Australia and the Insular Imagination
S. Perera
ISBN: 9780230103122
DOI: 10.1057/9780230103122
Palgrave Macmillan

AUSTRALIA AND THE INSULAR IMAGINATION

Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies

Suvendrini Perera

AUSTRALIA AND THE
INSULAR IMAGINATION

By the Same Author

Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens
Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities/Ethnicities/Nationalities (ed.)
Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001 (ed.)

Australia and the Insular Imagination

Beaches, Borders, Boats, and Bodies

Suvendrini Perera

palgrave
macmillan

AUSTRALIA AND THE INSULAR IMAGINATION
Copyright © Suvendrini Perera, 2009.

Contents

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

This book is the product of a life lived on islands, large and small—Lanka, Manhattan, Australia—and in a succession of port cities—Colombo, New York, Sydney, Fremantle. In these places, what Edward Said describes as "the struggle over geography," as destiny and destination, as ideology, identity, and institution, is everywhere evident. Not only is there no getting "beyond geography," but there is no escaping the signs and scars of the struggles it engenders, its marking of bodies and sites, its everyday traces. Although Australia is the main focus of this book, it is constituted as much by other struggles over geography, and by the very politics and imaginaries that that name excises.

Students, colleagues, and friends in different locations and over many years helped make this book. A decade of exchanges with Joseph Pugliese has shaped and nourished it in more ways than I can identify, let alone adequately acknowledge. Lara Palombo and Kristen Phillips were valued intellectual companions and provided dedicated assistance with research throughout. Jon Stratton, the most generous of colleagues, immensely improved the end product. Auntie Ruby Langford Ginibi, Anthony Burke, Julian Burnside, Jennifer Clarke, Philip Darby, Kate Durham, Janet Galbraith, Timothy Kendall, Kumudini Gonsal-Korale, Bandula Gonsal-Korale, Balthasar Kehi, Richard Lewer, Julian Littler, Anne Maxwell, Ernest MacIntyre, Nalini MacIntyre, Toby Miller, Kim Neville, Alisoun Neville, Chae Patterson, Prem Kumar Rajaram, Charandev Singh, Vicki-Ann Speechley-Golden, Christine Stapleton, Margaret Thornton, and two anonymous readers all contributed various forms of insight and support along the way. Edward Said, Carolyn Heilbrun, Lisa Bellear, Vin D'Cruz, and Bella Te Aku Graham are friends who will never read this book, but they are present in its pages and are remembered with love and affection.

Several of the chapters had their first airings at conferences. Chapter 1 was delivered as a keynote address at the Asian Australian Research Network's inaugural conference in Melbourne in July 2006, convened by Jacqueline Lo and Tseen Khoo. Chapter 2 originated in my

British Australian Studies Association (BASA) Lecture at Royal Holloway College, University of London, in 2007, as part of the Performance and Asylum conference organized by Helen Gilbert. Chapter 3 was written for the Asia-Europe Foundation seminar, The Security Paradox of Open Borders: Surveillance and Control of Migrants, at Chiang Rai, Thailand, organized by Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr. Parts of Chapter 4 were written for my keynote address at the Interrogating Trauma conference at Murdoch University in 2008, organized by Antonio Traverso, Mick Broderick, and Miyume Tanji. Chapter 6 is based on my keynote address at the Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association (ACRAWSA) conference, Whiteness and the Horizons of Race, at the University of Brisbane in 2005, convened by Aileen Moreton-Robinson. Chapter 7 draws on material presented at Goldie Osuri's 2005 symposium, Regimes of Terror, at Macquarie University, and the special panel on The Borderpolitics of Cronulla Beach organized by Goldie Osuri and Lara Palombo at the 2006 ACRAWSA conference. My thanks to all for these opportunities to share my work.

A Discovery Grant from the Australian Research Council enabled me to conduct much of the research for this book, while the Centre for Advanced Studies of Australia, Asia and the Pacific (CASAAP) at Curtin University provided additional funding for editorial assistance. I am especially grateful to CASAAP's director, Graham Seal, and administrator, Sue Summers, for the collegial environment they provided.

Thanks are due also to Farideh Koohi-Kamali and Robyn Curtis at Palgrave, and to all the artists who generously allowed me access to their work. For assistance with obtaining images, I am grateful to Maree Klemm, Aimee Majurinen of Fairfax Photos, Adam Free of Kaldor Art Projects, Tamara Dean at Oculi, Hannah Mckissock-Davis of Kaliman Gallery, Tracey Keoh of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, and Jeffrey Rickertt of the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland.

Finally, to Mahinda, for unstinting support through the vicissitudes of academic life in Australia, and for everything else: much thanks.

I dedicate this book to the first groups of students who enrolled in my "Seeing 'Asia'" course at La Trobe University so many years ago. The content of this book is very different, but the kernel of its writing, and its productive anticipation, lie in that course and the fierce engagement of those intrepid early students. Through their energy, avidity, indignation, and excitement, their struggle to formulate new concepts, critiques, geographies, and politics, they taught me to look, for the first time, to the possibility of an imaginary that might yet exceed the confines of the insular.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

———◆❦◆———

T E R R A   A U S T R A L I S   I N F I R M A

What if the ground beneath our feet turns out to be the sea? This book pursues the idea that what constitutes and defines Australia is not *ground*, as terrestrial land mass, but rather the variable element that envelops and overlaps it. The chapters map the oceanic surrounds, the seascapes and beachscapes waxing and waning with the tides, that contour the frontiers of Australian national imaginaries. Borrowing from Irit Rogoff's inspired term, *Terra Infirma*, her call for new, contingent, geographies, and from *Terra Australis Incognita*, the empty place-holder on western maps for the unknown expanse of the great South Land, I read this space of shifting coastlines and watery foundations as the site of an unattainable desire for insularity: *terra Australis infirma*.

This is a book about sea, land, nation, and the spaces between. It explores their conjunction in a specific formation, the island: its makings, mappings, and meanings for the West; its workings in the contemporary geopolitics of the war on terror; and its configuring and shaping of territorial nationalism in Australia, *the* island-continent.

In *States of Fantasy* Jacqueline Rose delves into the affective structures and embedded imaginaries that found and sustain modern states, elucidating "how territory can be object and source of its own peculiar form of passion."[1] Approximating what Roland Barthes describes as mythology, what Jacques Derrida calls ontotopology or Thongchai Winichakul terms the geo-body, such "belief-systems write themselves as nature; dissolve into the landscape, start to look as if they were always, and will always, be there."[2] These deeply naturalized national belief systems, ideologies, and imaginaries indeed appear as the very *ground* of both subjectivity and sovereignty, inciting profound unease when they are put in question:

> What acts of consciousness, what forms of belief or fantasy, constitute the seeming solidity—the reality—of the world and air we breathe? "Challenge our most cherished assumptions"—we assume that is something literature does, and ought to do. But 'take the ground from beneath our feet'—that might be going too far.[3]

This book begins with the ground beneath our feet, the geographical figure of the island-continent, its writing as an entity that is massive, singular, and self-enclosed. *Terra Australis infirma*, as a state of shifting, watery foundations, carries within it the reminder of *terra nullius*: nobody's land, or unowned, vacant land, the shaky premise that grounds the colonizing project in these parts. *Terra nullius*, a geography of emptiness and lack, seeks its form in the compensatory enclosure of the island. The figure of the island frames the seeming vacancy inside and confers meaning on its apparent blankness, as it also fends off that other monstrous geography, "Australasia," that threatens to overwhelm and engulf. Against the unknowable vastnesses within and without, the island is a shape that defines and secures.

As a statement of claim, this naming, *terra nullius*, is simultaneously an act that *territorializes* space and attempts to establish "exclusive boundaries around it."[4] "To become territorialized," William E Connolly writes, "is to be occupied by a particular identity." *Terra* with its associations of "land, earth, soil, nourishment . . . the sense of a sustaining medium that fades off into indefiniteness," and *terrere*, "to frighten, to terrorize, to exclude," meet in *territorium*, "a place from which people are warned." The act of territorialization, while evoking the comforting sense of being timelessly linked to the sustenance of a particular piece of soil is at the same time an act of exclusion and erasure: "Perhaps the experience of land as sustenance is both presupposed and repressed by the modern organisation of territory. To occupy territory, then, is both to receive sustenance and to exercise violence."[5]

To map the significations of the geographical figure, "Australia," is to begin the task of understanding its territorialization as one that "discloses strains of terror," the product of violent technologies of ordering and acts of emplacement.[6] *Australia and the Insular Imagination* reopens the question of Australia's territorialization and emplacement not by examining its historical construction, but by considering its effects in the present. It takes as its subject those sites where the ideology of the insular is most invisible because it is felt and experienced as utterly natural: the ocean, the beach, the coastline. It is here that its territorialized limits are repeatedly asserted and delimited. Through the chapters of this book, oceans, coastlines, and neighboring regions

are made visible anew as sites where specific forms of territorialization, those that reinforce occupation by "a particular identity" while excising others, are enacted.

Sea Change Histories

But they report (and there remain good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus that conquered it (whose name it still carries . . .) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excel all the rest of mankind; having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite round them . . . And his neighbours who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection than they were struck with admiration and terror.

—Thomas More, *Utopia*

As this passage from More's *Utopia* suggests, the topos of the island, organized by an ontologized division between land and sea, is (as I explore further in Chapters 1 and 2) central to the geopolitical order of western modernity. [7] In the last two decades an oceanic turn in cultural and intellectual history has led to a questioning of that distinction, enabling new inscriptions of the ocean as a mobile space of interconnection between peoples, and counteracting the rooted territorialities, bounded demarcations, and sovereignty claims that characterize dry land. This is not to suggest that the sea is a space free of territorial contestation, but that it is being reclaimed as a site of alternative practices, submerged histories, and counternational imaginaries. Cultural theorists and historians increasingly explore the ocean as a space of cultural crossings, both painful and productive, and a crucible for the fashioning of new subjectivities, geopolitical categories, and epistemological terrains. Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic, constituted by the passage of slave ships between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, and Michael Pearson's Afrasian Sea, the site of ancient trading voyages crisscrossing Arab, African, and Indian port cities, are two powerful explorations of oceans as spaces that undo and reshape established national, natural, and geographic boundaries.

In the Indian and Pacific Oceans long histories of the sea as a space of commonality and exchange refute fantasies of the island-fortress and rebuke aspirations to rule the waves. Paul Battersby argues that

"a still under-recognised cosmopolitanism" characterized the region to Australia's north: "Until Federation [in 1901] heralded stricter demarcation of political and cultural space . . . the waters separating Australia from the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago were a vast lake across which roamed adventurers, migrants, guest workers and tourists from Europe and Asia."[8] Two recent histories of Australia's immediate region—Regina Ganter's *Pearl Shellers of the Torres Strait* and the volume *Navigating Boundaries*, edited by Anna Shnukal, Guy Ramsay, and Yuriko Nagata—document the confluences of "sea-oriented peoples" on its northern peripheries.[9]

This book owes something to such rediscoveries of oceans as politico-cultural sites and as forces in the making of new social relations and knowledges. *Australia and the Insular Imagination*, however, is not concerned with reclaiming oceanic pasts. Its interest is in the ongoing effects and legacies of the divide between oceanic and terrestrial, and the spatial and geopolitical order that emerged from it; it considers the island as a formation that is both constitutive of that order and a product of it. In this sense, the book is informed by Kamau Brathwaite's project of "tidalectics." In the Caribbean context tidalectics represent "contrapuntal" relations of land and ocean, understood as inextricably interconnected sociopolitical spaces, and their layered historical coinscriptions and coimplications in and for the present.[10] Simultaneously, the tidalectical project of "interpret[ing] life and history as sea change" is a framing of the present in global, transoceanic, and transregional terms.[11]

The chapters of this book explore the dramas played out on Australia's oceans, coastlines, and beaches, and the places, boats, and bodies that shaped its variable borderscapes in the first decade of the current millennium. Coinciding with the second century of Australian Federation, these are the opening years of the war on terror, a war in which Australia was a combatant from the outset as the third member of the coalition led by the United States and Britain. During this period, beaches and oceans, outlying territories and neighboring small islands, all were sites where Australian sovereignty and territoriality were exercised in distinctive ways through inclusion and exclusion, extension and contraction, and where the limits of the national were performed and tested.

The sea was the arena for the most urgent and deadly of these territorial enactments. The waves were awash with bodies: the bodies taken by the 2004 tsunami as it rolled out from its epicenter in Sumatra to Hafun, Somalia, at one end to the West Australian town of Geraldton at the other; the victims of the Bali bombing symbolically

set afloat at Kuta Beach; the phantom bodies of children whom Iraqi and Afghan asylum seekers were (falsely) accused of having thrown into the water—the ultimate marker of their unfitness to be accepted as Australians; the hundreds of casualties from the refugee boats that sank during their hazardous passages to Australia. Their castaway bodies haunt the pages that follow.

In these years, navy and coastguard patrolled the oceans, impelled by the drive for border security as refugee boats made landfall on out-lying atolls and deterritorialized coastlines. The imperatives of security entwined with measures of aid, humanitarianism, and peacekeeping in a series of maritime missions to neighboring islands; these, as I will show, bear structural and political parallels to the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. In such acts of control over the region the borders of ocean territories and coastlines were continually reworked as sovereignty was, paradoxically, asserted through its retraction and dis-location. The search for enemies institutionalized symbolic borderposts and checkpoints without and within as "un-Australian" subjectivities and bodies were hunted out, and perceived security threats and "failed states" subjected to intervention at home and abroad.

While a number of these instances have been discussed previously as individual occurrences, they have not been examined collectively as interrelated developments situated in global and national frameworks. It is my argument, too, that although these events relate to Australia's recent past and present, they cannot be understood as the work of a single government or political party, nor as isolated or aberrant responses to the demands of the moment. Rather, they need to be situated within the logic of insularity, and in the context of the historical imaginaries, national institutions, and geopolitical technologies that produce it. That is the project of the book.

"Imperial Tendrils" and "Insular Cases"

In an essay on the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Joshua Comaroff reflects that islands are "among the great crucibles of the sociogeographical imaginary."[12] Indeed, since Thomas More's Utopus founds his ideal state by carving it free, by the use of forced labor, from the continent to which it is bound, islands have provided the ground for political speculation and experimentation.[13] Like Foucauldian heterotopias, real and imagined islands can be sites where a culture is "simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[14] In *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Tempest* the circular confines

of the island enable the staging of colonizer–colonized relations in their most concentrated form. Islands serve, too, as prototypes and microcosmic images of the nation-state. According to Philip Steinberg, early representations of islands in western navigation charts "provided the grammar for representing the territorial state" and "shaped subsequent state imaginings."[15] As heterotopias, crucibles, proving grounds, or sociocultural and political laboratories for the possibilities of the nation-state, islands exemplify the latter's limit-points, latent capabilities, and ultimate potentialities: "islands could, in the sociolegal and taxonomic imaginary of that international order, become virtually anything."[16]

The full implications of Comaroff's statement that islands have the potential to "become virtually anything" are amplified in his discussion of the United States' spatial strategies in the war on terror, and its location of the camp at Guantánamo Bay in a space of "legal and geographical contradictions."[17] The deliberate ambiguity of Guantánamo Bay's location (as a part of the island of Cuba that is compulsorily and permanently "leased" to the United States) is only the most notorious instance of the strategies of displacement and deterritorialization undertaken by the United States and its allies in the war on terror.[18] In its first phase the conduct of the war was enabled by geographies of ruse and equivocation, and by the tactical utilization of isolated—or islanded—zones of variable and contradictory sovereignty. Historically, such dis-placed and dis-located locations have always organized imperial spatiality—through technologies such as "indirect rule," "protectorates," and permanent or semi-permanent leases—in tandem with practices of outright invasion, conquest, or annexation.[19]

As Amy Kaplan notes in her essay, "Where is Guantánamo?" the "legal black hole of Guantánamo did not appear suddenly after September 11, 2001, but is filled with a long imperial history."[20] The geographies of dis-located camps for "unauthorized arrivals," "illegal non-citizens," and "enemy combatants" placed outside the reach of international law; the strange trajectories of bodies secretly rendered up for torture; the bizarre flight paths of the phantom aircraft and "ghost planes" on which they were spirited away: all become intelligible only within the tortuous cartographies of empire.[21] These are spatial networks in which postcolonies, imperial territories, hinterlands, and island outposts served as nodal points. The circuits of "extraordinary rendition" run through Baghram and Tora Bora in Afghanistan to the port of Aden and the top security U.S. base on Diego Garcia in the Chagos Islands—or, as they are officially named, the British Indian Ocean Territory. In 2004, the British government

invoked "royal prerogative" to challenge a High Court ruling on the illegality of the forced expulsion of the Chagosians from their island in the 1960s in order to make way for the U.S. base.[22]

Imperial prerogative, sovereign exception, and deterritorialization, the characteristic *modus operandi* of this phase of the war, derive from the spatial sleights of hand and dubious taxonomies of empire. Islands are indispensable features of these serviceable geographies. Marking these contemporary uses of insularity is an important corrective to what Antonis Balasopoulos describes, in a fascinating essay on island geopoetics, as a "renewed nesological Utopianism" closely linked to a "postcolonial islandness," one that attempts to "salvage islands from the role of being mere tributary appendices to the world system, claiming for them a place in the gestation of futurity as such."[23] Countering the liberatory or transformative *potentiality* of island geopoetics exhilaratingly mobilized by authors such as Brathwaite or Epeli Hau'ofa is the ongoing mobilization of the insular in the instrumental geopolitics of empire.

