has suffered neglect. One wonders whether the two-nation theory on which the creation of Pakistan was based has indeed benefitted the people of Pakistan.

The Indian vision of a multi-religious, multicultural society has done better for Indians, although much remains to be done for the continued economic emancipation of different communities. An atmosphere of peace in the subcontinent is in the best interest of the people of both India and Pakistan. The governments could then radically reduce expenditure on defense and focus attention on the economic emancipation of the common people of both countries.

DEOKI NANDAN BHARGAVA was born in 1931 in Jaipur, which is now the capital of Rajasthan. He was educated at Maharajah's College and Banaras Hindu University in general sciences and mining engineering. In 1973, he became Controller-General of the Indian Bureau of Mines. He retired in 1991 and currently resides in Pune, Maharashtra.

RECALLING 1947*Kedarnath Singh (1934-2018)**Translated by Vinay Dharwadker (b. 1954)*

Do you remember Nur Miyan, Kedarnath Singh
 wheat-complexioned Nur Miyan
 short and stocky Nur Miyan
 the Nur Miyan who was the last to come home
 after a whole day of hawking kohl in Ramgarh Bazaar
 Do you remember anything at all, Kedarnath Singh

You remember the madarssah
 the tamarind tree
 the local Imam's estate
 you remember from beginning to end
 the multiplication table
 for nineteen
 but can you calculate
 by adding and subtracting
 on your forgotten childhood slate
 why suddenly one day
 Nur Miyan left your neighborhood
 and went away
 Do you know
 where he is now
 in Dhaka or Multan
 Can you tell
 how many leaves
 fall every year in Pakistan

Why don't you speak, Kedarnath Singh
 or is your arithmetic weak

*(Dedicated to the memory of the poet, who passed
 away in New Delhi on March 19, 2018)*

Translator's Notes

"Nur" (with variant spellings, such as "Noor") is a given name of Arabic origin, and means "light, radiance"; "Miyan" is an honorific masculine suffix, equivalent to "mister, esquire, sir," but more informal and affectionate. In this poem, the Muslim name is intentionally contrasted with the poet's own Hindu name.

Kohl is an ancient cosmetic used in many parts of the world, and was brought to the Indian subcontinent by Muslims migrating from West Asia more than a millennium ago. It is prepared as a black paste from stibnite, a compound of antimony and sulphur, and is applied as an eyeliner.

In South Asia, a "madarssah" is a traditional or an orthodox Muslim school; an "Imam" is a publicly recognized leader of worship (in Sunni Islam) or a more authoritative spiritual leader of the community (in Shi'a Islam).

At Partition, Dhaka was the principal city and provincial capital of East Pakistan whereas Multan was a major city in the Punjab province of West Pakistan. For a Muslim family choosing to migrate from there to Pakistan in 1947, Dhaka and Multan would have been roughly equidistant and equally plausible destinations.

MAPPING PRECEDES TORY TERRI

FORAYS INTO REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
AIR DEFENSE IDENTIFICATION ZONES
(ADIZS)

IN EAST ASIA

DONGSEI KIM

To govern territories, one must know them.¹

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of China (PRC) established an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) over the East China Sea on November 23, 2013, and an official map accompanied the announcement (**Figure 2**). Neighboring countries Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan immediately criticized this move by the Chinese that infringed their existing ADIZs. Adding to these disapprovals, then United States Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel characterized the Chinese move as a “destabilizing *attempt to alter the status quo in the region*.”² As a countermeasure to this Chinese undertaking, South Korea swiftly expanded their Korea Air Defense Identification Zone (KADIZ) on December 8, 2013. Like the Chinese announcement, South Korea's expansion, which increased KADIZ's overlap with the Chinese and Japanese ADIZs, was announced with an official map, intensifying tensions in Northeast Asia (**Figure 3**). However, South Korea's neighbors broadly accepted its action, as the Koreans had consulted with the involved parties—China, Japan, and the United States—before its announcement.³

1. Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1.

2. Chuck Hagel, “Statement by Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel on the East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone,” *U.S. Department of Defense* (23 Nov. 2013), accessed 25 Sep. 2017. Emphasis added. <http://archive.defense.gov/releases/release.aspx?releaseid=16392>.

3. See Kimberly Hsu, “Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provided China Greater Flexibility to Reinforce East China Sea Claims,” *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report* (14 Jan. 2014), 3; and Seung-woo Kang, “Bigger KADIZ will take effect Dec. 15,” *The Korea Times* (8 Dec. 2013), accessed 29 Sept. 2017. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/newsnation/2013/12/116_147597.html.

This essay examines what an ADIZ is; how the official ADIZ maps produced by China, Japan, South Korea, and the United States cartographically represent the ADIZs and their territories; and what these different spatial representations—line drawings that partition spaces—of the ADIZs reveal, especially in the context of ‘map-territory’ relationships.

