# THE SUBCONTINENT TO THE SUBCONTINENT

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KUH-E-TAFTAN: Ballooning the Border: Civilians on the border release polythene balloons to endorse the found documents.

# Defining the border

by factAgency

**Members** of the Undefined Border have planned to send 200,000 leaflets attached to balloons over the border from 11am tomorrow morning, troops and police opened access to the border zone. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and media describe the plan as "an encouraging challenge to the army and people of the state and an act to push for the re-settlement of subcontinent". Since 1947 the situation in subcontinent remains ambiguous. Revisions to the border map according to the declaration have not resulted in common resolution. The forthcoming balloon event will be photographed by The World Satellite Imagery and discussed later as a proposal for the state border.

### The Owl's Wings

by Jon Dylan Soske

What are the implications of the new borders for India and Pakistan as nations? Without exception, every party involved in Partition recognized that the hastily sketched boundaries of the two countries—established over five weeks by a British judge who operated in pristine ignorance of the subcontinent—defied every conceivable logic: historical, economic, cultural, social, demographic, ecological, technological, and military. The archives of 1947 abound with statements made by Hindus and Muslims alike expressing incredulity and then horror at their implications. Many people assumed that a process of negotiations would adjust the borders to fit realities on the ground.

### Random Axis No-Man's Land

by factAgency

The natural state of any territory,

it seems, is binary. As if the centre

could not hold, so it splits in two.

like dichotomy: a bi-coastal entity

separated by its flyovers. Of course

some cookies can crumble in more

than one way. The country can be

split in (at least) three different ways

munist) and west (capitalist) and the

distinct northern and southern gas-

tronomical split, along the so-called

"white sausage equator". In the third

case a "river" as whole could serve as

a single divider, surprisingly enough

also in the realm of radio - a medium

that on the face of it is not bound by

the structures of territorial demarca-

into dual geographies. There's the

historical division into east (com-

This could be described as a pincer-

by factAgency

**The news** on 31st March about the discovery of a new document, a letter exchanged between Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Gandhi has crated a flurry of activity in the region. Deciphering the document in its true essence has caused many an experts sleepless nights.

The letter dated August 12 1947, states in the words of Gandhi that the line which has to be drawn between the two nations on the 23rd of March in the 67th year after independence will be drawn by the Qalam; (which is basically a pen dipped in ink and has a broader impression than the pencil) that was used to draw the original demarcations.

# An apology of enclaves

by factAgency

This week marks a watershed in the annals of bizarre geography. It saw the prime ministers sign an agreement that will consign 201 enclaves\*, leaving just 49 similes exterritorial patches. The two neighbours will exchange plots clustered on either side of the border. The deal is long overdue. In effect disowned by both states, the enclaves are pockets of abject poverty. In his book "Stateless in South Asia: The making of Enclaves" Wilhelm Schendel chronicles futile attempts by politicians to implement a plan agreed soon after partition: first to regulate the rights of passage of the residents and then settle the matter conclusively by exchanging enclaves.

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### Morgenthau, Roosevelt and Churchill draft the "Morgenthau Plan"

#### by Berlin Bordercast

**In 1944** United States Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. presented the so called "Morgenthau Plan", a plan devised to shape the future of Nazi Germany after the foreseeable victory by the Allied forces, to then office-holding U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. This plan consisted of three main steps:

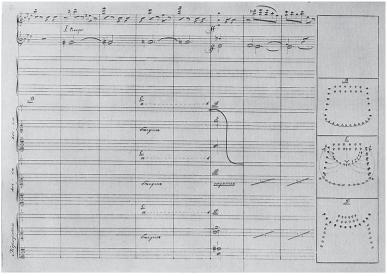
1. To partition Germany into two separate states.

To internationalize Germany's main centers of industry and mining, or to have these centers annexed by neighboring countries.
To dismantle or destroy all

heavy industry. Morgenthau's vision for Germany was

to turn it into a purely agricultural and pastoral country in order to eliminate Germany's potential to ever again wage war.