In her essays on Guantánamo, Kaplan argues that its precedents lie in the "Insular Cases" of 1902–22 that legitimized differential treatment for Puerto Rico as an "unincorporated territory" of the United States.[24] Jana Evans Braziel reveals the role of Haiti as a necessary historical detour in an itinerary of dispossession, illegality, and terror that encompasses Afghanistan and Iraq via Mexico, Guantánamo Bay, and the Krome Detention Center in Florida (in the continental United States).[25] As Braziel argues, the routes and tendrils along which imperial power is dispersed and transmitted in the present are inextricable from the rooted colonial histories in these seemingly remote and irrelevant places.[26] Outpost islands such as Diego Garcia and Haiti, the not-quite-forgotten staging posts and testing grounds of imperial power, are both pivotal and invisible in the ongoing economies of empire and terror.

In "What is a Camp . . . ?" an essay written in the early months of the war on terror, I tracked a sequence of spatial and structural links between the colonial mission camps on which Aboriginal Australians were confined and contemporary onshore and offshore detention camps for the mandatory detention of asylum seekers, drawing lines of carceral connection between Woomera, a detention center and former U.S. military base in South Australia, and Guantánamo Bay, where Haitian asylum seekers were incarcerated in the 1980s before it acquired global infamy as a deterritorialized prison for assorted "battlefield detainees" and "enemy combatants" of the war on terror.[27] Here, I extend this network of correspondences to a type of

geopolitical reciprocity between the modalities of territorial dominion and imperial control that characterize relations between the United States and the islands of Cuba and Haiti on the one hand, and on the other, the forms of variable sovereignty that Australia exercises over its outlying territories, former colonies and protectorates, such as Nauru, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea. These seemingly peripheral island postcolonies, too, the small places of the global map, were recruited to play their role in empire's new dis-locating geographies of exception and excision.

An Insular State

The genealogies of the extraterritorial prison and the island outpost that I am referencing culminate in the present-day state of Australia itself. Australia's origins as the ultimate penal colony of the British Empire are an essential part of the story. The island at the very ends of the earth, *Ultima Thule*, the uttermost or last island: this past is both remembered and reworked in the present-day self-representations of the island-continent at home and abroad—in its self-image as an island fortress and outpost of western civilization; in its colonizing relations toward indigenous peoples throughout the region; and in its status as a local surrogate for the larger imperial powers. This is a history indissociable from Australia's location as an *agent* in both senses—as an actor in its own right and as a representative or deputy—in the war on terror.

Domestically, the maritime and the insular pervade national consciousness, although they remain curiously absent from its histories. In most cultural analyses Australia's oceanic surrounds are barely acknowledged, or else mentioned only through disclaimer and disavowal—as in Michael Evans's assertion that "a maritime character is not imprinted on the Australian psyche," or Ian Mudie's statement that "it is the outback and not the ocean that grips the minds of Australians."[28] Frank Broeze's *Island Nation*, subtitled *A History of Australians and the Sea*, was expressly designed to address this seeming indifference to the oceanic and the insular; it aims to "integrat[e] . . . the maritime elements of Australia's history into the country's general history" and to demonstrate that "the influence of maritime Australia . . . reverberates far and wide through the life and history of the nation."[29] Yet, as Simon Ville astutely notes, although Broeze's wide-ranging and meticulous text "indicates the many ways in which the sea impinges on the lives of Australians . . . it does not explicitly emphasize it a critical factor in historical development but simply as an insufficiently recorded one."[30]

Ville's comment suggests that the sea as a critical and defining feature of Australian national consciousness is not recorded so easily within circumscribed categories such as "defence," "trade," "sport," or "leisure" that make up Broeze's scrupulously erudite study; its deepest inscriptions are to be sought elsewhere: in the imaginative coordinates and symbolic cartographies that locate the nation. One of the most pervasive of its affective locations is the celebration of insularity inscribed in the opening verse of the national anthem: "Our land is girt by sea." Often identified as the only line of the national anthem that "everyone" knows, "girt by sea" is taken to signify the very essence of Australianness. The slightly awkward, self-consciously literary "girt," with its biblical echoes, both embarrasses and reassures; it is most often invoked as a humorous or knowing allusion that nonetheless affirms a national eth(n)os. As an affective geography, "girt by sea" structures the embodied common sense of the nation and shapes its everyday identifications and incarnations.

"Girt by sea" as a figure of the nation is sometimes transposed into a gendered and raced incarnation, Gert by sea. Gert, a figure invested with symbolic as well as parodic significance, connects the Australian nation to its British, and specifically English, origins; a figure who indirectly references eugenicist discourses of the emergence of a new racial-national type associated with the sea and the beach: the white Australian as a "distinctive product of the unique conditions of this country [combined with] the genetic inheritance of its Anglo-Celtic forebears."[31] Girt and Gert appear in numerous advertisements, on T-shirts and billboards, in jokes and send-ups, as well as in political rhetoric and literary and cultural discourses, representing a kind of vernacular geopoetics of the island-nation.

In 2008, "girt by sea" provided the inspiration for changing the colors of the national Olympic team from green and gold to blue and silver.[32] A local branch of the multinational bookstore chain *Borders* advertises "a scroll girt by cheese" in its café, flirting with the tensions of globalization, nationalism, and protectionism. Among a spate of discussions about Australian identity prompted by the imposition of a citizenship test in 2006–7, an Internet quiz "*You know you're Australian if . . .* " lists as its first criterion "knowing the meaning of *girt.*" Such instances by themselves may be dismissed as merely "ironic"— another favorite attribute claimed as distinctively Australian. But in 2001 "girt by sea" was tied to the national character in all earnestness by no less a figure than the then leader of the opposition: "I stand up on behalf of girt. Girt by sea needs to be celebrated and if we can't do that regularly when Australia enjoys its sporting triumphs, at the

beginning of our school assemblies . . . I think something would be lost that is . . . decent and essential to the Australian character."[33]

Insularity, as a component of what is "decent and essential to the Australian character" infuses the "banal" or "endemic" nationalism of the state. "Banal nationalism" is Michael Billig's formulation for "the ideological habits which enable the established Western nations to be reproduced."[34] Even as these states rhetorically dissociate themselves from nationalism, displacing it onto the extremists and fringe groups in their societies, and the uncouth nationalisms of the incomplete nations beyond, banal nationalism "provides a continual background for their political discourses, for cultural products, and even for the structuring of newspapers. In so many little ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding. The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building."[35]

In the case of Australia this reminder of "*their national place*" is accomplished not only through the metonym of the unnoticed flags displayed in public buildings, but equally, I would argue, by the national map that sits beside it, and whose stylized image is incorporated into the logos of public and commercial institutions. These images, regardless of whether or not they include the state of Tasmania, or the hundreds of other smaller islands around the coastline, register as a representation of *the* island nation, a singular territorial body girt by sea. Although common-sense arguments would have it that globalization and multiculturalism have vitiated nationalist sentiments and will gradually render them irrelevant, such deep national formations rather coexist with, or run in parallel circuits to, the former. The very banality, the taken for grantedness, of everyday representations of the island-nation ensure its continuity and its ability to be solicited, called upon, and mobilized, especially in conditions of perceived threat to its very territoriality. "Girt by sea," as form, image, idiom and ideology, locates insularity as Australia's defining characteristic.

The Last Island

The interconnected essays in this book consider the diverse policies and stratagems adopted by Australia to manage domestic and neighboring spaces in the early years of the war on terror. These, I suggest, are practices and strategies that emerge from the historical and

geopolitical forces that locate Australia itself as a particular type of "insular case." The imagining of Australia as the island-continent, the world's "largest island and smallest continent," so schoolchildren are taught, fuses the insular consciousness derived from "Great Britain" (itself a conceptual and imaginative insularity imposed on a more complex political configuration) with a sense of continental massivity and regional destiny that aspires to emulate that of another former colony *and* empire, the United States.[36] The book considers the effects of Australia's self-understanding as its own type of "insular case"—that is, its particular claim to racial-geographical exceptionalism.

Positioned at an intersection between historical geoimaginaries and contemporary geopolitics, *Australia and the Insular Imagination* looks to a future de-exceptionalizing of the Australian claim to racial-geographical distinctiveness. It seeks the dismantling of this racial-geographical exceptionalism through a form of what Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider term "productive anticipation." Rogoff and Schneider elucidate productive anticipation as

a state of . . . observing and narrating a perception of the politics we are all mired in . . . [that] might also require us to produce and inhabit a series of fictions . . . given that the so-called realities around are not quite able to host, or allow legibility to, what we are in search of . . . [S]ubsequently we might try our hand at seeing what kind of vocabulary these activities have generated in order to think through a coming politics.[37]

In observing and narrating the insular politics in which we all are mired, the book anticipates, and searches for, that which "the so-called realities around are not quite able to host, or allow legibility to." Apprehending these "coming politics" involves "mixing different desires as ingredients": pursuing intimations, taking up "fictions," and working with formulations that are provisional and heuristic—"considering things before they exist properly in time and . . . taking up developments that are not yet in place."[38]

The unpredictable itineraries of refugee boats and the movements of castaway bodies; regional counter-imaginaries of land and sea; Indigenous Australians' concepts of *country*; the envisioning of layered sovereignties, variable borderscapes, and transborder practices; of extraterritorial or "popular" forms of geopolitics; as well as "the struggle over geography"—that is, the knowledges, practices, technologies, and imaginaries that make and unmake *terra Australis infirma*: throughout the book these disparate elements are taken as

components of a still-developing "alternative language through which to engag[e] with contemporary urgencies."³⁹ Together they suggest "a kind of vocabulary" as well as new interpretive possibilities that may be "generated in order to think through a coming politics."⁴⁰

Organization of the Book

Chapter 1 presents the historical context for the rest of the book. It traces some of the key moments in the making of the island-continent imaginary from the voyages of Cook and Flinders to the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, and suggests the ways in which history, cartography, and key tropes and figures of colonial discourse combine to produce what appears as an irrefutable geographical fact: the island-continent of Australia. The chapter considers the island-continent as a claim of geographical singularity that entails a particular from of *territoriality*, one that combines geographical and racial identity. As a kind of plot for nation, this geography organizes both the bodies that are able to be counted within Australia and those excluded from it. As an alternative to this territorial–racial construct, the chapter suggests that island-Australia is the product of certain foundational forgettings, as well as of specific political and imaginative choices, identifications, and ascriptions. In turn these determine future orientations and relations.

In the context of elemental imaginaries of land and sea in western modernity, Chapter 2 considers the political formation of the island, drawing on Carl Schmitt's argument that British maritime power initiated a radical change in the spatial order and a transformation of the political and historical meanings of the island. It examines a British geopoetics of insularity and traces its links to Australian insular consciousness and to its imaginaries of the territoriality of Australia, focusing on the sites of the ocean, the beach, and the island.

Chapter 3 retells the stories of three refugee boats, the *Tampa*, SIEV X, and the *Minasa Bone* (a small boat that landed on Melville Island on Melbourne Cup Day 2003, only to have the island *retrospectively* excised from the migration zone). Against shifting territorial and temporal boundaries, the chapter tracks the tortuous itineraries of castaway bodies seeking asylum and argues that they contribute to mapping cross-border spaces where new relations, practices, possibilities, and forms of connection can emerge. How do the movements of asylum seekers reconfigure the multiethnic, transnational spaces through which they move? The chapter demonstrates how the bodies of asylum seekers, living and dead, and the practices that attempt

to organize, control, and terminate their movements bring new dynamics, new dangers and possibilities, into Australia's borderscapes.

Part 2 of the book turns a critical lens on practices of disaster, aid, and peacemaking and the ways in which they are inflected by the over-arching discourse of Australian (in)security as an entity that is in, but not of, the region. Immediately after Boxing Day 2004 it became commonplace to hear that the tsunami marked a "defining moment" for Australia. The obligations of neighborliness were frequently invoked, sharpening a sense of connection with, and shared vulnerability in, the region that emerged in the aftermath of bombings in Bali and Jakarta. Yet even as some responses to the tsunami may have heightened a sense of commonality with neighboring states, they also served, paradoxically, to consolidate a distinct, racialized, sense of Australian mission and identity, for example through assuming the role of the most generous donor or *the* good neighbor. Chapter 4 situates questions of reciprocity and the limits and ethics of neighborliness in a set of wider economic, political, and epistemological contexts that constitute and circumscribe understandings of natural disaster and dangerous geographies.

The bombings at Kuta Beach, Bali, in October 2002 are sometimes referred as Australia's 9/11, an end of innocence or loss of security.[41] Such descriptions ignore the ways in which a consciousness of threat and insecurity in "the region" is formative of the Australian state. Chapter 5 develops this idea in the context of Australia's definition of its surroundings as a fragmented and violent "arc of instability," while implicitly defining itself in contrast as an "island of stability." Building on recent theorizations of the entwining of fear and security in Australian foreign policy, the chapter suggests that Gulliver among the Lilliputians, a figure riven by contradictory feelings of fear and contempt, suspicion and admiration, for his surroundings, may be an appropriate image for Australia in the region. The Bali bombings, rather than being viewed as an expression of ultimate otherness, are contextualized against the insecuritization of everyday life in Australia, alongside its operations in the maritime and archipelagic region to its north, the most immediate of its fearful geographies.

Chapter 6 moves from Australia's northern borders to Oceania and the Pacific. Simultaneously it shifts the focus from "humanitarian" aid to peacekeeping and peace-building activities. The chapter situates Australia's policing operations in Solomon Islands in the context of both domestic interventions into Indigenous communities constructed as "failed states," and the geopolitics of global interventionism in the war on terror. Starting with the then prime minister's

characterization of the Pacific as "our patch," the chapter remaps imaginative and affective borders of the nation and the region, arguing that state projects of maintaining security, peacekeeping, nation-building, and aid *in the region* in turn reflect back on and reinforce an ongoing *internal* project of enacting colonial sovereignty over Aboriginal bodies, populations, and lands.

