

第3章 IGC Beijing Session on A Reexamination of Militarization and “the Space of Occupation”: A Comparative Perspective

1. 北京国際地理学会議

4年ごとに開かれる国際地理学連合(IGU)の本会議(International Geographical Congress)は2016年8月21日から25日まで中華人民共和国の北京(北京国家会議センター)で開催された。本研究の代表者である山崎はIGU政治地理委員会共同委員長(当時)として委員会関係の口頭発表セッションの編成を手掛けた。セッション募集の結果、政治地理委員会だけで13の応募(会議時の編成数は8)があり、その一つとして山崎がイスラエルのハイファ大学地理学・環境研究学部で教鞭をとるラーセム・ハマイスー(Rassem Khamaisi)教授と共同で“A Reexamination of Militarization and “the Space of Occupation”: A Comparative Perspective”と題するセッションを立てた。このセッションは本研究のパレスチナ班と沖縄班との研究内容を接合するものとして企画された。募集の際に用いられたコールは以下の通りである。

“Occupation” generally means “to place a country or countries under one’s own control with force” and indicates a form of territorial control by means of military force. “Occupation” also implies a transitional form of control before it turns into a form of governance based on the international law, whether it is complete transfer of state/territorial sovereignty (e.g. independence or annexation) or partial transfer (e.g. mandate). In other word, “occupation” emerges as a result of an exercise of force, represents an unestablished state of sovereignty in the occupied land, and occupies a political space such as (part of) a territory.

Previous studies have shown that the concept of “absolute sovereignty” or “territorial sovereignty” as a supreme sovereign right based on territory was established in the seventeen-century Westphalian system. However, from historical and geographical points of view, the exercise of sovereignty has not necessarily coincided with the span of territory. As Agamben¹ argues on “the state of exception” and “concentration camps”, there are cases in which the incomplete state or space of absolute sovereignty allows political control to maximize its effect. Agnew² calls this type of sovereignty “effective sovereignty.”

While such “space of occupation” causes the occupied to struggle for self-determination, international human rights, and legal justice, it gives rise to various political and cultural practices at the level of daily lives of the occupied that attempt to go through porous walls of effective sovereignty exercised by the occupying. Conversely, the heterogeneity of “the space of occupation” provides the occupied with the socio-geographical conditions in which they can create such active resistance.

¹ Agamben, G. (2005) *State of Exception* (trans. by Kevin Attell). University of Chicago Press.

² Agnew, J. (2005) Sovereignty regimes: territoriality and state authority in contemporary world politics. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 95, No. 2, pp. 437-461.

Hence, drawing on the concept of “militarization” by Enloe,³ this session pays attention to various political and cultural practices in “the space of occupation” produced through multi-faceted militarization across the world.⁴ By doing so, this session will explore the structural mechanism that perpetuates the “occupation” and open up the prospect for a way to its dissolution through bottom-up processes. This session would like to compare case studies across the world, investigate the legal and structural aspects of the mechanism of the “occupation” in each case, and explore various political and cultural practices of the occupied in each “space of occupation” to find possible ways to the end of occupation.

募集の結果、7 件の応募があり、6 件を採択したが、実際に当日発表されたのは以下の 4 件であった。いずれもセッションの目的に沿った興味深い発表であり、討議も活発になされた。ここに題目、発表者名、アブストラクトを掲載しておく。

Evaluating the Occupation of Xinjiang by the People’s Republic of China in the Early 1950s

Guo, Qian (San Francisco State University, San Francisco, USA)

This paper examines the effects of occupation of Xinjiang by the People’s Republic of China (PRC) before Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region was established (fall 1949-fall 1955). In the absence of a civilian provincial government, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) exerted military governance in Xinjiang, suppressing ethnic resistance, initiating development projects and setting up Han Chinese settlements. Most importantly, the PLA created an institutional legacy, Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC, 1954), a quasi-military state enterprise that inherited much of the military economy-settlement complex. The legacy of XPCC is indeed multifaceted. While having helped solidifying the PRC’s control over Xinjiang, XPCC may have also prolonged the perception of occupation among the local Muslim groups with its low-grade militarization and may have hindered the transition from “effective sovereignty” to “absolute sovereignty.” The analyses of the PRC’s “occupation” of Xinjiang may, on the one hand, benefit from theoretical conceptualizations in political geography, and, on the other hand, inform academic discourses and borderland policies, as Xinjiang remains a restive frontier for China.