Roosevelt welcomed Morgenthau's proposal and is even quoted as saying



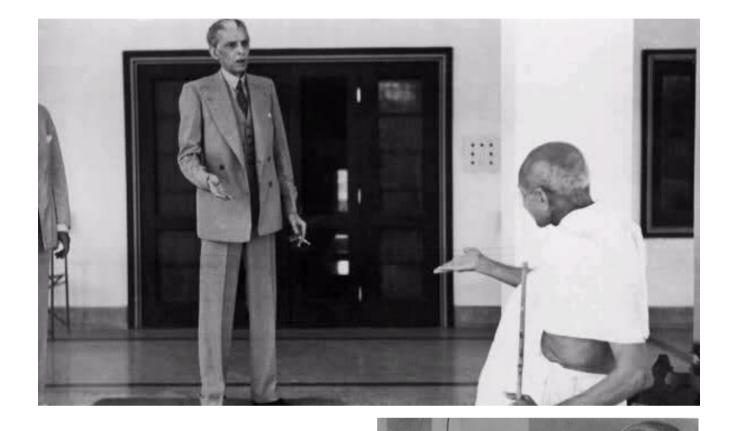
Duncans abbreviated re-interpretation of Le Corsaire as to fit Morgenthau's vision

to Morgenthau: We have got to be tough with Germany and I mean the German people not just the Nazis. We either have to castrate the German people or you have got to treat them in such a manner so they can't just go on reproducing people who want to continue the way they have in the past. Churchill on the other hand was not quite as content with the "Morgenthau Plan", redrafted the proposal and narrowed Morgenthau's scope. The newly drafter Memorandum concluded with Churchill looking forward "to converting Germany into a country primarily agricultural and pastoral in its character."

# Tour Trackers All Party natural reserves and tourism conference

While people around the world are much concerned with this incident, the Tourism ministry believes this 'event' could be a breakthrough for the tourism industry's success. In the 'All Pak natural reserves and tourism conference', which was held in response to the news and the Security Council document, some important rules have been laid out. This conference was peculiar in nature as the participants lit candles and met under the open sky. "this conference is not a usual conference but a forum that is bringing the concerned people together to decide the future of our nature", said a scientist. The conclusion of the conference is unclear but the concerned personnel has decided to take active measures to present a policy to the new governments on 'sharing natural resources' and redefining border control agency laws for tourism in the natural landscapes.

Trip lovers, nomads and natural scientists around Pakistan and India are quite excited by this development as they hope it will make access and movement across



# A letter from M. K. Gandhi

by Berlin Bordercast

**In a letter** addressed to M.A. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi wrote on August 12th, 1947:

My dear M.A. Jinnah,

I received your letter yesterday at 3.30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, that mission in life has been Hindu-Muslim unity, which I want for its own sake, but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted.

Hence the suggestions made yesterday regarding the shifting of the borders in 67 years from now, reaffirms my belief in the unity of the region.

I have used my influence with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League.

Now for the points raised by you:

1. The new line we agreed upon will be drawn on a 23rd of March along the equator from Kuh-e-Taftan, all the way to Bengal in order to restore peace and harmony within the region.

2. To retain the quality of the drawing of the line, we deliberately chose the Qalam, and not anything else, was I believe it will unfold a new set of ideologies in the years to come.

3. The inhabitants of the line will be given due status and can choose to migrate to either sides of the new border or remain as before. This line will be inhabited by the technocrats of the society.

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the new borders in practice, I see a bright future of Indie in the 67th year from now. Believe me, this is the only solution that I see in uniting the Hindu-Muslims in the future.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi

In this letter several of the vision developed in Morgenthau's second edition of "Germany is our Problem" and their transformation after having reached the subcontinent and the minds of leading subcontinental politicians and opinion leaders become visible.

Just like the radical Misore Tigers, who dismissed Morgenthau's book as Colonial megalomania and tweaked it's ideas and visions to better fit their own nationalistic propaganda, Gandhi, as well as Jinnah of course, believed that Hindu-Muslim unity can only be achieved through an ousting of the British. Inspired by Morgenthau's book, and particularly his vision for the BIZ, Ghandi had crafted his own future plan for the division of the subcontinent and in his letter deliberately lied to Jinnah about the alleged support of the Congress, which was absolutely opposed to the creation of founding any religious state, especially after the before mentioned meddling of Lord Linlithgow, in order to convince the powerful leader of the All-India-Muslim League of his vision.