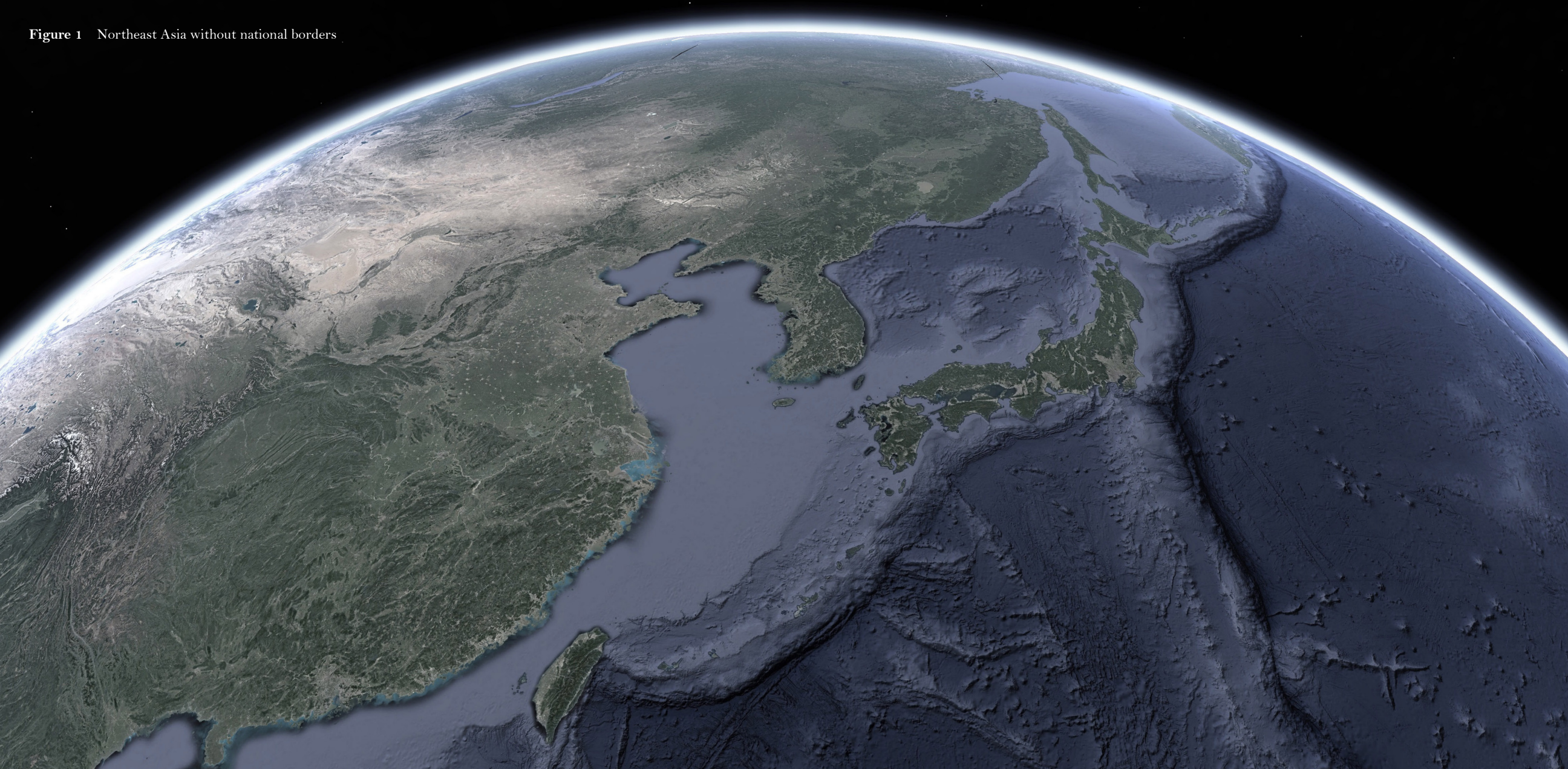
What is an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)?

The United States first established its Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in 1950 during the Cold War to manage air threats from the Soviet Union. According to the United States Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), an ADIZ is an “area of airspace over land or water, extending upward from the surface, within which the ready identification, the location, and the control of aircraft are required in the interest of national security.”⁴ An ADIZ is typically an area adjacent to but outside a state's ‘national airspace,’ thus outside the jurisdiction of that state, which means that it is in shared ‘international airspace.’ However, an ADIZ enables a state to identify the nature of an approaching aircraft before it enters a state's national airspace, providing the state with the time and space to defend itself if necessary.⁵