The final chapter of the book returns to the notion of the island-continent as the homeland of a new people, Australians. It examines the ways in which the spatial organization of Australia as an island continues to reproduce specific racial subjectivities and imaginaries even within a nation badged (though with increasing ambivalence) as multicultural and postcolonial. In 2005, racial violence against "lebs and wogs" on Cronulla Beach made world headlines. Sutherland Shire, where the beach is located, was widely discussed as a "white sanctuary" at the edge of the "global melting pot" of Sydney. Very little attention, however, focused on the shire's origins as the "birthplace of modern Australia," the "first landing site on the east coast of Australia by James Cook" at a point now memorialized as the Botany Bay National Park.[42] Between Botany Bay and Cronulla Beach there is a historical continuity that this chapter explores through iconographies of the beach and the coastline as defining sites of Anglo-Australian possession.

During the major part of the period under examination in *Australia and the Insular Imagination* a conservative Liberal–National government, led by Prime Minister John Howard, held office. It was replaced by a conservative Labor government, led by Kevin Rudd, in 2007. While the government of the day played a decisive role in the developments considered here, the argument of the book extends to far more entrenched institutional structures and politico-cultural formations within Australian society. The policy of mandatory detention that enforces the insular territoriality of the state was first put into effect by a Labor government widely considered one of the more socially progressive that Australia has seen. In 2009, according to a report by the Human Rights Commission, the "legal architecture of the mandatory detention system remains in place" despite a statement of "values" that would appear to oppose it by the current Rudd Labor government.[43] As these various linked essays emphasize, an underlying continuity, premised on an insular territoriality, characterizes the rhetoric and the policy directions of the state, as well as the dominant social and cultural production of the nation. As long as the ideologies and imaginaries that sustain Australian territoriality remain unaddressed, then, the theoretical and political questions that this book raises cannot but retain their sense of critical immediacy.

C H A P T E R   1

—❦—

G I R T   B Y   S E A

AUSTRALIA, a large island southeast of Java, not to be confused with the continent of the same name . . .

—Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi,
The Dictionary of Imaginary Places[1]

In 2000 the Sydney Olympics closed with Christine Anu singing "My Island Home." For those shaken by the vicious xenophobia promoted by the breakaway Member of Parliament Pauline Hanson and her One Nation party in the late 1990s, Anu's performance delivered a shimmering vision of some other possible Australia. A young Indigenous woman, Anu elegantly countered Hanson's raucous and overblown whiteness; her song, a unifying anthem, pointed the way forward for a proudly multiethnic nation. Or so it might have seemed for a few euphoric weeks, against the backdrop of the "best games ever," in an emerald city scoured and sparkling for the occasion, and the afterglow of an opening Olympic ceremony that staged timeless Indigenous wisdom hand in hand with wide-eyed, ponytailed Anglo-Australia: on every count a winning combination for the new millennium.

The Sydney Olympics commandeered the global stage to perform a national story: a story of belonging addressed to specific local audiences. Sportspeople, musicians, artists, and dancers together enacted an allegory of nation that countered the souring of the official reconciliation process and the collapse of hopes for a republic.[2] Brett Nielson writes that the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics "sought to effect a national catharsis" by melding "the conjectured possibility of . . . national reconciliation" with the "We are the World values of Olympism."[3] At the closing ceremony, after Midnight Oil had reminded Australians of the unresolved business of the nation by singing of land rights with the word "*Sorry*"

inscribed across their chests, Anu's performance struck just the right parting note, an upbeat affirmation of home that allowed listeners to tap in at different levels.

Sung by an Indigenous woman, "My Island Home" could invoke land rights, an assertion of title that also recalls the Island Man, Eddie Koiki Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander like Anu, whose name is enshrined in the most significant legislation of the 1990s.[4] At the same time, the song allows identification with the big island of Australia as home to diverse peoples from different islands and places. The appeal of the song is this ability to contain contradictory meanings and absorb tensions between them, even as it provides space for hidden stories of displacement and upheaval to emerge. Anu's dress for the occasion, made up of thousands of squares of machine-cut and polished mother-of-pearl shell held together by brass rings, silently alluded to untold narratives of Asian, Pacific, and Aboriginal peoples in the pearling grounds of white Australia. Her biography recalls many of these stories, a map of Islander itineraries of displacement since colonization:[5]

> Her mother's people were from Saibai Island, just off the south coast of Papua New Guinea. Her father came from Mabuiag Island, closer to the centre of Torres Strait. The family had found its way to Queensland decades earlier, when Christine's grandparents left the Torres Strait islands to set up the mission at Bamaga, near Cape York, with a dozen other families. Her grandfather worked up and down the far north Queensland coast on a trochus boat and eventually moved the family to Cairns. Christine's connection with her family heritage was the times her father pulled out his guitar, put down the mats on the veranda of the family home, and encouraged a family singalong, singing island songs.[6]

The vision of Anu singing of an island home that remains with her despite many removals is part of the song's mystique, affirming continuity and survival in the face of violent upheaval. But, contrary to popular belief, "My Island Home" is not an Islander song that carries Anu's Islander heritage across generations of displacement on the mission and among Cairns's many migrant communities. It was composed by Neil Murray, an Anglo-Australian member of the Warumpi Band, who details a complex genesis for the song, drawing on his memories of Galiwinku (Elcho Island) in Arnhem Land, the country of the band's lead singer, George Rrurrambu.[7]

Some forty years before Anu, Jimmy Little had performed a cover of another song of an island home, Harry Belafonte's haunting "Island in the Sun." Viewed in a retrospective of Little's career after his extraordinary comeback around the time of the Sydney Olympics, the contextual ironies of this performance are staggering. It was not until 1967 that Indigenous people were included, following a referendum, in the national census; that is, they were made visible for the first time to be counted among the human inhabitants of the nation. Little, who grew up on the Cherbourg Mission in Queensland, a place to which diverse groups of Aboriginal people were forcibly moved from their countries, delivers a limpid performance of the song made famous by Belafonte, a descendant of African slaves in Jamaica and a leader of the U.S. civil rights movement. Little's album was a hit with the mostly Anglo-Australian record-buying public who, presumably, were reassured rather than discomfited by the spectacle of an Aboriginal man singing "This is my island in the sun"—just as audiences across the former British Empire and in the segregated United States were seemingly enchanted by Belafonte's version.[8]

In attempting to understand the contradictions in these responses, I remember my own first exposure to the song, in the Belafonte version, in the mid-1960s, as a child growing up in the up-country of Sri Lanka (then Ceylon). In my mind I identified the workers in the song with descendants of Indian indentured labourers who toiled on the tea estates in our hill town. Even as I was imaginatively endowing them with joint ownership of our "island in the sun," many of these workers were excluded from both Ceylonese and Indian citizenship and were officially stateless—information that I also possessed as a child through the stories of some of my "stateless" friends at the local school.

Across the scattered outposts of empire—Jamaica, Lanka, Australia—places constituted by invasion, removal, and displacement, the island works as a unifying figure, holding together populations fractured by multiple incommensurabilities. The emotional appeal of the imagined body of the island lies in its ability to confer coherence: it is "the ultimate gesture of simplification."[9] Against the *temporal* asymmetries of colonial societies (who came when? who was here before?), the island is a sign that projects *spatial* completeness and membership in a collectivity. An island is a world apart. The self-enclosed world of the island implies affective and imaginative bonds among inhabitants held together within naturally given limits. Amid flux and fracture, the

island signifies an unbroken, bounded, self-sufficient, even organic, entity: a nation.

Nation in Waiting

This book begins with the idea of the island-nation, Australia. To call island-Australia an idea is to put into question its presence as a self-evident geographical entity, a body on the map. Placing under interrogation the islandness of Australia as a geographical fact, this chapter considers the island-nation Australia as a *geo-body*. In his land-mark work on the grounding of the idea of nation in the construct of the geo-body Thongchai Winichakul argues that a nation's geo-body "appears to be concrete to the eyes *as if its existence does not depend on any act of imagination*. That, of course, is not the case."[10] The geo-body, "the most concrete, seemingly natural, and stable feature of a nation," allows us to imagine the nation as if it had always been there.[11] As Winichakul points out, some of the ambiguities of this founding act of construction are already concealed within the term "geography," a word that refers both to the seemingly self-evident, given physical features of a place *and* to the act of constituting these features through an act of writing: *geo-graphy*.[12] Geo-graphy, a *writing on*, as well as a *writing of*, earth is a technology of making that inscribes space and invests place with meaning.

As "a writing of place, an enunciation of knowledge and as a nar-rative structure," in Irit Rogoff's words, geo-graphy is an essential technology for the making of the modern nation-state.[13] Geo-graphy authors as it authorizes the modern nation-state and *emplaces* it within a system of similarly authorized nation-states.[14] A mod-ern nation-state announces itself as modern by defining its borders through the act of geographical mapping, an act guaranteed as both scientific and objective. In this act it also enunciates itself as a nation. The spatial mapping of the nation through the technologies of sci-entific modernity projects these newly written borders *backward* in time, to the space-time of antiquity or the primordial. The nation mapped, an entity that appears *as if it had always been there*, is a stak-ing of claim in space and time.

While the nation-state "Australia" had no existence before 1901, the Australian nationalist imaginary is predicated on the construct of the island-continent, that is, of a singularity understood as whole and self-contained, a monadic landmass at once severed from its surround-ings and protected against them by encircling oceans. These nationalist

imaginaries depend upon an anachronistic and ahistorical assumption of a preexisting territoriality, a country ready made, already there. The island-nation is the premise on which most histories of Australia retrospectively ground themselves. From this geo-graphical assumption almost everything else flows. The island-continent, self-made, entire of itself, is assumed as always already a nation in waiting. It needs only to be called by its name, Australia, to enter into its proper being, its destiny as a nation.

Here I remember the famous 1619 engraving by Jan van der Straet that depicts, allegorically, the moment of Amerigo Vespucci's discovery of a dormant native body, *America.* The caption tells the story: *"He calls her name and she awakens."* The engraving, brilliantly analyzed as a primal scene of first contact in colonial discourse by Michel de Certeau and Peter Hulme among others, personifies America as a female indigene rousing at the arrival of the European explorer/conqueror.[15] America, naked but for a feathered headdress, stretches a bare arm toward the still, upright figure of an Amerigo armed with all the attributes of civilization: hat, cloak, boots, standard, compass.

Taking this early seventeenth-century allegory of colonizer–colonized relations as a point of departure, I propose that the Australian nationalist imagination predicates itself, retrospectively, on a geographical rather than a human figure: *island-Australia*. Like the foundational figure of the unclothed and virgin America, the island figure, Australia, signifies as untouched, unknown, whole, and new. This Australia is both an island isolated and a world in waiting. In their earliest narratives European explorers and scientists characterized the country they saw as unlike any other: a world of strange, inverted nature—black swans, inland-running rivers, bark-shedding trees, flightless birds, stingless bees—and of (barely) human inhabitants innocent of the most rudimentary concepts and technologies of civilization, including, crucially, the ownership and cultivation of land.[16] These tropes of antipodeality, inversion, difference, and isolation secure island-Australia as a strange and singular territory, unmoored in space and time, lost, or cast away, from the wider world.

Rod Edmund and Vanessa Smith argue that European exploration in the Pacific mostly involved "replacing a dream of continents with the reality of islands." Australia as "the island-continent" surely partakes of both these meanings: the island as a "natural colony" that is "graspable" in its entirety *and* as the great lost continent of *terra Australis incognita*.[17] And are not the terror and desire that characterize the colonizing drive to grasp, take hold of, cultivate, and improve

the desert(ed) island mirrored in the *terra nullius* of this seemingly unhusbanded new land?[18] A "master narrative of enclosure," Robert Marzec argues, connects preimperial practices of privatizing the commons in England with the colonial project of taming the wild, uncultivated places of the earth. In key texts of colonial discourse such as *Robinson Crusoe*, the spectacle of apparently untenanted land provokes an "ontological dread"; it is "an adversary . . . a volatile entity that needs to be subordinated."[19] The orderly form of the island contains the terrors that the notion of a vast, uncultivated expanse inspired in early colonizers.

Australia as island-continent is already a presence at the site where Captain Cook ceremonially declares ownership of the great unknown land he was directed to find in secret instructions from the British Admiralty. Just before sunset on Wednesday, 22 August 1770, at a chosen point that he names *Possession Island*, Cook claims this continent-in-waiting, this Australia-to-be, already known and yet still unknown, for Britain.

> Notwithstand[ing] I had in the Name of His Majesty taken possession of several places upon this coast, I now *once more* hoisted English Coulers and in the Name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole Eastern Coast . . . by the name New South Wales, together with all the Bays, Harbours Rivers and Islands situate upon the said coast, after which we fired three Volleys of small Arms which were Answerd by the like number from the Ship.[20]

At first reading of Cook's log, this ceremony of taking possession appears redundant: it repeats an act performed before at other places, several times, along the coast. Yet the naming of this site as Possession Island, *as if it were the first*, writes it as the primary and foundational site of ownership. A seemingly superfluous iteration of ownership initiates the figure of island-Australia. Possession Island, off the tip of what is now the Cape York Peninsula, does duty metonymically for a yet-unknown continent, the great South Land of the imagination already prefigured over the centuries in European maps as *both* island and continent.[21]

Only on his return to the ship after reiterating the ritual of ownership and naming Possession Island does Cook register again, and again as if for the first time, the numerous fires burning on the adjacent beaches, and note that they are "a certain sign they are Inhabited."[22] The foundational finding and taking possession of the land from the site of the metonymical Possession Island remains *anterior* to the incidental

acknowledgment of the inhabitants already in occupation. In this gap between the act of claiming/naming and seeing, between the disavowal and the acknowledgment, lies the as-yet unresolved question of sovereignty. This question continues to haunt the island-nation Australia, that is both realized in this act of claiming and that remains an aspiration, unrealized, unrealizable, to this day.

Geo-graphies of Excision

Islands, in John Gillis's words, constitute "a third kind of place" in western cosmogony, interceding between the order of earth and the chaos of ocean. More than this, islands make the whole conceptual-epistemological order of the West thinkable: "Western culture not only thinks about islands, but thinks *with* them. . . . Dividing the world into discrete things, islanding it as a means of understanding, is a peculiarly Western way of navigating a world that seems otherwise without shape and direction."[23] In his extended study of "Islomania," the fascination with islands, Gillis considers islands as a "central feature of Western culture, a core idea that has been a driving force from ancient times to the present."[24] From the outset Gillis recognizes that the work of the island is not confined to the conceptual, the mythic, or the imaginative, but is "an incentive to action, an agent of history."[25] Nonetheless, his focus remains on the island as "master metaphor," or topos, and largely forgets the role of the island in the spatiopolitical organization of territoriality, that is, the work it performs as a form of *geopolitical* and *territorial* ordering.[26] That is, in part, the aim of this book.

Australia, *the* island-continent, is the name of a singularity, a statement of geographical exception. As an island *and* a continent it is marked as doubly distinct from the many islands of the Asian continent to which it is connected. Australia as island-continent is a claim, written of/on earth, for the best of both worlds. Interlocking geographies of excision enforce new boundaries for this singular geo-body and make old ones unthinkable. Island-Australia is the writing of a new, hierarchical and ontologized, demarcation between land and ocean that literally dis-places existing geographies. According to Gillian Beer, the British insular imaginary is constituted by a series of erasures and forgettings. The is-land, etymologically "water surrounded-land," is a concept that "implies a particular and intense relationship of land and water," a relation inevitably forgotten as oceans become instrumentalized as empty spaces to be traveled over, as against the productive ground of island colonies.[27] Enshrined in the opening stanza of the

Australian national anthem—"*With golden soil and wealth for toil/Our land is girt by sea*"—this distinction between (potentially) productive ground and wild ocean marks a constitutive and continuing divide between colonizing and Indigenous cosmographies.