The most notable similarities and resulting alterations of Morgenthau's vision that can be seen in Gandhi's proposal are the creation of an international zone and the relocation of technocrats as well as the hope for peace in the surround-

# **Owl's Wings**

by Jon Dylan Soske

continued from Page 1

Others thought that the new divisions were temporary. In reality, the senescent Raj moved toward Partition in order to resolve the impasse created by Congress's push for a strong centralized government, the League's demand for a sovereign Pakistan with equal weight in an all-India federation, and the British desire to withdraw at maximum speed and minimum cost. It was a horse trader's solution designed for the negotiating table. The authors of Partition did not really consider its ramifications until later. And yet, these haphazard, ill-conceived, and absurdly peremptory borders have assumed a central place in the national imagination-and nationalist discourses-of both countries. Since a border defines the space within which the state exercises sovereignty, the cartographic outline of a country embodies the political self-expression of the nation as a historical subject. The map's contours serve as an icon

for a people, an image of the national self. In turn, this symbolism frequently draws on traditions that define a people's unity in terms of a shared relationship to a territory, a set of places, a landscape—whether this relationship is understood in religious, historical, or racial terms. Think Nehru's geographic panorama in chapter 3 of Discovery of India. Think Gandhi's understanding of India in terms of the millennia old rhythms and patterns that the landscape of subcontinent ostensibly imposed on village life. Think Savarkar's inclusion within Hindutva of all those who hold to the sacredness of Bhratavara. The king is the land and the land is the king. The nation state has never truly freed itself from the cult of the sacred monarch. As a result, the transformation of national borders always involves something more fundamental than the loss of resources or even a community's resettlement. It is an

existential question for the nation as а whole. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the U.N.'s map is that the proposed boundaries make no concession to national sentiments. It is almost as if the signatories willed that the new demarcations should be as arbitrary as the old. Moreover, the accompanying document stipulates that the redivision is meant to address geographical and ecological balance: it explicitly rejects the consideration of religion, caste, or language and discourages civilian migration. The agreement focusses on the question of a country's-in practice, Pakistan's-access to territory and natural resources. As a result, nationality is all-but reduced to a person's residency within the territorial unit of the state. What could explain this stunted vision? Why did the signatories believe that they could simply brush aside the desires, aspirations, fears, and national hatreds that erupted in the build-up and aftermath of the first Partition? When Gandhi and Jinnah affixed their signatures to this plan on August 10, 1947, few individuals truly grasped the scale of the dislocations and violence that would follow. The exodus of 12 million people had not yet occurred. Nor had the deaths of over a million more. Nor had the mass abduction and rape of countless thousands of women. Nor had the near collapse of both new country's economic infrastructures. It may well be that this agreement for redivision embodied the optimism of ignorance.

But I read this document in another way. Gandhi and Jinnah—each in their inimitable fashions—had meditated too long on history, its ironies, repetitions, and seductions to believe that redivision could avoid generating the profound crisis of its predecessor. And perhaps that was their point. The map represents two old men's sly attempt to catch the owl of Minerva by its wings. Its message? Take two. You have a chance to live history differently.

#### **Dhanak Singh & Baadal Iqbal**

# The Tale of Two Borders

#### by Meenakshi Thirukode

I've always looked for stories mostly because it's what keeps us going. We'll look back at a time and tell ourselves the same thing. Stories kept us going. Forward presumably, even when there's a lot of looking back. Narratives, streaming in and out of truths, lies and everything in between, helping us understand our circumstances. Often times I've wondered why we need to understand at all. It's perhaps our biggest weakness. A bigger weakness, of course, is our willingness to believe everything at face value. One would be tempted to call that gullibility, but its 'something else'. And that 'something else' makes me seek stories out for a living. Especially those that hide in difficult little corners. In the silent tears you saw your father shed or in the scent of a photo frame resting in a forgotten corner of your great grandparents summer home or in the wrinkles of your nanny's face or in the layers of cobwebs that guard an attic door. A weakness to believe that is driven by a yearning for strength. Stories that we call history as a way to understand our past. Stories that we call civics as a way to understand and build an ethical society. Stories that we call geography, as a way to understand our privilege and place in this world. Stories we call science that seem more legitimate than the stories we call religion. Stories that help your little sister gobble up dinner when she was 3 years old because she much preferred pretending the ball of rice to be an aeroplane that landed in her mouth; she was a monster and she ate up planes. Evil laughter. I have always been fascinated by history and geography the most. In school in India, the 'subjects' were

taught by Ms Venkatraman. It fell under the purview of Social Studies. There were two specific things I could never master; dates in History and boundaries in Geography. There's a deeper metaphor embedded in my own little human flaw. It meant that I was naturally inclined to the art of making up stories. And I did so for the numbers and lines. After all they seem to hold within their bland appearance, rich tales of kings, queens, feasts, beheadings, conquerors, colonists, coffee, pepper, kingdoms, taxes, maps, hedges, death, love and renewal.