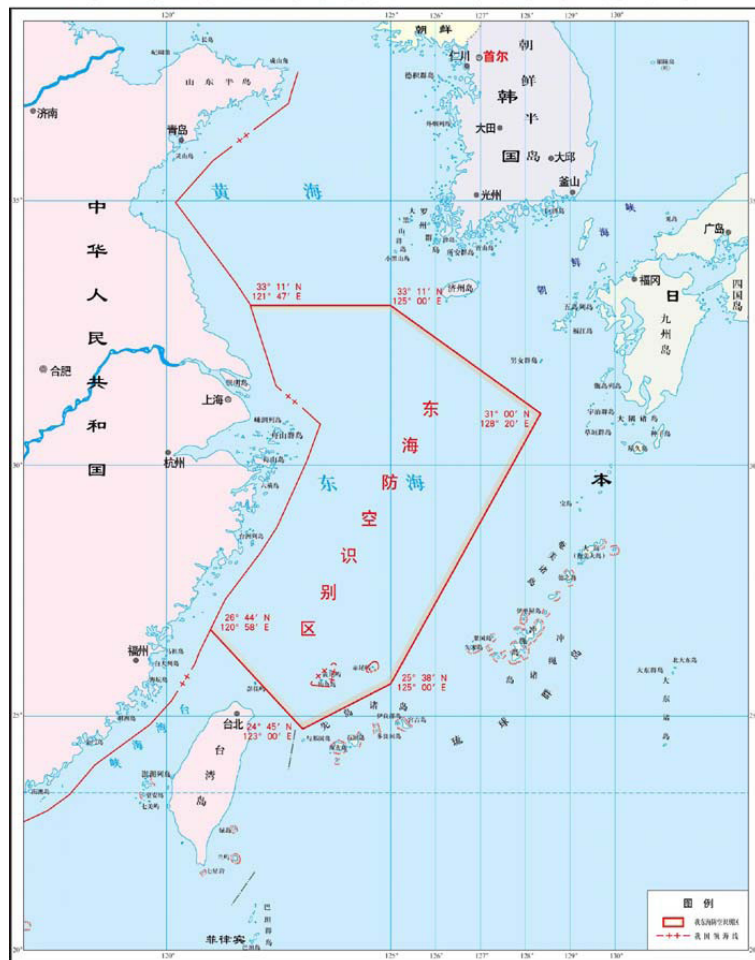
4. Federal Aviation Administration, “Pilot/Controller Glossary,” *U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration* (27 Apr. 1950), accessed 25 Sept. 2017. https://www.faa.gov/air_traffic/publications/media/pcg.pdf. PCG A-4.

5. Kimberly Hsu, “Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provided China Greater Flexibility to Reinforce East China Sea Claims,” *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report* (14 Jan. 2014), 1.

Figure 1 Northeast Asia without national borders



东海防空识别区划设示意图



资料来源：中华人民共和国国防部

新华社发

Figure 2 Map of East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone, produced by the People's Republic of China.

The United States currently operates five ADIZs: East Coast, West Coast, Alaska, Hawaii, and Guam. It has two additional ADIZs jointly operated with Canada.⁶ Since the United States declared their world's first ADIZ, some twenty states have established theirs, including Norway, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom. In Northeast Asia, the United States established South Korea's ADIZ in 1951 during the Korean War, while the Japanese ADIZ was set up when the United States administered post-World War II Japan. Other Asian countries including Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma, and India established their ADIZs more than twenty years ago. In contrast to the widely accepted 12-nautical-mile 'territorial waters,' and the 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone prescribed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the ADIZ is not recognized under any international law or conventions.⁷ The following paragraphs explain how the representations of ADIZs—enabled by cartographic technologies—are closely related to the constant reproduction of a state's hegemony.

6. David A. Welch, "What's an ADIZ? Why the United States, Japan, and China Get It Wrong," *Foreign Affairs* (9 Dec. 2013), accessed 25 Sept. 2017. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/140367/david-a-welch/whats-an-adiz>.

7. See Julian E. Barnes and Jeremy Page, "U.S. Sends B-52s on Mission to Challenge Chinese Claims," *The Wall Street Journal* (27 Nov. 2013), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/us-flies-b52s-into-china-8217s-new-air-defense-zone-1385483936>;

Kimberly Hsu, "Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provided China Greater Flexibility to Reinforce East China Sea Claims," *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report* (14 Jan. 2014), 1-2;

and Ian E. Rinehart and Bart Elias, "China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)," *Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report Prepared for Members and Committees of Congress* (30 Jan. 2015), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43894.pdf>.

How cartography precedes states

Political theory and geography professor Stuart Elden argues that mapping is a "requirement and a tool of power" that enables states to "establish what is actually controlled."⁸ Accordingly, ordering and dividing of land enabled by cartographic technologies render territories as a "bounded space under the control" of the state that becomes an "extension of the state's power."⁹ Like Elden, political science professor Jordan Branch adds that territorial authorities are "asserted over homogeneous spatial expanses, defined by cartographic ideas and inscribed upon maps."¹⁰ Branch sums this relationship between territory and cartography as: "maps have continued to shape how rulers and subjects understand politics, defining everything from divisions between states to internal jurisdictions and rights."¹¹ These standpoints illustrate the central role of cartography that constantly reproduce 'territories' that are essential constituents of modern states' continuation. Based on this premise, the following paragraphs compare how the United States, China, Japan, and South Korea use cartography as one of their "political technologies" in reproducing nation-states.¹²

8. Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 324.

9. *Ibid.*, 322.

10. Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 14.

11. *Ibid.*, 1.

12. Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 322.

Representations of ADIZs—enabled by cartographic technologies—are closely related to the constant reproduction of a state’s hegemony.