As an act of emplacement and territorialization, island-Australia effaces other geographies and disallows competing cosmographies. In contrast to Indigenous conceptualizations, the "imperial history of landscape construction" is characterized by an elemental divide between land and sea that values land as property and reduces ocean to the status of a "homogenised *commons*" (see also Chapter 2).[28] Indigenous maps of *country* that inscribe different boundaries and relations are violently erased as Aboriginal nations are fragmented, dispersed, and arbitrarily reengineered.[29] Sharp lines sever land from sea, splintering *country* into parcels of incompleteness and lack.

Indigenous cosmologies on the other hand expose the "terrestrial bias" of the insular imagination by bringing different relations of land and water into view.[30] In recent years the malformations engineered by imperial history's "terrestrial bias" are being formally contested by native title claims to land, ocean, and the spaces between. These claims are often supported by artworks, such as Yolŋu bark paintings of sea-country that represent the "intimate, organic embrace" of earth and ocean.[31] In Baluka Maymuru's installation of poles for the Blue Mud Bay sea rights claim, water is represented as an element that unifies as it circulates:

> Water-based imagery takes in the rivers and sea currents of Blue Mud Bay; the transcendent imagery of . . . the Milky Way, the river across the sky; the rain-carrying . . . formations of cumulo-nimbus clouds; the mangrove leaves that mix fresh and saltwater to create the brackish water that is the essence of life.[32]

The insistence on Australia as a land girt by sea depends from the start on a denial of this sinuous interplay of shapes and elements, the interrelation of shore and sea, their morph and flow one into the other. Reefs, sandbanks, mangroves, mudflats, high and low water marks are all features of sea-country.[33] In Richie Howitt's words, these are sites characterized by a "fecund embrace of coexistence" where diverse ecosystems interact.[34] The mangrove is an exemplary site where ocean, sky, earth, and river meet and commingle to produce a distinctive ecology. Mangroves confound the arbitrary division of land from sea. Together with the shifting shapes of intertidal zones,

the confluence of fresh and salt waters, the life systems and organisms that thrive in interstitial spaces, mangroves are defining sites of a cosmology that encompasses rather than excises. In July 2008, after a prolonged period of litigation, the High Court of Australia finally granted the Yolŋu claim for title to the waters of Blue Mud Bay between the high- and low-water marks, an acknowledgment of the interzone between land and sea.

These sites, Djon Mundine writes, are also models for a way of being in the world:

> The Yolŋu use water as a tool, a model for philosophising. The estuarine area of a river has different plant species along its bank. The constant renewal where fresh and salt mix and return is known as ganma. This is used as a metaphor to describe a different kind of mixing: mixing Balanda [white] thought from overseas (saltwater) and indigenous wisdom from the land (fresh water) to create new life and ways of thinking.[35]

Using water as a technology for philosophizing, Yolŋu lifeworlds overflow the limits of insular Australia. Governed by the cyclical movements of wind and water, a "different kind of mixing," the intricate web of relationships between Yolŋu and Macassan groups long predates Cook's rituals of arrival and possession.[36] The interweaving of Macassan and Yolŋu at multiple levels evolved over centuries, being estimated to have begun between 1400 and 1600.[37] It is recorded not only in the bark and cave paintings and stone structures of Arnhem Land, but also in the everyday lives of contemporary Yolŋu: in their ceremonies, vocabularies, genealogies, and bodies.[38] These interactions were not by any means free of conflict, but they were premised on trade and exchange rather than the impulse for territorial or cultural conquest.[39]

The centuries-old traffic from the port of Makassar in what is now Sulawesi in Indonesia testifies to recognitions of Aboriginal sovereignty prior to British colonization, and to a thriving and complex system of transregional relations that is the ultimate refutation of the self-serving fiction of *terra nullius*. Historians including Campbell MacKnight, Ian Crawford, Christine Choo, and Regina Ganter have done pioneering work in tracking the histories of these Macassan arrivals that, in Ganter's words, "change the parameters of Australian history."[40] Here I focus on the spatial, rather than the temporal, implications of these Macassan voyages as a way of contesting the making of an insular imaginary predicated on the territoriality of an island geo-body.

The Malay Road

From the start, the prior presence of the Macassans in northern and northwestern waters shadows British efforts to fix and define the limits of a coastline that had so far eluded Dutch, French, and British investigations. The first meeting between the British sailors and the Macassans is documented by Matthew Flinders, memorialized in the history books as the first man to circumnavigate Australia. Setting out in his appropriately named ship, HMS *Investigator*, Flinders expresses puzzlement in his logbook over the traces of an unidentifiable cultural other who has been here before him. He itemizes a series of strange signs: fireplaces of mysterious design; "three boat rudders of violet wood"; "palm leaves sewn with cotton thread into the form of such hats as are worn by the Chinese"; "the remains of blue cotton trousers of the fashion called moormans."[41] On 17 February 1803, at a point off the northeast corner of what is now Arnhem Land, these indecipherable signs coalesce at last into the shapes of six *prau* on their annual trading voyage to the coast they know as Marege. Somewhere in the uncharted waters behind them, Flinders hears, there may be as many as sixty more.

Flinders exchanges carefully guarded visits, instructing the crew of the *Investigator* to remain armed for the duration, with Pobassoo, the chief of the *prau* fleet. One Abraham Williams, recorded as the "Malay cook" on board the *Investigator*, acts as translator. Flinders plies Pobassoo with "numberless questions" about the economics of the trepang trade and items of value in the local environment, questions that are "answered patiently, and with apparent sincerity."[42] In the charts that he laboriously compiles of this voyage even as the *Investigator*, saturated with rot, falls to pieces underfoot, Flinders will name the place of this cautious exchange "Malay Road."

What to make of this curious naming? Flinders's charts are the first to identify the coastlines of the places known to previous European explorers as New Holland and New South Wales as part of a connected landmass, one that he now names "Terra Australis" or, for the first time, "Australia."[43] Malay Road is the marking of a passage, a highway in the sea, linking two territorialities even as they are being written on the map as distinct continents, Asia and Australia. Malay Road: a designated route that organizes and delimits an ocean of exchanges.

His circumnavigation accomplished, Flinders sails for England in a desperate hurry. A French ship, *Le Géographe*, captained by Nicolas Baudin, is also exploring in these oceans, hot on his heels, a bare

two days behind. Ambition to be *first* in this imperial contest drives
Flinders to abandon the rotten *Investigator* in the Coral Sea and com-
mandeer a second, smaller boat, the *Cumberland*. It proves equally
unreliable, breaking down in the French colony of what is now Mau-
ritius. Here Flinders is taken captive by the French authorities, and
learns that England and France are (again) at war. Flinders will spend
the next seven years a prisoner on this island, writing and rewriting the
record of his antipodean labors. Almost a decade elapses before *Voyage
to Australis* is published in 1814. He dies a day after holding the first
copies in his hands.

The imprint of the Macassan *prau* in Flinders's *Voyage to Australis*
is reminiscent of the interruption of Friday's footprint into the "scrip-
tural empire" of Crusoe's journal, the classic elaboration of the island
topos in colonial discourse.[44] Although the Macassans do not drive
Flinders to the same levels of "interpretive delirium" that Friday's
footprint elicits in Crusoe, their interruption too can be read as an
instance of what happens when, in de Certeau's phrase, "the frontier
yields to something foreign."[45]

> On the margins of the page, the mark of an "apparition" disturbs the
> order that a capitalizing and methodical labour had constructed . . .
> The territory of appropriation is altered by the mark of something
> which is not there and does not happen (like a myth). Robinson will
> see someone . . . and will recover himself when he has the opportunity
> to see, that is, when the absent other shows himself. Then he will be
> once again within his order . . . What marks itself and passes on has no
> text of its own. The latter is spoken only by the owner's discourse and
> resides only in his place.[46]

Like the labor of Crusoe's journal, the methodical task of Flinders's
map-making, a writing of/on earth, is a work that orders and discrim-
inates; it produces categories and assigns values in its efforts to actual-
ize the vision of island-Australia. Guided by the principle of "leav[ing]
little for others to do after him," Flinders's investigations make a
laborious effort to capture the endless variability of his object:[47] "His
time-keepers measured places of observed longitude, marking . . . the
direction of the current, the direction of the tide, the light, whether
there was moderate, fresh or strong breeze, fresh gale or hard or heavy
gale . . . He used dotted lines to refer to dry or shallow waters or those
too shallow for boats; a single line indicated a depth of three fathoms
at low water.[48]

Paradoxically, Nonie Sharp points out, "Far from making the sea more visible, the detailed mapping of the entire north coast of Australia closed off from the imagination the idea of the sea as a living landscape." Instead, "by surveying the coasts a binary distinction was drawn between land and sea."[49] Sharp writes,

> In the eye of the coloniser, the northern coasts were blanks on the map. Northern lands were empty because they did not lend themselves to the presence of settlers; northern seas hardly registered because, uncoupled from land, they had only an ephemeral reality. The idea of land-sea companionship, so central to the views of saltwater people, was peripheral to the dominant imagination. The notion of Australia became coextensive with the continental landmass.[50]

A road in the sea marks a passing presence, even as land and ocean acquire new, decoupled identities and a sovereign territorial order inscribes itself. In Flinders's naming of Malay Road on his charts, the Macassan presence "marks itself and passes on" as the new island-continent of Australia is claimed for Britain. "Residing in the owner's discourse," the designation of Malay Road is an act that "organiz[es] what it enunciates." The disruptive prior presence of the Macassans "marks itself (by smudges . . . lapses, etc.) but does not write itself. It alters a place (it disturbs), but does not establish a place."[51]

The geographical differentiation of the island-body, Australia, from the islands of Asia is paralleled by a process of racial differentiation conducted by other investigators in these waters. Bronwen Douglas describes how the peoples of these oceans are mapped into the taxonomies of a colonial raciology enabled by the new sciences of biology and physical anthropology. An "emerging racial logic" of the region posits the existence of "two distinct races of inhabitants": one fairer skinned and "East Indian" or Asiatic, the other darker and "African."[52] This is simultaneously a racial and geo-graphical demarcation. Douglas discusses the convergence of racial with spatial boundaries in the work of contemporary authors who propose a distinction between a "Greater Australia" that comprises the more extensive countries situated in the southwestern parts of the Pacific and the "Lesser Australia" of "numerous small islands inhabited by a fairer race" to their north.[53]

Such racial and geographical taxonomies could not have been more removed from the rhythm of ancient traffic of Yolŋu and Macassan, their cyclical processes of exchange and interpenetration. The annual arrivals of the Macassans, a thorn in the flesh of British authority over subsequent decades, was formally interdicted in 1907. This ban marks a definitive

stage in the self-constitution of island-Australia, its disavowal of an age-old link with Asia, and its emplotment henceforth as island territory. A year later, in 1908, Ruth Balint records, "a three mile quarantine line . . . created a strategic border zone around the periphery of the continent."[54] Balint identifies this as a critical act of self-definition, "the *fait accompli* of colonial endeavour, the geographic signifier of the nation as a unitary body . . . Beyond this intermediate maritime zone stretched the 'high seas,' the oceanic 'no man's land' that was the dividing line of immunity between the diseased world of Asia and a white Australia."[55]

Seldom mentioned in twentieth-century histories, the interdiction of the annual Macassan voyages is another act of foundational forgetting. The legislative blockage of Malay Road in 1908 completes Australia's insulation from the continent of Asia. From now on, all elements within this island geo-body will be harnessed to the end of "making the mapped space come true."[56] The island will operate as a "plot" that organizes bodies and histories within its boundaries into a narrative that serves the ends of nation. The plotting of Australia as an insular formation both expels the "foreign" bodies around its edges and encloses Indigenous peoples more closely within clearly demarcated national borders. By this move, too, as Lars Jenson argues, in regions such as the Kimberley coast, Arnhem Land, and the Torres Strait, transborder and cross-regional relations are abruptly terminated and Indigenous bodies secured within the new national unit in ways that increase their subjection to it and suppress their links to other places.[57] The inauguration of this new geography confers a new territorial as well as racial corporeality on the geo-body of the island-continent.

For One People

The pioneering historian of northern Australia, Campbell Macknight, recognized in 1976: "If one ignores political boundaries and looks on the sea as a unifying rather than divisive agent, a strong case can be made for regarding the northern coast of Australia as the final extremity of Southeast Asia."[58] His projection strikingly recalls the superseded cartography of French Renaissance cartographers of the Dieppe school who mapped a continent they named "Java la Grande" off the island of "Java Minor."[59] This discarded geography that locates present-day Australia as part of the continent of "Java la Grande" or "Greater Java" survives as no more than a trace among the other wistful or mocking fantasies of *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places.*

Macknight's histories painstakingly retrace the itineraries of the Macassan voyages, marked by tamarind groves, smokehouses, and giant cooking sites, along the edges of the Asian continent to the coastlines they knew as Kaju Jawa (now the Kimberley coast) and Marege (now Arnhem Land).[60] Systematically following the logic of these voyages as evidence of a countergeography, a map that flows across land and ocean to locate the Australian landmass as the last extremity of the Asian continent, Macknight is also impelled to consider "the question of the Macassan in Australian history." This line of reasoning leads him to advance a measured proposition: "Although they did not settle permanently, it is surely reasonable to accept men who returned to the coast over and over again over many years as in a sense *Australians.*"[61]

Although scholars marking the "Asian turn" in recent Australian studies often cite Macknight's research, the full extent of its challenge to nationalist historiographies is not always fully recognized. The pivotal question of "the Macassan in Australian history," and the reasonableness of thinking of Macassans as "in a sense Australians" is, as Macknight tacitly acknowledges, a question that remains unable to be posed other than indirectly. It is deeply inimical to the imaginary of insular Australia to consider the sea as an element that links as it separates and connects as it divides. Hence, Macknight suggests, an increasingly pervasive silence about ancient Macassan–Aboriginal contact as national rule was consolidated: "In the first half of the nineteenth century the existence of the Macassan trepanging industry occasioned little surprise in its many European observers . . . Towards the end of the century, enthusiasm for northern Australia was slowly tempered by repeated failures in the task of its development. Interest centred on those more favoured regions in the south where an ideology was being created that would claim a whole continent for one people."[62]

Here Macknight dryly, but nonetheless firmly, notes the linkages between acts of territorial, national, and racial consolidation through the doctrine of "a whole continent for one people." The seeming tautology, "a whole continent," in fact encapsulates the singular territoriality of the island-continent as a spatial entity distinct from Asia as well as physically insulated from it.

The transitory mark of the Malay Road in the owner's discourse is quickly effaced. In the service of the "ideology of a whole continent for one people," the Macassan presence would be remembered in Australian history only as a brutal and aberrant episode. Writing a little less than half a century after the ban of the *prau* voyages, the travel writer Ernestine Hill summed up: "Macassar-time was

massacre-time." Although Hill credits these "Vikings of the Arafura" with having "founded the commerce of this continent," she is careful to date the Macassan arrival in Australia *after* that of Cook and to attribute it merely to the "lucky mishap of a hurricane" rather than to historical linkages or any skill in seacraft.[63] Hill proceeds to make a pointed comparison between the brutal and ignorant "Massacre-time" on the north and west coasts and the flurry of nation-building on the eastern, more systematically colonized side: "While William Charles Wentworth and Sir Henry Parkes were haranguing in parliament . . . fathers of a nation . . . while five million were roaming for pastures and gold, building cities, railways, a thousand towns, six States and a Federation . . . while Melba was carolling *Juliet* . . . at the other side of the island the naked betel-chewing Bugis were trading and invading, raping and burning, exacting the law of a tooth for a tooth in what they called Mareega, Black Man's Land."[64]

Yet even as Hill, with characteristically exuberant racism, constructs a predictable structure of opposition between civilization and savagery, between Asiatic rapine, murder, and looting and the march of a British colonization that by implication was free from any such actions, her words cannot quite conceal that the law of the "naked betel-chewing Bugis," however bloody, nonetheless contains within it the acknowledgment of the "Black Man's Land." This law, together with the troublesome bodies and knowledges associated with it, are to be banished from the face of an Australia consolidating a very different territorial-racial identity.