This is the story, written in three parts, about two lovers and a line. This is a glimpse at best. A number of elements surrounding their story can be seen, listened to, read and experienced through our blog - 'A Line with Two Tales.' Here, I hope to give you a context, along with the words of my collaborators in this journey, Peter and Ayesha that will be published in the subsequent issues of this paper. We embarked down this road quiet by accident. As artists, we met through our practice during the Dhaka Convention on Human Rights, which had its 15th anniversary in the fall of 2049. As artist activists, we were particularly interested in telling the stories of voices that drowned in the chaos of other, more popular narratives. Narratives that had the stamp and seal of men and women who were leant credibility via power of the state. Histories that will be taught at schools and university – bleached off of any stain that didn't suit their agendas. The panel we met at, addressed the two borders – 'Border 1-1947 and Border 2 - 2014' that scarred the lands of the subcontinent - in particular that of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. I am interested in finding the realities, 'history' never quite accords enough pages to. Parts of the subcontinent that had been in conflict since Border 1-1947, split themselves from both Pakistan and India claiming independence. States tucked away in parts of India that were considered safe from the affects of borders pre Border 1 and Border 2, particularly the southern states, are now claimed by Pakistan (Hyderabad) and Sri Lanka (Tamil Nadu). There were undercurrents of states fighting for independence pre-2014, mostly instigated in the name of religion. Ethnic cleansing is statistically the highest form of mass human rights violations currently taking place in the subcontinent- be it in the name of religion, caste, creed and in some parts sexual orientation.

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Lurma shine a darlenge in the whites of rugeyes their Julit 2 ourdes just Suppa white out the rest in me. Luthing a line chado con the surface of the notice shill be made me the guess I faither Words will only feel tide no be and a second will non-



by factAgency

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Most strikingly, in 1952, when it was agreed to impose passport and visa controls for the first time, the two states forgot about the people living in the enclaves. Not much has changed since the independence in 1971. The area of enclaves is nearly 70 square kilometres. The agreed transfer could simplify "the messy boundary" but means a 40 square kilometre net loss. It might seem that it is a small price to pay. Predictably though, the enclaves have been presented as symbols of territorial inviolability and an opportunity to attack the ruling party. To the residents what matters is an end to statelessness and access to basic services.

\* enclave is a piece of land which is totally surrounded by a foreign territory. In keeping with the original meaning of the word, this apology is a defense of enclaves, a fascinating but endangered border phenomenon.

### 🖾 WHEAT PRODUCE 🌆 BASMATI PRODUCE 🧮 MOUNTAINS

## No Man's Transfer of Land

### by factAgency

Berubari

by our correspondent in Karachi

another year or so.

Bengal Government.

revision.

KARACHI: India by employing all

sorts of dilatory tactics has succeeded

in putting off the transfer of a part of

Berubari Union to East Pakistan by

The transfer is to take effect after

the completion of demarcation work

which, however, has remained consis-

tently blocked due to lame excuses

often made and, at times, frivolous

objections put forward by the West

All attempts made by the East Paki-

stan Director of Land Records and

Surveys to accommodate his counter-

part in West Bengal failed to evoke a

response from the Indian side. The

demarcation work continued to be

stalled on one pretext or the other

with the result that at the last meet-

ing, it was decided to postpone the

demarcation up to March 2014 next

year in view of the impending border

The demarcation of part of Berubari

Union is thus expected to be com-

pleted by April next year – depending

on the border situation by mid next

year. - Staff Correspondent

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This seemingly innocent change of cartographic tools has resulted in serous repercussions for the coming generations who will bear the brunt of of the broad markings on the map.