How the United States draws ADIZs

The Chinese establishing their ADIZ does not directly affect any United States territory. However, with multiple military bases located in their close allies Japan and South Korea, the United States has a substantial interest in this region. The “Air Defense Identification Zones in East Asia” map by the United States Congressional Research Service displays the newly established Chinese East China Sea ADIZ with red dashed lines, along with the other existing ADIZs (Figure 4). In contrast to the United States and its allies, whose ADIZs are drawn with solid lines, the Chinese ADIZ line is drawn with dashed lines. This suggests it is a provisional line, demonstrating the United States’ disapproval of this Chinese undertaking. The use of red, a color of alarm, adds to its adversarial representation of the Chinese ADIZ. This U.S.-produced map additionally undermines China’s effort by including the following note: “The U.S. government does not formally recognize China’s ADIZ in the East China Sea.” Unlike maps produced

by other countries of this region, this U.S. map includes the ADIZ of its close ally, the Philippines, despite its distant location from the disputed East China Sea ADIZ. This seemingly neutral act visually bolsters its allies in the region. Understandably, this U.S. map also includes Guam, an unincorporated U.S. territory in the Pacific Ocean, and its ADIZ. These cartographic representations provide the United States the necessary legitimacy it needs to stay in the region.

Although ADIZs are not equivalent to a state’s airspace, which are under close control, effective representations of ADIZs work as a harbinger for future ‘effective control.’ They are especially applicable when the ADIZs are coordinated with other political technologies, such as the exploitations of Exclusive Economic Zones and conducting ‘routine’ military operations. These multidimensional efforts provide a state with an advantage in existing territorial disputes and future territorial claims, bolstering their insecure frontiers.

Illustrating this point, all countries involved in territorial disputes precisely locate and mark their territories in their own designations when they illustrate their ADIZs. When a third ‘neutral’ party represents these disputed territories, their names are written in multiple designations to acknowledge their unsettled, ambiguous nature. For example, the U.S.-produced map (Figure 4) displays the uninhabited Japanese-controlled Senkaku/Diaoyu/Diaoyutai Islands (located within the

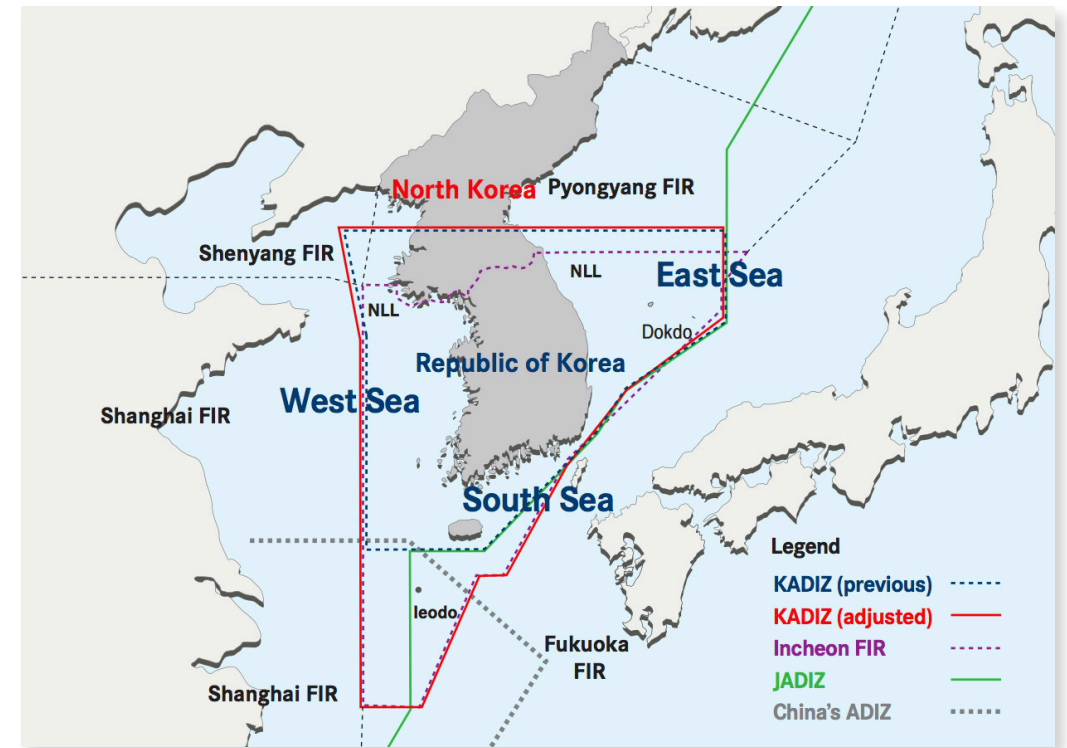


Figure 3 Map of the Korean Air Defense Identification Zone (after December 15, 2013), produced by the Republic of Korea.