"A New Britannia in Another World"[65]

Through the decades leading up to and immediately after federation, island-Australia looks to its racial-territorial borders. A *cordon sanitaire*, a color-line, will sever it from the region. The imaginative and affective coordinates of the new geo-body are recalibrated to locate this sea-girt island linked across oceans by kinship and culture to a mother island, Great Britain, and to the fraternal nations of the white diaspora. Its founding statutes—the *Immigration Restriction Act*, the *Pacific Islands Labourers Act*, the *Franchise* and *Naturalization Acts*—will exclude those bodies that compromise the project of the white island, to "mak[e] the mapped space come true."

As the territorial imaginary of the island-continent excises other affiliations and reinforces boundaries between land and ocean, it also erases from this newly constituted geo-body the Asian and Pacific populations who act as living reminders of a discredited geography

and a deniable history. David Day discusses in detail how the internal "bleaching" of the population through deportation worked in tandem with a political agenda designed to perpetuate white Australia, while the imperative of racial purity underpinned all key debates, from conscription to tariffs, in the first half-century after federation.[66] Similarly, Henry Reynolds argues that federated Australia was even prepared to "forgo independent statehood in order to bring its sense of race based nationalism to fruition." Instead of exercising substantive independence, the new federation was forced to remain reliant on Britain as long as it wished to sustain its exclusionary racial platform. Thus "border protection" in the form of quarantine and control over the entry of foreign bodies and goods became "the single most important manifestation of Australian nationalism even while perpetuating colonial dependence. Race unity was more compelling than full sovereignty."[67]

But from its inception this white Australia remains only an aspiration, a statement of intent rather than an achievement. There was always already "a contradiction at the heart of the new nation."[68] Coloured bodies of all descriptions mocked the ambition of white Australia, driving it to new technologies of exclusion, absorption, and elimination. Aboriginal presences would not meekly fade away, but compounded into an unmanageable heterogeneity of new forms and identities.[69] Incomprehensible languages and alien corporealities spoiled the symmetry of the racial landscape, while traces of an Asiatic other hovered at the edges of the northwestern coastline to trouble the certitudes of the white island and seep dread into its dreams.[70]

As an island of whiteness, Australia is traversed by internal faultlines, by borders within the border that mark the contours of a racial fear that is, once again, topographically inscribed. "The leper line," designed to confine the racialized disease of leprosy north of the 20th parallel, and the "Brisbane line," an imagined last-ditch defense in case of Japanese invasion in the Second World War, are two instances of these topographies of fear.[71] Internal lines of defense against contamination by sickness or invasion, they trace the east-west and north-south axes of racial risk.

These racial fault lines do not only invoke the crisis contingencies of epidemic or invasion. They are normalized and reproduced too in common sense understandings. In the context of the Northern Territory, Jon Stratton details how the racial divides that fissure the nation are encoded in the delineation of distinct climatic and environmental zones, labeled "tropical" and "temperate." Stratton argues that the Northern Territory is "the weakest moment in the articulation

of the dominant discourse of 'Australia,'" and that "the further north one goes the less historically meaningful geographical Australia becomes."[72] That is, the "mythic geography" of the white island becomes increasingly difficult to sustain in the face of the everyday practices, subjugated ecologies, and local knowledges that characterize specific places.[73]

Still, though the geographical fiction of white Australia might wear thin behind its invisible internal color lines, *nationally* the "ideology of a whole continent for one people" exerts a persistent unifying force, authorized by the figure of the island-continent. Here Macknight's reference to the "ideology of a whole continent for one people" is usefully glossed by Winichakul's discussion of "territoriality":

> We all know how important the territoriality of a nation is. Unarguably it is the most concrete feature, the most solid foundation, literally and connotatively, of nationhood as a whole. There are innumerable concepts, practices, and institutions related to it . . . the concept of integrity and sovereignty; border control, armed conflict, invasions, and wars; the territorial definition of national economy, products, industries, trade, tax, custom duties, education, administration, culture, and so on . . . [T]he term geo-body . . . is not merely space or territory. It is a component of the life of a nation.[74]

Territoriality, then, functions as ideology, as a set of structuring beliefs, affects, and practices. In Australian political life, the territoriality of the island-nation, what Stratton refers to as the "mythic geography" of Australia, only rarely needs to be explicitly named as such. As ideology, the territoriality of the island-continent is internalized and deeply felt; it is reproduced in myriad ways at the level of the everyday; it structures the political repertoires available to the state and constitutes its geopolitical horizons; it is the taken-for-granted, the moment Stuart Hall describes as the point when the "of course" is invoked.[75] The mystificatory power of island-Australia resides in the power of this "of course," an assent, in this instance, to a geographic and territorial framework.

Brian Castro, reflecting on the dangers of writing autobiography in Australia, pinpoints the dangerous implications of territoriality as ideology:

> He thinks, Australia: the way almost everyone uses the word "we" unquestioningly; the obsession with territorialised landscape . . . above all, a fear of being seen as unpatriotic.

> In most spheres of artistic endeavour there are usually three phases: the establishment of mythology, the debunking of this myth by oppositional subcultures and the eventual parody of and absorption of debunking. In Australia phase two is commonly avoided . . . Phase three is reached through an almost invisible compromise with apathy. Australians, ever ready to play, have forgotten how to engage in seriousness. A lack of seriousness is an invitation for all kinds of fundamentalisms to fill what is considered a moral gap. Everywhere, he sees the constructionist idea of nationalism turned back into patriotic essentialism with its racialistic landscape and its attendant *agon*. He can almost map its physicality.[76]

This book can be understood as a contribution to the second phase of Castro's project, the "debunking" of the "racialistic landscape and its attendant *agon*." Rewriting the geo-graphy of the island-continent is an act of ideological unmaking, and simultaneously an attempt to intervene in the "moral gap" produced by territorial, and terrestrial, fundamentalisms. If territoriality is a "device through which people construct and maintain spatial organizations," this book aims to reopen the question of Australia's "spatial organization," not by focusing in detail on the historical making of the figure of island-Australia, but by turning to that figure's effects in the present.[77] It takes as its subject those sites where the ideology of the insular is most visible in the second century of federation: the ocean, the beach, the coastline, and the border. Here the boundaries and contours of the nation are repeatedly asserted and delimited, and the ocean becomes visible anew as a site of ideological construction. Varying configurations of bodies, boats, and beaches testify to both the power and the limits of the insular illusion.

C H A P T E R   2

—⋇◈⋇—

"All the Water in the Rough Rude Sea"

Insular Dreamings

At the heart of Tim Winton's acclaimed novel *Cloudstreet* is the wrenching story of Fish Lamb, a young boy who drowns and is resuscitated shortly after—except that, despite their frantic efforts, his rescuers do not quite manage to bring all of him back. True to his name, this anomalous creature of land and sea will spend the rest of his long life, and his next life, seized by a yearning unintelligible to everyone around him: to return to the experience of luminous engulfment in water.[1]

The struggle between warring elements played out in Fish Lamb is one writ large not only in Australian geoimaginaries but in the elemental ideologies of land and sea embedded in western consciousness.[2] The oceanic, as other to the increasingly demarcated, owned, cultivated, and scored terrestrial realm, signifies as that which exceeds human capture: uninscribed, unowned, unproductive, unfixable, infinite, profoundly unhistoric.[3] To be "at sea," is to be lost in pure element, an undifferentiated space free of "moorings" or "bearings."[4] Against the order and regulation of the land, the ocean evokes terror and sublimity, freedom and anarchy, chaos and limitless possibility. This ungrounded, ungovernable oceanic defines the borders of the sociopolitical and historical as it delineates the outermost reaches of the state. The image of Canute vainly commanding the tides is a performance of the boundedness of sovereign power, and its proper, that is, its *naturalized*, limits.

As a caution against sovereign overreach, the tale of Canute reinforces the divide between land and sea. The wild, ungovernable expanse

of ocean appears innocent of, and even inimical to, the political and historical. This disassociation between land and sea heightens as land is more and more parceled out, privatized, and rendered productive while the deep ocean is imagined as a pelagic "commons"—inter- or transnational free space. Increasingly, these opposed discourses of land and sea obfuscate the means by which the marine serves the social and historical, put to use, harnessed (significantly, a land metaphor) as the medium of the mercantile, the martial, and the imperial.

Hugo Grotius, later to be known as the "father of international law," published his treatise on the freedom of the seas, *Mare Liberum*, in 1604. It was opposed by English and Scottish authors who argued for the principle of closed seas, *Mare Clausum*, in selected waters.[5] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, according to Christopher Connery, the "European vision of the oceanic" as international or global space, "a constitutive outside to landedness . . . became hegemonic."[6] This vision of the ocean as free and open space takes hold at a high point in the collaboration between sea power, mercantilism, and empire. Similarly, the hegemonic understanding of the sea as "global" space is accomplished at the same historical moment when Britannia, imagined as a small, solitary island, imperially rules the waves.

The linked inscriptions of the ocean, the beach, and the island in Australian national imaginaries reproduce and rework these broader contradictions and disavowals. The beach and island coastline are often represented as sites of untrammeled freedom and pleasure, signifying all that is best about the Australian way of life: "Australia *means* the beach" (see also Chapter 7).[7] Nonetheless, as Stratton points out, another set of meanings simultaneously attaches to the Australian beach: the ocean, the beach, and the coastline signify death and dissolution. As the historical scene of invasion, they invoke fears of other invasions. To arrive in Australia by sea, whether on convict ships, migrant carriers, or asylum seekers' boats, is to face death, literally and symbolically. But the anxieties represented by the beach and the coast do more as well: they signify "the affirmation of the existence of the border itself."[8] The beach and ocean coastline are reminders of the limits of the island-continent. Anxieties about the edges and extremities of the geo-body, of the finite territoriality of the nation and its uncertain location in a wider spatial order, accrue at these sites; as do the myths and fantasies that assuage and contain the anxieties they generate. At the same time, in often disavowed or unacknowledged ways, the constellation of ocean, beach, and island underpins and reproduces particular forms of Australian claim to nation.

Insularity and the Spatial Order

In a brief book, *Land and Sea*, written during World War II, Carl Schmitt argues that English maritime power initiated a change so radical in the spatial order that from then on "the severance of land from sea became the fundamental law of the planet."[9] At the heart of this new spatial order was a shift in England's mobilization of insular identity: "In order to deserve being called an 'island', in the sense given to that word in the sentence 'England is an island', she had first to become the carrier and focus of the elemental transition from land to high seas and to inherit all the maritime surge released during that period. It was only by turning into an 'island' in a new sense, previously unknown, that England succeeded in conquering the oceans and winning the first round of the planetary, spatial revolution."[10]

In order to become an imperial power, Schmitt argues, England first became "an 'island' in a new sense," by "turning away from land and opting for the sea," thus initiating "a fundamental transformation of the political and historical essence of the island itself."[11] This "new sense" of the island, however, is one that is founded upon, and draws its continuing emotional force from, a deeply embedded geopoetics of insularity that celebrates England's special place in the natural-geographical order. The most famous expression of England as an island is John of Gaunt's speech in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, a passage singled out by Schmitt as "the best and most beautiful expression of . . . insular feeling."[12]

> . . . this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea
> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house
> Against the envy of less happier lands,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
> This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings
> Feared by their breed and famous by their birth,
> Renowned for their deeds as far from home
> For Christian service and true chivalry
> As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son,

> This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
> Dear for her reputation through the world,
> Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
> Like to a tenement or pelting farm.[13]

In a single, extraordinary, incantatory sentence that is by turns lyrical, bellicose, nationalist, nostalgic, defensive, accusatory, and evocative, Gaunt's island vision consolidates a number of by then well-established discourses of insularity.[14] England, envisioned as a unified island state that imaginatively already has overrun the territorial boundaries of Scotland and Wales, is situated in a spatial order that is not only regional and global, but simultaneously moral and cosmological. Yet, taken in its entirety, the speech is more reproachful than celebratory; its final lines deliver a stark warning about the threats that imperil England's sovereignty. The climax of the passage is not triumphant, but a bitter denunciation: "this earth, this realm, this England . . . /Is now leas'd out . . . /Like to a tenement or pelting farm." Protected by nature against "less happier lands," the island fortress is not secure against the infection that breeds within.

Richard II is a play about the violent struggle for sovereignty. At its center are questions that will remain unanswered about the proper conditions for a legitimate overthrow of the state. Richard's misrule, especially his banishment of Gaunt's son, Bullingbrook (Bolingbroke), opens a breach in the "sea-walled garden" of England.[15] This abuse of sovereign power provokes an overthrow of the natural order. While Richard is preoccupied with an ill-judged invasion of Ireland, England itself is invaded by the vengeful Bullingbrook. Images of inundation abound as Richard is deposed despite his protests that "Not all the water in the rough rude sea/Can wash the balm off from an anointed king."[16] Throughout the play the sea operates as a natural-moral force that both threatens and protects the island realm against the abuse of sovereign power: Bullingbrook unleashes a "crimson tempest" to "bedrench/The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's land," while York laments: "what a tide of woes/Comes rushing on this woeful land at once." Bullingbrook's revenge is likened to a torrential flood: "So high above his limits swells the rage/Of Bullingbrook, covering your fearful land."[17]

In support of his argument that England's transformation into a maritime imperial power called for a new kind of insular consciousness, Schmitt characterizes Gaunt as referring "to the old island" that was "land-bound, soil-bound, and so territorial through and through."[18] The speech is more accurately described, perhaps, as *amalgamating* old and new island sentiments, combining a nostalgic longing for

a "land-bound, soil-bound" vision of England with an anticipation of the oceanic expansion of Englishness through empire. Insularity, recoded as Englishness, registers as a protean and adaptable discourse that shifts from being "land-bound" and "soil-bound" to signify as a *moral and racial* attribute. Gaunt's references to the realms of "stubborn Jewry" and English monarchs' far-flung renown for "Christian service and true chivalry" foreshadow later imperial claims to religious and cultural superiority over other unredeemed parts of the globe. In the period of empire the relations that Gaunt canvasses—between land and sea, sovereignty and tenantship, Christendom and Jewry, near and far, islands and other kinds of lands—ramify into a complex formation that meshes the topographical and territorial with the racial and ontological. Insularity, mobilized as "the inner sanctum of British identity" provides empire's energizing force.[19] At the same time, as I discuss further below, the topos of the island shapes the ways in which the territorial sovereign state comes to be figured in a new geopolitical order—as impregnable, organic, whole, and indivisible.