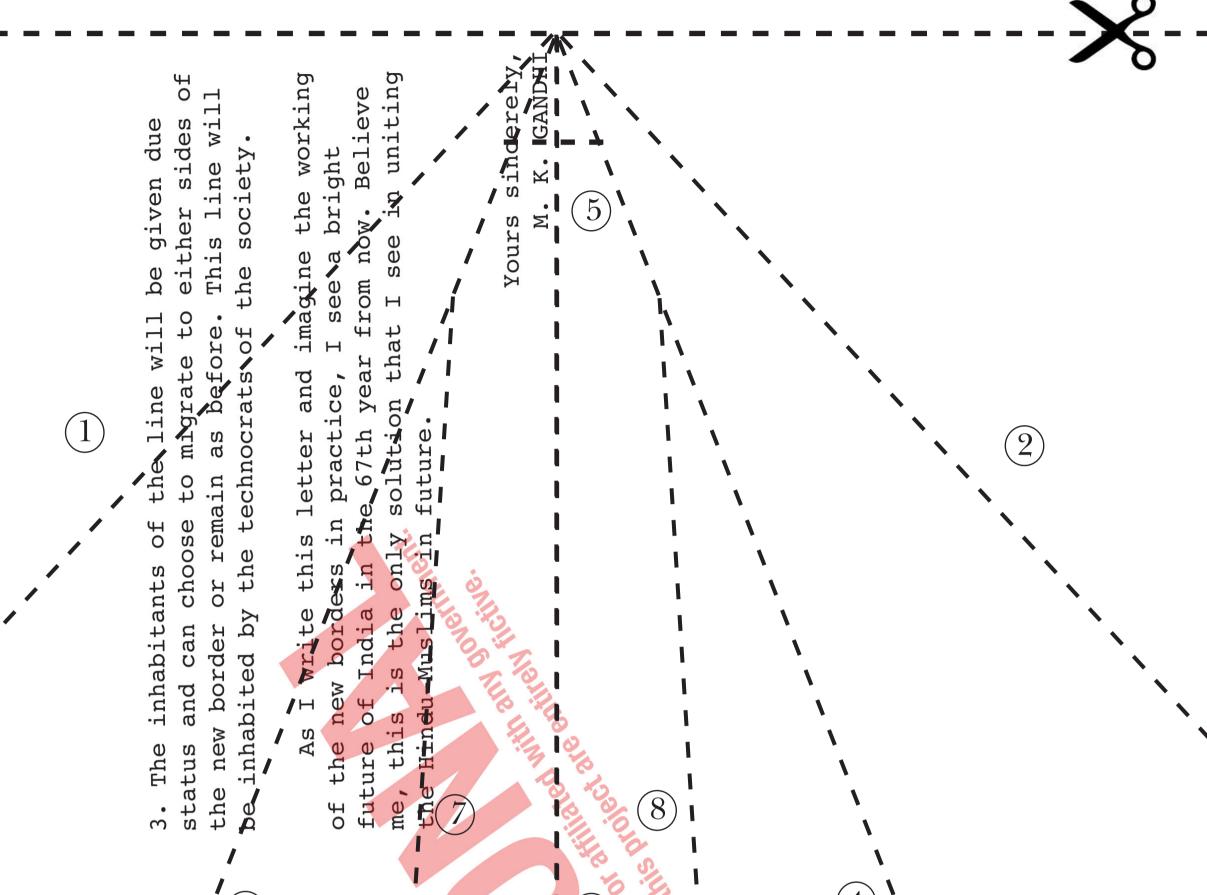
The Border Marking Team which is currently scrutinizing the line drawn by the Qalam has deducted that the line thus drawn in actuality will be 7.5 miles wide on-ground. This new discovery has started a chain-reaction in the region with the general population that resides within this seven and a half mile wide area both in India and Pakistan questioning their status of residency.

The governments of the two nations are in talks over this new revelation and are perplexed as to how will this small but irresponsible act on the part of Gandhi has created problems for them in deciding the future annexation of that particular stretch of land.

The UN observers who have started their observations have come up with the idea of declaring this piece of land as No-Man's Land but this suggestion has not been met with any enthusiasm because annexation with either state can result in a conflict situation similar to Kashmir which neither state wants as this division of borders envisioned by the Founders of Pakistan and India was basically to cement Muslim-Hindu Unity in the 67th year of Independence. Ette uthor pattion bet the one tory but the new muchuse fait for and apping such as in this lecomes the state winks apping such as in this things that of mile and most had something but decontextuality more in mile that something this decontextuality more in mile that something Danagins any 1 Shat will the plan with there this guild to write so much as a Weenago. I show the so much pain there eader. I first word happen the parties some for sale and the provide the unit parties some and the provide of the we went when the some of the word when the word the some the some of the mater and the provide the some the some of the some of the we went when the some mater is write.