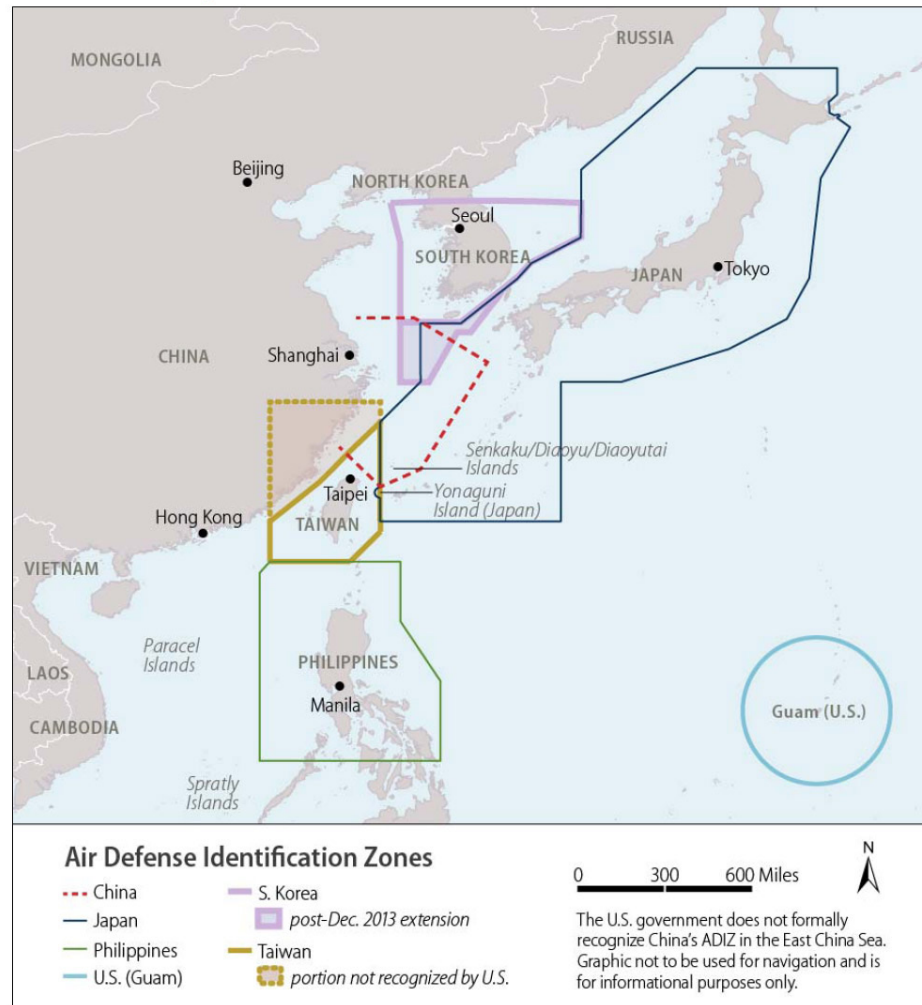


Figure 4 Map of Air Defense Identification Zones in East Asia, produced by the United States of America.

new Chinese East China Sea ADIZ and the existing Japanese ADIZ) in three different names, indicating its claims from Japan, China, and Taiwan. Accordingly, these cartographic representations match what many Western international affairs commentators, including Roncevert Ganan Almond, see as the purpose of establishing the East China Sea ADIZ: an act of reinforcing “China’s territorial claims,” when it encompassed the disputed maritime territories.¹³

How the Japanese represent their JADIZ

The United States established the Japanese ADIZ (JADIZ) when it administered Japan after World War II ended. Control of the JADIZ was transferred to the Japanese in 1969, where they expanded it twice. The first expansion incorporated the Senkaku Islands in 1972 and the second one included Yonaguni Island in 2010.¹⁴ Taiwan expressed their strong opposition to this second expansion.¹⁵ Shortly after the 2010 expansion, the Japanese started constructing a “military lookout station” on the Yonaguni Islands.¹⁶ The Japanese Ministry of Defense highlights these remote islands in their JADIZ map (**Figure 5**). It annotates their internationally-disputed islands using Japanese

names; ‘Senkaku’ Islands, ‘Yonaguni’ Islands, ‘Ogasawara’ Islands, and ‘Takeshima’ to assert Japanese ownership. This territorial assertion is reinforced by the Japanese encircling the disputed islands with the identical red lines used to represent “Japan’s Airspace” above the Japanese mainland. As an example, two disputed islands that sit outside the JADIZ are also encircled with the red lines identical to this “Japan’s Airspace” lines. This encircling of ‘Takeshima’ (Liancourt Rocks), referred to as ‘Dokdo’ by the South Koreans who control it, and the ‘Northern Territories’ (Kuril Islands) controlled by the Russians, is a clear case of the Japanese government deploying the JADIZ maps as a political technology that undermines other states’ current ownership of these disputed territories.

Knowing this, the Japanese Government announced their “deep concern” condemning the Chinese East China Sea ADIZ as a “profoundly dangerous act.”¹⁷ Like the United States, Japan also denounced the validity of the Chinese move and strongly objected China’s inclusion of the Senkaku Islands into China’s ‘territorial airspace.’¹⁸ These actions and counteractions between the Japanese and

13. Roncevert Ganan Almond, “South China Sea: The Case Against an ADIZ,” *The Diplomat* (13 Sept. 2016), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <http://thediplomat.com/2016/09/south-china-sea-the-case-against-an-adiz>.