Sea Dreamings

"How easily the whole landmass sits in my head," David Malouf exclaims in his opening lecture, "The Island," in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Boyer series for 1998.[20] For Malouf the island is a form already prefigured for the nation-state that is to emerge from the process of European exploration and colonization: "When Europeans first came to these shores one of the things they brought with them, as a kind of gift to the land, was something that could have never existed before; *a vision of the continent in its true form as an island* that was not just a way of seeing it, and seeing it whole, but of seeing how it fitted into the rest of the world. And this seems to have happened even before circumnavigation established that it actually was an island."[21]

Malouf, whose speech is infused with the insular geopoetics that also inspired Shakespeare, envisions island-Australia as the fulfillment of a European (that is, *English*) desire, a realization that completes a teleology of colonial desiring: a gift. Reciprocally, insularity is the unique gift the colonizers bring to the land: an opening of possibilities, of ways of seeing and being that were previously unimaginable. As a gift of *form*, a topographic and imaginative figure for the nation-to-be, insularity confers a political and social vision that will serve to differentiate Anglo-Australians from Indigenous Australians in critical ways: "Aboriginal Australians, however ancient and deep their

understanding of the land, can never have seen the place in just this way. It has made a difference. If Aborigines are a land-dreaming people, what we latecomers share is a sea-dreaming, to which the image of Australia as an island has from the beginning been central."[22]

This vision of a distinctive Anglo-Australian "sea-dreaming" with the ideal form of the island at its core is one that is already located within a prior conceptual, spatial, and political order. In western epistemologies the island, "a third kind of place," does the work of demarcation, producing order between land and ocean.[23] At the same time, like the prototypical islands of Crusoe and Prospero, it acts as a container, conceptually, politically, rhetorically, for the tensions between them. The topos of the island is the geographical and metaphorical ground where contradictions meet and are dispersed, resolved, or buried—between colony and metropolis; between the local/national and the trans- or extranational; between the autochthonous, the people of the earth, and the late-coming people of the sea. In turn, these pairs transpose into another set of racialized binaries that will both determine and explain future relations on this ground: the historical versus the mythic; the social versus the spiritual; the domesticated versus the wild and untamed; the public and outward focused against the private and inward looking. Insularity, islandness, holds these dualities together, between land and sea. The scene of their interface is the variable, ever shifting, in-between of the beach.

"A Nation Contained within a Beach"?

The constellation of distinctions Malouf invokes between land and sea is not only an attempt to differentiate Aboriginal and Anglo-European cosmologies or "dreamings." The emphatic insistence on the island as the land's "true form" is something more: it is the claim for *a particular form of territoriality*. What is at stake in the insular as a gift to the land is a concept, or vision, of nation. It involves, primarily, the capacity to see in a distinctive way, that is, from a specific perspective: "not only a way of seeing it, and seeing it whole, but of seeing how it fitted into the rest of the world." The form of island-Australia is one enframed from the start by a relation to "the rest of the world," that is, it is already located in a preexisting geopolitical order.

John Agnew's theorization of the geopolitical imagination provides a striking gloss for Malouf's remarks. According to Agnew, "The modern geopolitical imagination" begins with "*the capacity to see the world as a whole* [my emphasis]." Emerging "at the outset of the European Age of Discovery," this capacity to visualize space globally is defined

by two main characteristics: "seeing the world-as-a-picture . . . [that] separates the self who is viewing from the world itself," and, contingently but not causally linked to this way of seeing, the production of an implicit and unacknowledged "hierarchy of places" within the world-picture.[24] The geopolitical gaze is totalizing, telescoping, and taxonomical. It surveys, classifies, and divides from a distance that "separates the self who is viewing from the world itself" as it panoptically levels, before it proceeds to reorder, the global terrain.

The connections between seeing Australia as an island, "seeing it whole," and "seeing how it fitted into the rest of the world" are further illuminated by Philip Steinberg in his essay "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood." Steinberg proposes a close relation between geography as writing of/on earth and the making of political categories; he argues that islands, represented in European navigators' portolan charts as natural, bounded, and isolated units, "provided the grammar for representing the territorial state" and "shaped subsequent state imaginings."[25] Islands, rather than being peripheral or incidental, are central to the modern geopolitical imaginary, figuring as the "paradigmatic territorial states": "Islands were conceived of as equivalent but individually unique, organically occurring, bounded spaces that exhibited temporal stability, territorial indivisibility and socio-political homogeneity amidst a world of interaction and movement. This conception of the island foreshadowed the almost identical conception of the sovereign territorial state that was to be applied to the mainland in the centuries that followed."[26]

Put another way, "the modern, or Westphalian, ideal of the state as territorially bounded, unambiguously governed by a sole authority and culturally homogeneous" is "a profoundly insular vision."[27] The island and territorial nation-state are mutually reinforcing political formations grounded in the same spatial and geopolitical order. As Malouf recognizes, Indigenous Australians "can never have seen the place in just this way." Just as surely, for the late-coming subjects of the nation-state whose sovereign presence is predicated upon it, "the image of Australia as an island has from the beginning been central." Island-Australia cannot be other than a construct of the European epistemo-geopolitical order.

The firmly held belief that the Australian nation-state and Australian national consciousness are intimately bound up with the territorial form of the island finds another kind of expression in Leone Huntsman's statement, quoted in the title of this section, that "Australia is a nation contained within a beach."[28] Huntsman's term "contained" carries the historical trace of the prison island and the armored

circumference of "fortress Australia." At the same time, it connects to an anxiety Huntsman expresses later in the book about the potentially divisive effects of "cultural diversity": "A situation where a single continent is occupied by a single nation-state has advantages over fragmentation. Influences that strengthen social cohesion in non-oppressive ways should therefore be welcomed . . . [T]o the extent that the beach remains a common resource and a common site . . . it contributes to the fragile network of bonds that holds a people together despite their diverse and sometimes competing interests and allegiances."[29]

The function of the beach is to provide physical and cultural containment, to cohere. On a "single continent occupied by a single nation-state," the beach is "a common resource and a common site" that *holds together* the idea of Australia, geographically and symbolically, in the face of the fragmenting effects of racial and ethnic ("cultural") difference. Huntsman's concluding chapter, a series of observations of "Asians (Indians, Chinese, Vietnamese)" at the beach, most clearly articulates the importance of the beach in the fashioning of future national subjects. Scrutinizing these foreign bodies at various stages "along the scale of assimilation," Huntsman takes comfort in their obvious, if inept and untutored, enthusiasm for the beach: it is a token of their potential to evolve into Australians—a people who, in the terms of the title of her book, have accreted *Sand in Our Souls.*

Huntsman projects a teleology of assimilation in which the heterogeneity of nonwhite, ethnicized bodies wears into the same, contained by the inexorable physical and symbolic power of the island coastline. Potentially disruptive identities and bodies complete the passage to sameness enfolded in the charmed circle of insularity. State and subject, nation and soul, the symbolic and the natural—each becomes a map of the other, a correspondence of inner and outer geographies. The trinity of cultural homogeneity, territorial wholeness, and uncontested sovereignty that constitutes the nation-state in its ideal form is mapped onto the features of island-Australia.[30]

Oceanic States

Still, along the coastline, at the edge of territory, the specter of the cultural and racial other haunts the beach, as invader, as invaded. The ocean beyond, where boundaries dissolve or are submerged, generates indefinable sensations of joy and terror. In psychoanalytic discourse the "oceanic feeling," a phrase from an exchange between Freud and Romain Rolland, is used to denote the sensation of unboundedness

or limitlessness.[31] In *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud traces the oceanic feeling back to the fear and helplessness of "an early phase of ego-feeling": "I can imagine that the oceanic feeling became connected with religion later on. The 'oneness with the universe' which constitutes its ideational content sounds like a first attempt at religious consolation, as though it were another way of disclaiming the danger which the ego recognizes as threatening it from the external world."[32]

As Jacqueline Rose points out, psychoanalysis in its foundational phase does not float free of the historical or material.[33] Freud's identification of the oceanic feeling as a response that attempts to disclaim or diffuse a sense of threat from the external world by incorporating or merging into it illuminates a relation between the discourse of the oceanic sublime and the processes of colonial expansion. As a means of imaginatively apprehending or incorporating that which induces a sense of awe and terror, the oceanic sublime, Connery points out, is frequently invoked "in the language of Western expansionism, whether of empire or of consciousness."[34] In his analysis of the trope of the sublime in U.S. expansionist discourses, Rob Wilson describes it as an "identity-consolidating tactic" that at the same time produces pragmatic effects by "converting fullness into emptiness and vacancy into possibility" through nation-building projects.[35]

Laura Doyle has argued that the intertwining of race and sublimity has a longer, more intricate history, originating with pseudo-Longinus and extending to the romantic sublime of Byron or Shelley as well as the philosophico-aesthetic sublime of Burke and Kant.[36] Joseph Pugliese's incisive analysis of Kant's "Analytic of the Sublime" exposes the "racial and racist dimensions which found and silently constitute the aesthetic category of the sublime" and mark "the sublime experience as something exclusive to the western subject."[37] In his detailed mapping of Kant's text onto a tourist attraction named Sublime Point on the New South Wales coast, Pugliese demonstrates how continuing invocations of the sublime serve to elide Indigenous topographies of the site while obscuring the histories of colonial violence enacted there, reproducing "at a micro level the symbolic disposition of space that has already been mapped in the larger cartographies of nation."[38]

In the rest of this chapter I pursue a reading of the Australian romantic oceanic sublime as a state where cartographies of nation and subjectivity, the psychic and the historical, meet. My description of the oceanic as a "state" is informed by Rose's argument in *States of Fantasy* that "the public and private attributes of the concept 'state' are not opposites, but shadows—outer and inner faces precisely—of each other."[39] According to Rose, "'State' . . . has a psychological meaning

long before its modern-day sense of polity, or rather one which trails beneath the shifting public and political face of the word."[40] The project of *States of Fantasy* is to trace the work of affective, imaginative, and fantasy states in the public lives of modern nation-states. In the societies that Rose considers—the colonized settler states of Israel and South Africa, and Britain, the great metropolitan power that played a crucial role in the formation of both—fantasy acts as a force that binds together by "reach[ing] out to the unspoken components of social belonging" and national feeling among the subjects of the state.[41] In each of these contemporary states, fantasy produces states of shared pleasure and affirmation, but "just as well surfaces as fierce, blockading protectiveness, walls around our inner and outer, psychic and historical, selves."[42]

The "inner and outer, psychic and historical" come together in particularly compelling ways at the sign of the geographical. The lie of the land, the shape of a geo-body, the contour of a coastline—all are sites of national fantasy, charged with ontologized presence, loaded with symbolic and emotional excess. They engender collective rites and celebrations as well as expressive identifications felt as intensely personal, spiritual, and even, paradoxically, antisocial or oppositional. In Australia, as I show throughout this book, the ocean, the island, and the beach are sites laden with these sorts of psychic and symbolic excess. Imbued with the historical force of the sublime, they are the source of enduring and enabling fantasies that in different ways serve to constitute and reproduce the mutually reinforcing boundaries of state and subject.

That Oceanic Feeling, published in 2003, is the title of Fiona Capp's award-winning autobiography of a middle-aged woman's transformative return to the surf. The back cover describes Capp as "a Wordsworth of the beach." Freud and Wordsworth are the twin sources authorizing the narrator's quest for a state of unbounded union with the ocean as her life on land seems increasingly confined and civilized: "too rarefied and inward-looking, too circumscribed; too removed from nature."[43] The compulsion to escape, at least temporarily, to the freedom of the surf, is propelled by a number of factors: an unfinished novel, motherhood, inner-city life, and a nagging, low-level political dissatisfaction. The backdrop to Capp's text is Australia in 2001, the year of the *Tampa*, when refugees reportedly began swamping the borders in a flood-tide of illegality. By way of more recent political rhetoric—Winston Churchill's rallying calls to defend the island realm in World War II; Enoch Powell's frightful visions in his "rivers of blood" speech—the images of deluge and inundation in 2001 Australia reached back to the fearful (is)land of *Richard II*. Gaunt's fierce

warnings about the loss of sovereign control resonated in the slogan adopted by the government to promote "Border Protection" legislation and turn back asylum seekers' boats: *We will decide who comes into this country and the circumstances in which they come.*[44]

In 2001, the beach and the island coastline, sites of shared pleasure and affirmation grounded in the formation of Australian insular consciousness, were successfully mobilized as forms of "fierce, blockading protectiveness, walls around our inner and outer, psychic and historical, selves."[45] A state of hostility against the "un-Australian" combined with the practices of turning away asylum seekers' boats and mandatorily imprisoning any asylum seekers who managed to evade the blockade. The charged, defensive rhetoric of preventing these arrivals from ever "setting foot on Australian soil" was enforced by elaborate measures such as the excision of possible landing places from the national map and by exiling asylum seekers to offshore detention centers in a policy known as the Pacific Solution (see Chapter 3).[46]

The coastline of Capp's text is a mirror of this defensive inner state. *That Oceanic Feeling* is set on the beaches around Port Phillip Bay in Victoria—less Wordsworth's Lake District than Nevil Shute territory. In the climactic scene of the film version of *On the Beach*, the last of Shute's characters takes her own life on a cliff overlooking Port Phillip Bay as radiation sickness spreads across a doomed planet; below her, the one remaining submarine in the U.S. Navy makes its last, slow descent into the sea. Other ominous markers, too, are everywhere in the landscape that frames Port Phillip Bay:

> Sometimes we would go walking in a straggling line along the endless stretch of Portsea back beach . . . The walk always ended where the barbed wire fence was strung across the cliff tops and signs told of unexploded shells . . . Occasionally we would hear reports of gunfire as the officers in the army training camp practiced on the rifle range. We knew that deep inside this territory there was a graveyard belonging to the old quarantine station, and an ocean beach where a prime minister had drowned, and a rocky stretch of coast upon which an untold number of ships had come to grief.[47]

This map of prohibitions and dangers along the coast is in sharp contrast to the freedom represented by the surf and the ocean beyond. Capp's text reproduces these elemental oppositions, locating the surfer, that mythologized figure of white Australian masculinity, in a tradition of countercultural subversion and independence.[48] Yet, at other times, the untrammeled pleasures of the surf are undermined

as the narrator reminds herself that the ocean is no mere pleasure ground. Other, more desperate, adventures are taking place in these waters. The text's heavy investment in the trope of the romantic oceanic sublime is troubled by a number of seemingly dissonant passages that return the narrator to the stark asymmetries, invisible borders, and territorialized violences that also inscribe the aquatic realm.