Key words: occupation, militarization, Xinjiang, Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps

³ Enloe, C. (2000) *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. University of California Press.

⁴ Yamazaki, T. (2011) The US militarization of a ‘host’ civilian society: the case of post-war Okinawa, Japan. In S. Kirsch and C. Flint eds. *Reconstructing Conflict: Integrating War and Post-War Geographies*. Ashgate, pp. 253-272

Unbounded territoriality: Territorial control in the occupied West Bank

Hughes, Sara (University of California at Los Angeles, USA)

The “temporary” Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem began in 1967. In the nearly five decades since, the settler population in the occupied territories has reached an estimated half million Israeli Jews. Excepting East Jerusalem, Israel has made no move to formally annex the territories. Neither are they withdrawing, which is made clear by continuous settlement growth. So by what territorial logic does the occupation function, such that it can continue indefinitely but still call itself a temporary military occupation? In his book *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, Robert David Sack defines territoriality as “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area”.⁵ One of the three requirements of territoriality is delimiting the area under control (Delaney, 2005; Sack, 1986).⁶ In stark contrast to this, I suggest that the territorial logic of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip represents what I term unbounded territoriality, a form of territorial control best exercised by not delimiting boundaries. This form of territoriality complicates the connection between sovereignty and territoriality in the nation-state system. This is not because Israel is incapable of exercising territorial control as traditionally conceived, but is rather proof of Israel’s overwhelming power to control territory in a fuzzy, piecemeal fashion. This project expands on efforts by scholars such as Israeli philosopher Adi Ophir to rethink familiar facts and the existing discourse about the Israel-Palestine conflict.⁷

Occupation using a Sophisticated Matrix of Control; Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory

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Since 1967, Israel has occupied Palestinian territory. This is one of the longest occupations of the last century. During this occupation, Israel developed and used a sophisticated matrix of control which has hard and soft components. Parallel to managing the daily life of the indigenous urban and rural Palestinians, the Israeli occupation has created an Israeli system of urban and rural settlements. Despite the rhetoric of looking to end the occupation, including signing an Interim peace agreement between the Israeli government and Palestinian National Authority in 1994, the conflict is still hot. These interim agreements create at least three statuses of Palestinian people living in occupied

⁵ Sack, R. D. (1986) *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 19.

⁶ Delaney, D. (2005) *Territory: A Short Introduction*. Wiley-Blackwell. Sack (1986), note 5.

⁷ Azoulay, A., & Ophir, A. (2012) *The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine*. Stanford University Press.

territory, which is divided into four subareas, governed and managed by at least three systems of national and municipal governors. This division of the territory and the Palestinian people into different statutes enables implementation of the matrix of control by the occupiers. This paper will display and discuss the roots of the deep geopolitical conflict, and present the hard and soft components of the sophisticated matrix of control used by the Israelis to secure domination, a creeping system of apartheid and territorial fragmentation and annexation to Israel. The paper will concentrate on the dual land and restrictive spatial planning domination of the matrix of control.

Key words: Matrix of Control; occupation, Israeli; Palestinians; spatial planning

Cultural Practices against Militarization: The Resilience of Okinawan Culture

Yamazaki, Takashi. (Osaka City University, Japan)

War and occupation destroy and transform the lives and cultures of the occupied. However, the substratum of the destroyed and transformed culture leaves its trail in the memories and landscapes of the occupied. Culture is not unchangeable in time and space but can have the power of resistance and recovery or “resilience.” It is not the power of culture itself but the power of human agency that attempts to engrave lost cultures into and extract them from the memories and landscapes of the occupied. This paper focuses on “Okinawan culture.” Okinawa is a group of islands in Japan which became the stage of a fierce ground battle near the end of WWII and remained under the US military administration until 1972. 20% of the main island is still occupied by vast military bases and installations. Confiscated villages, sacred places, and cultural landscapes have been destroyed, buried, or left unpreserved within military bases. The ground battle and subsequent oppressive military administration have left deep scars in the memories and landscapes of the islanders. Based on this geo-historical context, this paper illuminates the significance of “regional history” studies that emerged after the 1972 reversion as activities of municipal historians and archivists and the value of cultural landscapes that are to be restored in the site of a military base planned to be closed.

Key words: cultural practice, militarization, Okinawa

このうちハマイシー教授の発表内容に関する英語論文を特別寄稿として次頁以下に掲載する。