14. Kimberly Hsu, “Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provide China Greater Flexibility to Reinforce East China Sea Claims,” *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report* (14 Jan. 2014), 3.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Shannon Tiezzi, “Japan to Station Troops on Yonaguni, Near Disputed Islands” *The Diplomat* (19 Apr. 2014), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <http://thediplomat.com/2014/04/japan-to-station-troops-on-yonaguni-near-disputed-islands>.

17. “Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the announcement on the ‘East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone’ by the Ministry of National Defense of the People’s Republic of China,” Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan (24 Nov. 2013), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. http://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_000098.html.

18. *Ibid.*

the Chinese again prove how mapping is an important part of exercising state power.

How the Koreans expanded their KADIZ

The United States Pacific Air Forces established South Korea's Korea Air Defense Identification Zone (KADIZ) in March 1951, during the Korean War, to prepare against the Chinese People's Volunteers. The South Koreans swiftly expanded their KADIZ two weeks after the Chinese established their East China Sea ADIZ in November 2013 (**Figure 3**).¹⁹ Because South Korea's 'airspace' is controlled under its sovereign territories and its adjacent 'international airspace' through its Incheon Flight Information Region authorized by the International Civil Aviation Organization, KADIZ did not gain much attention until the Chinese announced their intention to implement their East China Sea ADIZ in the region.²⁰

South Korea was particularly concerned when the new Chinese ADIZ not only overlapped with the existing KADIZ, but also when it incorporated 'Ieodo.' Ieodo/Socotra Rock/Suyan Rock is a submerged rock fifteen feet below the sea level, located 80 nautical miles from South Korea's Marado Island, 149 nautical miles away from Japan's Torashima Island, and

19. Seung-woo Kang, "Bigger KADIZ will take effect Dec. 15," *The Korea Times* (8 Dec. 2013), accessed 29 Sept. 2017. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2013/12/116_147597.html.

20. See Seung-woo Kang, "Bigger KADIZ will take effect Dec. 15," *The Korea Times* (8 Dec. 2013), accessed 29 Sept. 2017. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2013/12/116_147597.html; and Pyongryun Kim, "KADIZ's Southern Area Extended to Align with FIR," *Defense Daily*, (26 Dec. 2013), accessed 30 Sept. 2017. <https://goo.gl/XFP8dc>.

This increased tit-for-tat military surveillance operations in this zone illustrates how abstract lines inscribed on maps produce imaginary airspaces.

155 nautical miles away from China's Yushan Island. What makes Ieodo controversial is that it is well outside three countries' 12-nautical-mile 'territorial waters,' but is located within the three countries' 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone.

South Korea claims this rock as part of its continental shelf, and built a warning beacon on it in 1987. This was followed by construction of South Korea's Ieodo Ocean Research Station with a helideck in 2003. However, Ieodo was not part of South Korea's existing ADIZ. Therefore, the South Korean government straightaway expanded their KADIZ to include Ieodo, claiming that this expansion was a process of aligning its ADIZ with the existing, internationally-accepted Incheon Flight Information Region. An official map was also presented with this South Korean Ministry of National Defense's announcement, clearly indicating the disputed "Ieodo" and "Dokdo" Islands within its KADIZ, which would not normally be visible on a map of that scale (**Figure 3**). Unlike other countries' ADIZ maps the KADIZ map show the neighboring Flight Information Regions and the new KADIZ