Stymied by the land-tensions that persist in following her into the sea, the narrator experiences an inexplicable sense of stasis, a state of psychic impasse that diminishes her returning pleasure in the ocean. The narrative, structured as a series of passages out from Port Phillip Bay, only resumes its upward trajectory when the narrator undertakes an uncertain voyage of her own. In a chapter entitled "The Pacific Solution," she begins a journey that takes her first to Hawaii—where the official artist recording Cook's arrival at Kealakekua Bay in 1779 also captured the West's first visual images of surfers—and then to the recently established surf beaches of France and England. This reverse voyage of discovery, a retracing of the colonial quest for origins, succeeds: the narrator achieves a recentering that transforms her "sense of the world and of where I belonged."[49]

Capp's personal "Pacific Solution" is accomplished by shedding her previous colonial's identification with Europe and assuming a new self-identification centered on Australia, by way of a Pacific culture of surfing:

> To go to Europe in search of surf was to see the Old World in a new light. It was, in effect to relegate Europe to the margins, to put it into perspective. To finally realise that the centre, if there was one, was not where I had always believed it to be . . . I looked back on the Pacific from Europe's distance, and was finally freed from Europe's thrall. And now when I thought of the Pacific I felt strangely possessive. The region in which I lived was defined not by land but by sea . . . Perhaps unconsciously I had known that such a mental shift was necessary . . . Somewhere between Orwell's nightmarish Oceania and Melville's divine Pacific that 'makes all coasts one bay to it' . . . I had found my home.[50]

Capp achieves a state of security, a recentering of the self that brings her home again as an Australian subject. This reconsolidation of self and home, involving a re-orientation from Europe to the Pacific, from land to sea, needs to be situated in a number of interconnected geographies. Primarily, it repositions Australia from its place at the ends of the earth, on the edge of civilization. The early Australian novelist Henry Handel Richardson titled one of her novels *Ultima Thule*,

figuring Australia as the mythical uttermost island of western imagi-nation. In recent years this antipodal discourse resurfaced more pro-saically as "the arse-end of the earth," a phrase attributed to former Prime Minister Paul Keating.[51] The remark was damaging because throughout the 1990s Keating had publicly advocated the view that Australia could only become truly independent by freeing itself from its "cultural cringe" mentality toward Europe and actively engaging with its geographic location as part of Asia and the Pacific. Histori-cally, the trope of antipodality refers to what Peter Hulme describes in a powerful essay on the castaway as a "biogeographical" discourse that located Indigenous Tasmanians, and other Aboriginal people more generally, as "uttermost," in evolutionary and spatial terms: people cast away in space and time.[52] By extension this discourse of being at the edge of things applied to Australia itself—emerging, for instance, in the argument put forward by the historian Geoffrey Blainey in a celebrated book, *The Tyranny of Distance.*

Capp's Pacific Solution is a response to this geography of lag and belatedness, re-orienting Australia's positioning as uttermost, at the edge of things, civilizationally and historically. An identification with the oceanic culture of surfing secures this anxious and unhomed nar-rator, caught up in a state of infantine thrall to Europe, and brings her home as a sovereign antipodean subject. Her Keatingesque valoriza-tion of the region, however, is one that is premised on the Anglo-Australian subject as racial and cultural castaway. In this writing back to the biogeographical discourse of the uttermost, the Indigenous subject survives as no more than a trace—in the homogenized and commodified figure of the earliest (Hawaiian) surfers. Indeed, Capp's rehabilitation as an Australian subject hinges on the disappearance or elision of the indigene: "Now when I thought of the Pacific I felt strangely possessive." In this rewriting of the discourse of the utter-most, the figure of Tru-ger-nan-ner, "the last Tasmanian," the native violently cast away from her land, literally and symbolically, in order to make room for the emergence of the Australian national subject as its true possessor, is cast away once again.[53]

Capp's "Pacific Solution" represents a kind of personal sea-change, both in the banal sense popularized by a TV series about a woman experiencing midlife crisis in a seaside town, and in the more gen-eral sense of the inner psychological and emotional "transforma-tions of those who cross the sea."[54] In his essay, "Cast Away," Hulme describes the other, more literal meaning of sea change as the corpo-real "transformations brought about by salt water, from drowning to preservation."[55] Both meanings are present in the text in which the

phrase originates—Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, a play peopled almost entirely by castaways, alive and dead. Hulme points out that the two original antagonists on the island, Prospero and Sycorax, are both what might be described in today's terms as political refugees. By way of the many adaptations and reinterpretations that reclaim it as a text of decolonization, *The Tempest* brings us to the ground where the figures of the colonized and the refugee meet. It returns us, too, to the Australia of Capp's text: to the bodies cast away in midocean, to wash up, sea-changed, along its coastlines and beaches—and to the bodies politically cast away, consigned to desert camps or offshore detention centers as part of the official Pacific Solution.

Capp's personal Pacific Solution and rehabilitation as a subject who regains a state of security through achieving a "sense of the world and of where I belonged" marks the point where the embodied presence of stateless asylum seekers fades from the beaches and oceans of her text. Instead, by way of a reference to an image of the storm-tossed Odysseus clinging to a wooden beam, they are enshrined in a literary-aesthetic tradition of the sublime that is dated back to Homer: "I like to think of this moment in *The Odyssey* as the first image of surfing in Western literature; an image that came back to me as I read the stories of the boat people. Here, in the most bizarre way, the story of surfing and the story of the asylum seekers intersected . . . Surfing was not only about paradise found, but about paradise sought and paradise lost."[56]

Fixed in a genealogy that simultaneously relegates them to the past and aestheticizes them as tellers of "'drowning stories' that rivalled those of Homer and Shakespeare," asylum seekers no longer constitute an urgent political and ethical dilemma for Capp as an Australian subject.[57] The absorption of the asylum seeker into the mythologized narratives of the surfer "in the most bizarre way" resolves her sense of dislocation. A reinvestment in the national fantasy of the surfer enables the narrator to find both paradise and home in an oceanic state "defined not by land but by sea" and located "somewhere between Orwell's nightmarish Oceania and Melville's divine Pacific." Within the limits of its nationalist framework and the broader colonial geoimaginaries that situate it, Capp's realization that "the region in which I lived was defined not by land but by sea" registers not as an unsettling of the border that separates the oceanic and terrestrial, but as a recuperation of the ocean from the unsettling presence of the political and historical.

The Historical Sea

Only Capp's reference to "Orwell's nightmarish Oceania" at the end of *That Oceanic Feeling* reminds us, albeit through another distancing literary allusion, of that other state where asylum seekers and boat people still remain subject to more literal forms of sea-change.

> *It has been three years since the sinking of SIEV X but I am still in the water. I can still feel the dead woman whose body I clung to so I could keep afloat. I never saw her face, it was in the water but I talked to her all night. I prayed for her soul and she saved my life.*[58]

The speaker is Amal Basry, one of the few to survive the sinking of the boat known as SIEV X (see Chapter 3). The circumstances in which the boat sank, in international waters heavily patrolled by the Australian navy, are yet to be properly investigated and explained.[59] As more than 350 people, mostly women and children, drowned around her, Basry stayed alive, holding fast to the body of a dead woman, fending off the sharks, recording in her memory the carnage all around her:

> *I still see what I saw when I first opened my eyes under the water. I saw children dying. I can taste the oil and the salt of the sea, I feel my fear and I smell death. Little children, dead babies, desperate parents, families dying one by one, and I was alone believing all the while my own son was dead.*
>
> *I was in the water for 22 hours waiting for my death . . . Sometimes when the pain wakes me in the night, in that moment between frightening dreams and the shock of reality, I think the sharks are feeding on my body, tearing parts of me away, and ripping at my soul.*

In the period between the sinking of SIEV X in 2001 and her own death from breast cancer in 2006, Amal Basry told her story many times. She is almost certainly the "Iraqi woman" mentioned by Capp as an eloquent teller of "drowning stories" that convey "the reality of what it means to fight for your life at sea."[60] But Basry's narrative is not only a testament to the struggle for survival in the ocean, a thrilling account that produces the sensations of "agreeable horror" that Dr. Addison identified as the essential experience of the sublime at sea.[61] Basry is propelled by a more urgent imperative: to testify to a crime and call for justice. Her story gives evidence in a trial that is yet to take place into the deaths of the hundreds who accompanied her aboard SIEV X.[62] She bears witness for the unknown dead woman who saved her, for the babies who died in the moment of their birth,

and for others who, like Basry, had believed in the possibility of life and freedom in Australia.

And, extending further than the hundreds of these unknown dead, Basry gives evidence again for the countless others who swell their number, castaway bodies who ride or drift on waves or make landfall, sea-changed, on unknown shores. Their names and stories are held in custody in the "grey vault" of ocean:

> . . . The sea. The sea
> has locked them up. The sea is history.[63]

Derek Walcott's "The Sea Is History" is a spare, sardonic reckoning of the ocean's role as alternative archive, museum, and monument. The poem inventories the artifacts of Caribbean history—slave ships, pirate wrecks, the bodies of old and new castaways—held in this pelagic storehouse, "all subtle and submarine."[64] Here, land and sea, historical and natural, will not be so easily disentangled. Transfigured, sea-changed, and still preserved, castaway bodies inhere in the brittle bones of coral, the contour of a cave-mouth, or the complexions of passing fish.

Alongside the work of other West Indian writers, primarily Kamau Brathwaite and Edouard Glissant, Walcott's poem is part of a concerted attempt to "make the sea into a space of recognizable history."[65] Brathwaite describes this as part of the practice of "tidalectics": "dialectics with a difference," inspired by the cyclical or recursive backwards and forwards of waves moving over land and sea, in contradistinction to the mechanistic progression of the "one-two-three Hegelian."[66] As a practice of remapping, Elizabeth DeLoughrey differentiates tidalectics "from other theories of re-territorialisation" because tidalectics are "concerned with the water as a shifting site of history."[67] Interlinking the transoceanic and the terrestrial and "interpret[ing] life and history as sea change," tidalectics "undo the transcendence of the oceanic."[68]

Tidalectics produce new geo-graphies, reworking the West's elemental geoimaginaries of oceanic and terrestrial to refigure writing (of/on) earth. Tidalectics are technologies for un-islanding. The bounded territoriality of the island, the model nation-state, is revealed as no impregnable fortress, just as the ocean is not evacuated of, nor exempted from, the space of history. A watery economy undoes their separateness, returning to land that which has been cast away, an irregular and unpredictable forwards and backwards that overruns and exceeds carefully constructed states of security.

Figure 2.1. From Kate Durham, SIEV X Paintings, image courtesy of the artist. Photograph: Maree Klemm. Kate Durham's SIEV X paintings are held by the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland.

A stark reminder by Pugliese, prompted by the castaway bodies piling up on European beaches as I write, serves to bring this tidalectical movement home in the most immediate way, to ground it in the corporeality of the subject secure within the confines of nation: "Everything here exceeds categories, borders, limits . . . This is how the global south breaches the defences of Fortress Europe . . . As necrogenic cargo, these human spectres inhumed in fish defy frontiers: served on a platter they enter your homes to become both your alimentation and your waste. A clandestine submarine life courses through your veins."[69]

The Edge of Things

In a footnote in *Mythologies*, in support of his argument that "the development of a semiological science [is] more urgent that ever," Roland Barthes exclaims: "In a single day, how many really non-signifying fields do we cross? Very few, sometimes none. Here I am, before the sea; it is true that it bears no message. But on the beach, what material for semiology! Flags, slogans, signals, signboards, clothes, suntan even, which are so many messages to me."[70]

As a passing comment, the footnote registers the enduring hold of elemental ideologies. Precisely because of its throwaway character,

the remark fixes the sea as fundamentally other, a field outside human signification. This is not Walcott's grey vault of history. A vastness empty of national, social, and even mythological meaning, Barthes's sea is no more than a foil for the rich semiotic potential of the shore: it concentrates the observer's attention on the proliferating messages on the beach.

In Australian cultural history, the simple phrase "on the beach" has an immediate resonance. It is memorable as the title of Nevil Shute's famous 1957 novel (via a line from T. S. Eliot's "The Hollow Men") of ordinary Australians awaiting their extinction in the aftermath of nuclear war, in Melbourne, the last uncontaminated city left on earth. Shute's title has been appropriated since by a number of texts, some of them enumerated in Meaghan Morris's influential essay, also titled "On the Beach." Morris cites *Mythologies* in a different context, but does not mention Barthes's characterization of the sea. Her gaze, like his, is fixed mostly on the beach. Morris glosses "on the beach" as "an old expression meaning *beached*: shipwrecked, destitute, bankrupt, abandoned, washed up," as well as the "name of a framework culturally available for addressing 'the state of the nation' (also the world, the human condition, public affairs, perhaps an intimate, even trivial, situation)."[71] On the beach the register shifts easily from the momentous to the banal, from the mythological and historical to the intimate and ordinary.

"On the beach" is the mobile, culturally available framework the German artist Gregor Schneider seized on in 2007 for his installation, *21 Beach Cells*: a series of Guantánamo-style cages sited on Bondi Beach.[72] In this devastatingly simple artwork, invasion, convict histories, detention camps, the pogroms on Cronulla Beach, and the war on terror are all made present at Bondi, the classic Australian beach, the very locus of the familiar, the ordinary, and the pleasurable. The beach cells, each furnished with a sun umbrella, an inflatable mattress, and a plastic bag, invoke the paired regimes of conformity and consumerism that organize the beach, disguising its violence to collude in presenting it, paradoxically, as *the* site of individual freedom and untrammeled pleasure.[73] The beach operates imaginatively as a counterpart to home *and* as an extension of the nation. It is a space so domesticated that in Philip Drewe's celebrated formulation it functions as the national veranda.[74] But like the Australian beach, the veranda is more than it appears to be: a complex geocultural artifact, shaped by imperial spatiality's key modes of demarcation, hierarchization, and exclusion.

Unlikely as it seems, Shute's *On the Beach* is a type of precursor for Schneider's project. Like Schneider's installation, Shute's fable of mutually assured destruction (MAD) draws the domesticated space of the Australian beach into the arena of the most pressing geopolitical issues of the day. According to one critic, Gideon Haigh, *On the Beach* is "Australia's most important novel" because it confronts "a mass international audience with the defining issue of the age."[75] Although quickly adapted by Hollywood in a film directed by Stanley Kramer and starring Gregory Peck and Ava Gardner, Australia's antipodean location remains the imaginative center of the film as the miasma of radioactivity wafts inexorably ever closer.

Shute's distinctive achievement, Haigh points out, is in making "provocative, creative use of our distance from the rest of the world: as the very last habitable continent Australia is suddenly the most important place on Earth."[76] In this grim vision, as the illusion of mastery over space erodes, Australia's place as the uttermost island marks the point of terminus for the dream of *Ultima Thule*, the mythical island whose horizon ever recedes before the advance of the western explorer.[77] Here, at the very ends of the earth, geo-graphy and the fantasy of infinite expansion at last catch each other up. While the tropes of antipodean isolation and distance provide the motor of Shute's plot, the moral of this Cold War fable is surely that no place is an island. Girt though it might be by sea, Australia is neither politically nor territorially disconnected from the order that has engineered its own destruction. Finally, it is western civilization itself that appears *beached*, bankrupt, abandoned, washed up, on these fatal shores.

This page intentionally left blank

C H A P T E R   3

————— ✺◎✺ —————

Bodies, Boats, Borderscapes

On November 4, 2003, the day of the Melbourne Cup, the most significant sporting event in Australia ("the race that stops a nation"), a fishing boat, the *Minasa Bone*, landed on Melville Island, about 20 kilometers off the northern capital of Darwin. The Islanders, Indigenous Tiwi people, were surprised to come across obviously foreign men on the beach who asked them, "Is this Australia?" Perhaps the arrivals were confused by the large number of black faces and the general Third World look of the place. The Islanders' answer marked a subtle distinction: You are on Melville Island. Yes, it is in Australia. *In but not of*. Did the arrivals register any qualification? There were fourteen of them plus the Indonesian crew of four. They requested water, indicated they were from Turkey, and asked for asylum. Only a few weeks earlier the Islanders had been instructed by visiting officials what to do in such an eventuality. The men were provisioned, quickly dispatched back to their boat, and the authorities notified. These Islanders were the first and last Australians, apart from the navy and immigration bureaucrats, that the new arrivals would set eyes on.

Within hours, three armed navy ships were headed to Melville Island. An exclusion zone was established around the small boat. A second injunction prohibited planes from flying over it. And, just to make certain, the navy towed the small vessel out to sea and placed a guard over it. Thousands of miles away in the national capital, Canberra, ministers met in urgent session and determined to excise Melville Island from the migration zone. They threw in another four thousand or so islands for good measure. This ensured that any "suspected asylum seekers" making landfall in these places would not have access to the domestic legal system—they had been effectively deterritorialized. The governor-general was summoned from his race-day festivities to approve the proceedings. The ministers made the

legislation retrospective then went to bed satisfied. They had performed miracles that day. By this exercise of their excising imaginations, they had turned back time and commanded the waves to flow outwards. That boat never arrived in Australia. *Boat? What boat?*

Next day no one could find the *Minasa Bone*. The administrator of Christmas Island, severed from the mainland in a previous excising operation, disclosed that he had been asked to turn the community sports center into a detention camp for the men. He refused: there was already an expensive, new custom-built detention center on Christmas Island. But the recent arrivals could not be allowed to talk to other would-be refugees. Although the full implications of this *cordon sanitaire* were yet to emerge, from the beginning the *Minasa Bone* was encircled in silence; the asylum seekers would later tell how each request and plea they made was met with "keep quiet" or "shut up."[1]

A day later it was disclosed that the navy had towed the damaged boat to the edge of international waters, then pointed it toward Indonesia. The Indonesian government was holding the men, now identified as Kurds from Turkey. Unlike Australia, Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention on refugee protection. It contains large numbers of internally displaced people. Unsurprisingly, it was expected to return the fourteen Kurdish men to Turkey. Only a few months earlier, in preparation for joining the United States and the United Kingdom in invading Iraq, the Australian government had had a lot to say about the plight of oppressed Kurds in the region. But challenged about its responsibility for the *refoulement* of these Kurdish asylum seekers, official responses fell into a tawdry, predictable sequence: *the men did not claim asylum in Australia; if they did claim asylum, we are not aware of it; yes, they did claim asylum, but they couldn't have, because they never entered Australia in the first place.* This is the marvelous, brutal, incontrovertible logic of excision.