I struggled to find voices and stories that could take me to the beginning of Border 2-2014. Struggled, because my voice has always been one that couldn't articulate every single event in the dryness of political history. I could never articulate what I thought of or think of in terms of the effects of politics and social norms, because I'm mostly overwhelmed. I can't keep up. I'm afraid I might miss a pertinent point here or there. And so I looked for something more sincere and found a couple - Dhanak Singh and Baadal Iqbal. I found their story, among a few others and thought I'd laugh and cry with them as they dealt with a unique set of circumstances pre and post 2014. And maybe I'll understand what I see around me in the context of their lives. Dhanak was a film maker whose story I stumbled across, when Ayesha, in one of many conversations mentioned a book of drawings she found at a hostel she stayed at in G456 (New Name), formerly of Pakistan Border 1-1947, and now a territory of Guiurat Proper Border 2 - 2014. The book contained a set of watercolors by a Surrinder Singh. Singh, a Sikh, belonged to the Pre Border 1-1947 era. Sikhs have been a minority in this region since that time. Surrinders' book carried in its front page, an award for excellence in the medium of watercolors, bestowed upon him by the East India Company. Immediately, on my return to New York, I went up to the 'Archives of the Lost and Found', in New York, a resource I found to be a treasure trove for storytellers. I stumbled across the museums archives while I was working to retrieve maps of the lost hedge of Dharmapuri in 2045. Looking, now, through the archives of the 'East India Records of Awards in Excellence in the Arts 1889-1900', I found Surrinder Singh. The records' were detailed, which was not too surprising. Footnotes and additions, over subsequent years gave indicated that the family never left G456 through the struggles of two borders. It seemed too good to be true. I took the next flight out to see Ayesha, who happened to live close to village the Singh family called home through generations. 3 years were spent tracing down family members, including those living currently in America and parts of Europe, with the help of Peter and Ayesha. The turning point was in July 2053 when Gauri Patel, whose grandmother was a great great great granddaughter of Singh, mentioned in passing, during one of many tea-time chats, that she received a package with a DVD in it 10 odd years ago. It was a film - 'a little too experimental for my tastes' she said. It was found in the attic of her great grand aunt Thilotama Shekhar's summer house in H667. I'm quite sure I held my breathe. H667 is considered in the New New World as the most disputed piece of no-mans land. Border 2-2014 is 2065.70 miles long and 7.5 miles wide. While Border 2-2014 was being marked, somehow a section of land running from Lat: 28 deg 51'32.77"N Lon: 61 deg 36'46.91"E, was 'smudged'. Meaning, all records of how that line exactly manifests is lost - no drawings, plans or structure remain as solid evidence of the line having existed in that segment even though one document was found with a satellite image of the exact position. The image is marked as being the starting segment of the new border, what is now Border 2 - 2014. One structure that shared the same Lat and Long degrees was a house - according to a record found at the 'Planning and Housing Commission of Border 1-1947' - a group set up to evaluate on-site structures while the new border was being laid. Putting two and two together, I realized that Gauri was probably talking about the same house. And she was. The house had been torn down when after 26 years of the new line, a physical wall was being built to 'fix' Border 2-2014. (While the official statement has been issued, construction of any kind of wall or structure has not been undertaken at the time of writing this piece.) The DVD was sent, along with other property by a friend who had enough clout within political circles, to ensure that whatever was stored in the house, could be sent back to the family. The film was by a young Dhanak, who had just finished her documentary Livingston – a story about a Dance Bar girl in Mumbai, pre-2014 partition. Now, I held in my hands this other film made around 2013-14, in perfect condition. It shed light on her life and what took place at the precise time history took one of those sharp turns. What was also one of the more startling discoveries was to discover that Baadal, worked for the same Planning and Housing Commission of Border 1-1947' that was mentioned earlier on. He was an architect who was brought on to do direct on -site work for the new border. In subsequent pieces and through the blog, you will find the connections between a love story, through letters, emails, instagram images and films made by the couple, reiterating how time and again, its in these intimate stories of ordinary people, that you find a series of acts that had an extraordinary and profound impact on the course of two nations histories.

# SPREAD THE NEWS



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