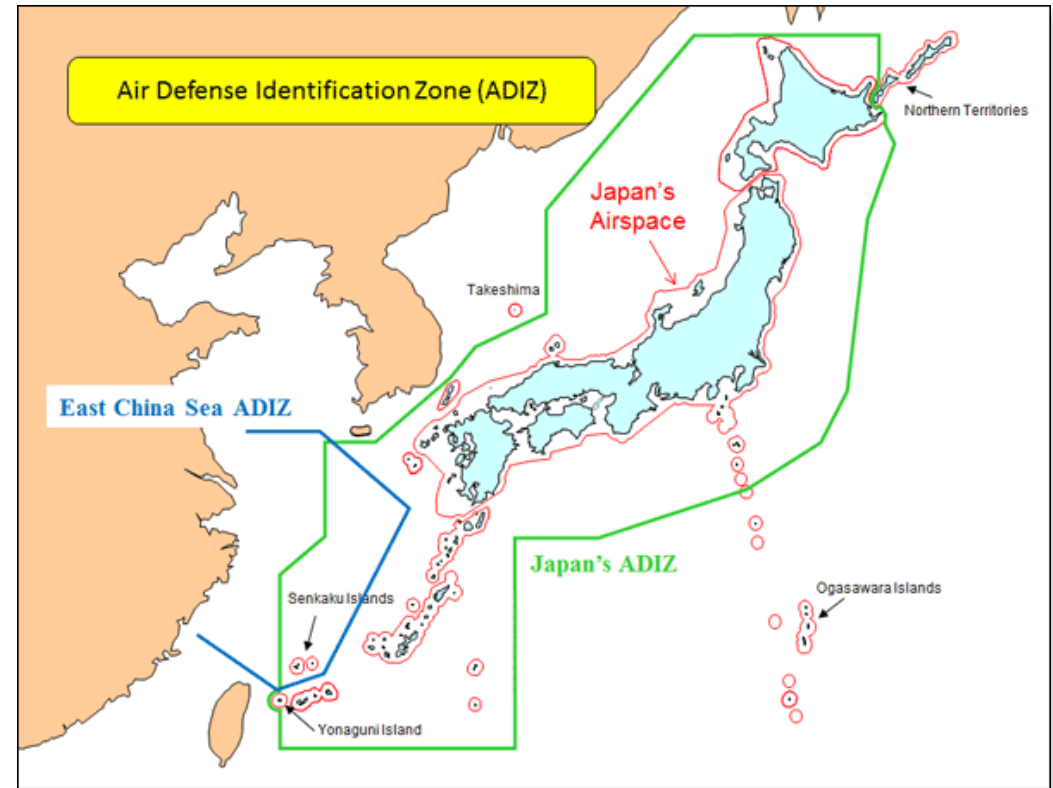


Figure 3 Map of the Japanese Air Defense Identification Zone, produced by Japan.

aligning with the internationally-accepted Incheon Flight Information Region to justify its southern expansion.²¹ Like the American and Japanese representations of the East China Sea ADIZ, South Korea's map indicates its boundaries with noncommittal dashed lines.

How the Chinese announced their ADIZ

On November 23, 2013, the Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China announced 'Aircraft Identification Rules' for its East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone to "exercise its right to self-defense," along with a map.²² Notably, this map includes the disputed Diaoyu/Senkaku/Diaoyutai Islands within its ADIZ, sparking protests from its neighbors and the United States (Figure 2). Unlike other countries' representations of China's ADIZ, the Chinese represent their own ADIZ with a definitive solid red line. Although not indicated explicitly as in other countries' ADIZ maps, areas around the disputed Suyan Rock/Ieodo/Socotra Rock are also included.

In contrast to other countries' ADIZ maps that include neighboring ADIZs, China's map omits this information. This omission can be interpreted in two ways: first, the Chinese probably did not want to show its new ADIZ intruding on other "existing" ADIZs; second, this dismissive representation can be interpreted as a *Pax Sinica* attitude, where the

21. Pyongryun Kim, "KADIZ's Southern Area Extended to Align with FIR," *Defense Daily*, (26 Dec. 2013), accessed 30 Sept. 2017. <https://goo.gl/XFP8dc>.

22. Pengfei Zhang, "Response to Questions on the Establishment of The East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone," *CNTV English* (11 Nov. 2013), accessed 30 Sept. 2017. <http://english.cntv.cn/20131123/101943.shtml>.

hegemonic Chinese power sets the rules with little regard to others in the region. China's numerous surveillance patrol operations in these overlapping ADIZ areas—despite objections from neighboring countries—right after the East China Sea ADIZ was declared is a mirror reflection of this cartographic representation, and a clear illustration of how territories precede a state's effective control over them.

These Chinese actions were met with equivalent counteractions from the existing hegemon: the United States. Immediately after the East China Sea ADIZ was declared, two United States B-52 bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons (albeit not 'armed') were deployed to this area from Guam bases without notification to the Chinese authorities.²³ The United States deliberately ignored the rules set by the Chinese, increasing tensions in the region's international airspace.²⁴ The increased tit-for-tat military surveillance

23. See Julian E. Barnes and Jeremy Page, "U.S. Sends B-52s on Mission to Challenge Chinese Claims," *The Wall Street Journal* (27 Nov. 2013), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/us-flies-b52s-into-china8217s-new-air-defense-zone-1385483936>;

Reuters Staff, "China says U.S. should respect China's air defense zone," *Reuters World News* (23 Mar. 2017), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-usa-defence/china-says-u-s-should-respect-chinas-air-defense-zone-idUSKBN16U0S8>;

and Zachary Keck, "US Bombers Challenge China's Air Defense Identification Zone," *The Diplomat* (27 Nov. 2013), accessed 30 Sept. 2017. <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/us-bombers-challenge-chinas-air-defense-identification-zone>.

24. See Julian E. Barnes and Jeremy Page, "U.S. Sends B-52s on Mission to Challenge Chinese Claims," *The Wall Street Journal* (27 Nov. 2013), accessed 28 Sept. 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/us-flies-b52s-into-china8217s-new-air-defense-zone-1385483936>;

and Zachary Keck, "US Bombers Challenge China's Air Defense Identification Zone," *The Diplomat* (27 Nov. 2013), accessed 30 Sept. 2017. <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/us-bombers-challenge-chinas-air-defense-identification-zone>.

operations in this zone illustrate how abstract lines inscribed on maps produce imaginary airspaces, thus contributing to certain set of spatial choreographies and politics.

To conclude, all four cartographic representations of the ADIZs demonstrate how a nation-state's longevity depends on a specific rendition of itself through cartographic representations. Equally, it shows how a nation-state's anxious existential identity is inscribed into each map they produce.

Here, I am reminded of Edward W. Soja's declaration: "all borders and boundaries are socially produced and reproduced, and thus are always susceptible to being modified, transformed, erased, recreated, reimagined, transgressed."²⁵ If we accept Soja's logic, we can equally ask, how can we redraw these partition lines to be more inclusive? We might also ask, what would these lines look like if ecological or cosmopolitan values were privileged over a single nation's interest?

25. Edward W. Soja, "Borders Unbound: Globalization, Regionalism, and the Postmetropolitan Transition," *B/ordering Space*, ed. Henk van Houtum, Olivier Kramsch and Wolfgang Ziefhofer (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 34.

IMAGE CREDITS

Figure 1 Google Earth Pro. 1 Oct. 2017.

Figure 2 Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China (23 Nov. 2013). http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-11/23/content_17126579.htm.

Figure 3 2014 Defense White Paper, Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Korea (8 Dec. 2013), 246. http://www.mnd.go.kr/user/mnd/upload/pblict/PLICTNEBOOK_201506120237036840.pdf.

Figure 4 Ian E. Rinehart and Bart Elias, "China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)," Congressional Research Service Report (30 Jan. 2015), 8. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43894.pdf>.

Figure 5 Japan Ministry of Defense (July 2017). http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/ryouku/.

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THE JORDAN RIVER IS SO SLENDER

BLURRED BORDERS IN CONTESTED LANDS

AVI TARANTO

Qasr al-Yahud

A Christian pilgrim gets baptized at *Qasr al-Yahud*. This literally translates to “the Jewish Fortress,” though it is actually an Arabization of *Gesher HaYehudim*, which means “the bridge of the Jews.” Here, Joshua and the Israelites entered the Holy Land from Jordan and captured Jericho. It is also where John the Baptist baptized Jesus.

The woman is entering the water on the Israeli side. Just a few feet away, the reeds on the opposite bank (the East Bank) are in Jordan.





Migdal Tzedek I

The fortress Migdal Tzedek, or *Majdal Yaba* in Arabic, sits directly on the Green Line at the mouth of the Yarkon River. Behind the man pictured is the West Bank; ahead of him is the city of Petah Tikvah, Israel.

In 1948, much of the partition followed the natural topography, so an Arab in the West Bank could look out at Israel from here, right on the dividing line.

Migdal Tzedek II

The fortress with Petah Tikvah in the distance.



Sartaba

The mountain Sartaba sits above the southern Jordan Valley. Until 1921, there was no division between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and British Mandate Palestine. They, too, were all historically “the Holy Land.” The cultivated land directly below belongs to left-leaning Jewish settlements all established in the years directly following the Six-Day War. They are technically in the West Bank, but lie on the main north-south highway that runs the length of the country.

The Jordan River, the border between Israel/Palestine and Jordan, is so slender you can't see it. Here, the partition is blurry.



The Old City

Temple Mount, a holy site for Jewish, Muslim, and Christian faiths, is seen here from the High Commissioner's Palace. The Palace was built to house the British High Commission during the Mandate; since 1948 it has housed the UN forces who oversee the armistice between Israel and Jordan.

The area of the Old City visible is the Jewish Quarter, which was abandoned by its Jewish residents in 1948 and re-inhabited in 1967.





Har Bental, Golan Heights

Since the beginning of the Syrian Civil war, all UN personnel have exited Syria and made base here on this volcanic mountain. Israel annexed the Golan Heights in 1980. The cultivated fields visible here are in Israel, but just at their edge begins war-ravaged Syria.

The entirety of the Golan used to be Syrian, and Damascus continues to demand its return today. The current geopolitical considerations make such a return impossible.

Barta'a

This paved road sits atop a formerly flowing canal. The armistice negotiations in Rhodes in 1949 saw some exchange of land between Israel and Jordan; looking at old maps, negotiators mistook the canal for a natural river and decided to divide the territory along that line. Alas, the canal ran directly through the village of Barta'a leaving one side in Israel proper and the other in the West Bank. Some Muslim husbands had wives on either side of the partition.

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برطعة المشطورة

وقعت اتفاقية رودس بتاريخ 3/4/1949م بين الأردن وإسرائيل في جزيرة رودس، والتي تم بموجبها تقسيم قرية برطعة إلى قسمين، برطعة الغربية أصبحت تابعة لإسرائيل، وبرطعة الشرقية تابعة للأردن.

اصبح الوادي هو الحد الفاصل بين القسمين، فأنشئ الخط الأخضر وسط القرية، وأقيمت الحدود.

Partitioned Barta'a
on the 3ed of April 1949 Jordan and
Israel Signed the Rhodes Aomistia Agreement
in Which Barta'a was Partitioned into Eastern
Part that Belongs to Jordan and Western
Part the Belongs to Israel, The Valley was
Adopted as the Green Line

النقاش

مجلس قروي برطعة - اللجنة الثقافية



The Gaza Border

Nothing could be more surreal than this pastoral landscape contrasting with the intense urbanism of Gaza, just one kilometer away.



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