The technology of excision, by which certain parts of the state's territory are decreed by law *not* to be accountable to law, is one of a repertoire of technologies for producing hybrid spaces, what may be described with reference to Giorgio Agamben as spaces of exception, both inside and outside the law.[2] They are designed to isolate, contain, and punish asylum seekers in onshore detention centers, deterritorialized zones, and the offshore arrangements known as the "Pacific Solution."[3] In turn, these new organizations of space alter geopolitical and cultural alignments and produce new border relations and spatial reconfigurations within the region. At the junction of the Pacific Ocean with the Arafura and Timor Seas, Australia's coastline, its outlying islands and territories, its varied and adaptable forms of tenure over place form

a mobile, unstable, racialized border traversed by the tortuous itineraries of bodies seeking asylum.

A Season of Boats

Spring is the season of boats from the north. In 2001, the most significant boat in recent memory, a Norwegian container vessel, the MV *Tampa*, arrived on the horizon a week before the terror attacks in the United States, carrying 450 or so mostly Afghan, Iraqi, and Sri Lankan asylum seekers who had been rescued from their sinking vessel.[4] The *Tampa* made for Christmas Island but was denied permission to enter Australian waters. The port was closed and the Islanders placed under quarantine. As days passed and the sick asylum seekers on board called for help, the *Tampa*'s captain, Arne Rinnan, later to receive humanitarian awards for his actions, defied the ban and sailed into Australian territory, invoking the authority of international law. After a long standoff, as conditions on the overcrowded ship deteriorated, the *Tampa* was intercepted, forcibly boarded, and taken over by the military. With the government vowing these asylum seekers would never set foot on Australian territory, the 450 or so men, women, and children were divided between New Zealand and a hastily established camp on an exhausted mine site on Nauru. Some of the voyagers were later transferred to an old army base on Manus Island (earlier known as Admiralty Islands) in the former Australian Protectorate of Papua New Guinea. Other sites, from a disused leper colony in Fiji, to newly independent East Timor, to the tiny islands of Tuvalu, Palau, and Kiribati were canvassed to also make themselves available. So began the exercise known as the Pacific Solution. The term was a misnomer in every sense. Beginning with an armed action by the Special Air Service and imposing the full weight of Australia's economic and diplomatic authority over the region, the plan was neither peaceable nor a genuinely regional Pacific move. And it was no solution.

In the two months following the *Tampa*, asylum seekers became the supreme national preoccupation. In a special sitting held as the West was still reeling from the 9/11 attacks, parliament agreed to excise Christmas Island, Ashmore Reef, and Cartier and Cocos Islands, outlying territories on which asylum seekers' boats landed, from Australia's migration zone. Boats carrying asylum seekers, termed SIEVs (Suspected Illegal Entry Vessels), were shadowed, intercepted, fired on, and instructed to turn around, with those that persisted being boarded by force and their occupants hauled off to the deterritorialized camps in the Pacific.[5] On the boat known as SIEV 10 two women,

Nurjan Husseini and Fatima Husseini, died in the chaos when their vessel caught fire and sank during one of these operations as it was fired on and then boarded by the navy.[6]

SIEV X, the unknown SIEV, was a wretched, unsafe, overcrowded vessel that sailed for Australia a few weeks after the *Tampa*. It broke into pieces in the indeterminate space between Indonesian and Australian waters, apparently out of the range of Australia's elaborate "saturation surveillance" and monitoring operations. Three hundred and fifty-three of those on board drowned: the largest recorded death toll ever of asylum seekers at sea. Of these dead, a little under half, 146, were children; 142 were women. Many of their names are known from family members who survived that night, but close to a hundred remained unidentified.[7]

These are neither the first nor the last deaths in the waters around Australia. The lament of the group *Algeciras Welcomes* spoken over the body of yet another anonymous asylum seeker, a young man cast away by the waters of the Mediterranean in 2003, calls for repetition:

> There are those . . . who died in the sea and who died forgotten because here no one knew who they were . . . They suffocated in the water and drowned in anonymity. We do not know whom to weep over when we have gathered here. Their relatives, on the other side, do not know we are weeping for them. They died in the sea, but politics, outlined in dispatches sent from the West murdered them. They built walls in the water, they demanded that visas should appear out of thin air; politics assured that people would be moving on from one place to another.[8]

This passage graphically evokes all the malignant perversity of recent regimes of border control: walls rise up out of oceans; queues are expected to form in the desert; visas lose their materiality, floating free of the state and bureaucratic regimes that give them life, and demand to be plucked out of thin air. Yet, as this lament also powerfully demonstrates, the moving on of peoples from one place to another, the passages of uncertain transit, the unmarked places where people die, make cracks in the walls rising out of the water, allow for new spaces across the lines drawn in the sea. Flows and diversions of people undermine as well as reinforce existing territorial divides.[9] And, Nevzat Soguk points out, the movements themselves are "for those who are part of them, acts of resistance by which the 'moving' people are able to shape their own experiences in ways hitherto unprecedented."[10] This border space of moving people and bodies is a site where new relations, practices, possibilities, and forms of connection may emerge.

Borderscapes

The endless voyaging back and forth of the people on the *Tampa*, the unknown terminus of SIEV X, the strange voyage of the *Minasa Bone*, its crossing and recrossing of territorial and temporal boundaries, all are possible starting points for conceptualizing a complex border zone that enmeshes and overlies the island-nation. How do the moving bodies of asylum seekers reconfigure this multiethnic, transnational, transoceanic, transborder region of archipelagos, coastlines, and oceans constituted by a web of discourses and practices? There are multiple actors in this layered geography shaped by embedded colonial and neocolonial histories and continuing conflicts over sovereignty, ownership, and identity. The bodies of asylum seekers, living and dead, and the practices that attempt to organize, control, and terminate their movements bring new dynamics, new dangers and possibilities into this zone. Allegiances and loyalties are remade, identities consolidated and challenged, as border spaces are reconfigured by discourses and technologies of securitization and the assertion of heterogeneous sovereignties.

This chapter considers the multilayered, intersecting, contradictory spaces of this unstable border zone. The relations between island-Australia and its outside(s)—those places that are, in one way or another, not-Australia—defy representation by a linear divide: the border. Under the Pacific Solution, Australia's border both contracts—when outlying territories are excised for migration purposes—and expands, as the sovereign territory of other states is effectively annexed to serve as a detainment camp for asylum seekers. Both these projections and contractions of sovereignty are territorial assertions, acts that bring space under differential forms of hegemonic control, producing new borders that in turn give rise to multiple resistances, challenges, and counterclaims. This making and remaking of different forms of border space in the Pacific is what I describe as a *borderscape*.

In *The Myth of Continents* Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen enumerate the errors, confusions, and mischiefs wrought by foundational metageographical assumptions, such as the "expectation that a proper map will always show a set of sharply bounded units that fit together with no overlap and no unclaimed territory."[11] This "jigsaw-puzzle view of the world" that Lewis and Wigen also term the "territorial trap" undergirds a number of other critical assumptions, including the "myth of the nation-state," as one of a seriality of territorial units that are discretely ordered, easily comparable, and essentially stable and static. Contemporary cartographic practices are formed by these

principles, such that "our map of the earth is a Procrustean bed, in which the complexities that make real places have been violently deformed to fit a set of standardised shapes."[12] Against the nation-state as a territorial unit that may be easily delineated on the planar, two-dimensional surface of a map, the borderscape is a multidimensional and mobile construct. It is informed by de Certeau's discussion of "spatializing practices" that encompass "geographies of actions," histories of place, and the itineraries of moving bodies:

> Space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is caught in the ambiguity of actualization . . . In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper."[13]

The borderscape allows for the inclusion of different temporalities and overlapping emplacements as well as of emergent spatial organizations. A shifting and conflictual space, this Pacific borderscape is currently being reconstituted through technologies and discourses of securitization as well through forms of new and ongoing spatial relations and practices that defy the categorizations of the border, and unsettle the univocity and stability of "proper" places.

Dis-locations and Delocalizations

In an essay on the Pacific Solution, Prem Kumar Rajaram discusses the politics of Australia's "emplacement" in the region through metaphors of presence, visibility, and materiality. Studying a map of the region he comments that it "shows a disparate group of indistinct landmasses, floating in the wide Pacific, with the exception of Australia, large and whole; concrete in a way that Nauru and even PNG cannot be. Australia dominates the region; the idea of Australia gives focus and orientation to the 'the region,' Australia is not entirely of the region, but the region is Australia's; it is Australia's dependent backyard."[14]

This passage beautifully evokes the solidity and stability of the island-continent's self-image as against the "pathological degeneration" that characterizes its representations of the diminutive neighbors dotted to its north and west.[15] An alternative body of representations

and understandings of this space, however, make it possible to discern other cartographies, different inscriptions of territoriality and countersovereignties that exceed the overpowering neocolonial presence exerted by island-Australia in the region.[16] The massivity and *thereness* of island-Australia, "large and whole," is very much a matter of *how* we read this geo-body, the space "on the map." The seeming largeness and wholeness of Australia as a territorial body "on the map" are effects of historical and geo-graphical processes that remain incomplete and that continue to be troubled and challenged by contradiction. Most obvious among these are the racialized tensions and anomalies between the imagined large and whole(some) body of the white nation and its unassimilable black or colored bits, often envisaged as dysfunctional, monstrous, or diseased. Nor are these contradictions only internal; read in the context of local histories the space "on the map" confounds the distinction between internal and external, domestic and foreign, between island-Australia and its apparent outside(s).

As a form of representation the modern map privileges national boundaries as it overwrites alternative geographies and contested spatialities.[17] Not representable on the static surface of the Westphalian map are, precisely, the complexities of a mobile and multilayered borderscape. The map as an artifact of western modernity, de Certeau argues, must be understood as a totalizing representation that "colonizes space."[18] Whereas the earliest medieval maps recorded *itineraries* and were forms of "a memorandum prescribing actions," in modernity the map "slowly disengaged itself from the itineraries that were the conditions of its possibility." This "erasure of itineraries" wiped from the map other configurations, "geographies of actions" and living histories of border practices. The complex and contested nature of national/natural boundaries became unrepresentable on the modern map of nation-states and empires.[19]

The processes that put Australia on the map as "large and whole" actively obscure processes that suggest other, more complex and layered geopolitical and spatiotemporal configurations. Intricate, long-established maritime ties reach across and between national borders linking the northern coastline of Australia and the islands of the Torres Strait with Papua New Guinea and Indonesia. As Shnukal, Ramsay, and Nagata write, "For the Islanders of the Torres Strait, South East Asia and the Pacific . . . the notion of the shifting sea as a boundary is alien, the inverse of the European terrestrially focused perception . . . Their surrounding territorial seas are not boundaries . . . which serve to separate them from their neighbors, but rather maritime highways

which connect them with others for reasons of trade and ritual."[20] The crisscrossing traffic along the maritime highways of the Indian and Pacific Oceans created communities looking outward across the ocean at least as much as inland to the center of the continent. The volume edited by Shnukal, Ramsay, and Nagata reveals that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a heterodox population of Aboriginal, Islander, and Asian peoples existed in the Torres Strait, on the edges of white Australia. This was a society constituted by colonial law but lived in its interstices: between land and sea, between the fixity of the map and the flow of moving peoples, in the gaps between "Asian" and "Indigenous," "native" and "alien," where the classificatory violence of colonial raciology stumbled, if only for a moment, before the irreducible heterogeneity of their bodies and histories.[21]

As discussed in Chapter 1, centuries-old border practices and affiliations with Macassan fishing communities are "woven into legend, kinship networks, and the coastal economies" of the various Aboriginal peoples of the north and west.[22] Henry Reynolds points out that, "For many Aboriginal groups right around the north coast their relationship with Macassan (Indonesian) fishermen was much more significant than their experience with Europeans passing through their country or sailing by in pearling luggers."[23] Macassan fleets of up to a thousand men arrived with the northwest trade winds each year and returned three months later with the southeasterlies, sometimes accompanied by Aboriginal passengers who would live with them till the next year's voyage. The coercive power of white Australia attempted first to prohibit and then to erase these networks of connection and exchange. In the early years of the twentieth century, Reynolds records, Yolŋu people of the north were incredulous at the idea that Balanda (whites) could interfere with these well-established historical links and the cyclical itinerary of the Macassan arrival and return: "There were stories that some Macassan captains had said . . . they might not be able to come in future years because the Balanda out of Port Darwin would not let them (some Yolngu elders remember their fathers in tears of disbelief when the Macassan captains told them this news). But many Yolngu dismissed these stories. They said 'Who are these Balanda? They have no say in the legal agreements between our clans and the Macassans.'"[24]

If colonial power could suspend the border practices and arrangements that structured relations between the coastal communities of the Arafura Sea and Torres Strait, it could not succeed in erasing their memories and traces. Since the 1980s various forms of affiliation between the coastal and island communities of the Pacific have begun

to be reasserted and tested.[25] Indigenous sea rights and claims of title to water are also part of this shifting, multidimensioned borderscape, following logically on land rights activism of previous decades.

Similarly, the excised territories of Christmas and Cocos Islands testify to other regional identities and itineraries overwritten by the map. These islands, populated mostly by descendants of transported nonwhite labor on colonial plantations, once "belonged"—perhaps equally tenuously—on the Indonesian side of the border. Many Christmas Islanders display a markedly different attitude to the arrival of refugees from the majority on the Australian mainland. On the night before the navy shipped the *Tampa* asylum seekers out of Australian waters, Christmas Islanders farewelled them with an outburst of fireworks.[26] This wordless display of defiance and support between ship and shore is one of a series of gestures and signals improvised by local communities to assert other itineraries and affiliations, to break out of their imperializing location on the map, and to reach across the proliferating borders within borders separating asylum seekers from Australia.

A Great Southern Rainbow Republic?

The seemingly self-evident nature of Australia—as a unitary, sovereign geo-body whose boundaries naturally coincide with its continental landmass—is undone, or at least put into question in several ways, by its colonial history. As Indigenous claims to land and ocean make clear, here sovereignty over *country* was never ceded (unlike in other settler societies such as New Zealand, Canada, or the United States) by the signing of a treaty between colonizer and colonized. Contestations of the colonizers' title have continued over two hundred years and in the 1990s resulted in two significant gains: the Mabo and Wik legal judgments on native title to land, followed by the Croker Island and Blue Mud Bay claims for sea rights. The Mabo judgment of 1992 was a landmark ruling establishing that ownership of land did exist prior to colonization, and reversing the ingenious fiction of *terra nullius*, nobody's land, that legitimizes colonial occupation. Mabo established that in certain highly restricted circumstances native title might not have been extinguished by colonization. Following these rulings, calls for recognition of Indigenous rights to land and a treaty between the state and the Indigenous owners resurfaced strongly, reaching a new high in 2001, the centenary year of the federated Australian state.

In response, fears of Aboriginal people making claims on private property were aroused, leading to fevered anxiety in parts of

Anglo-Australia over the security of suburban backyards. The intensity of the fears stirred up over ownership of family backyards (never remotely under threat by the rulings) suggests the elemental level at which many reacted to the notion of native title to land. The backyard thus remains a loaded term in Australian discussions of both domestic and regional concerns, suggesting not safe tenure and ownership but a territory riven by the tensions between public and private claims (see also Chapter 6).[27] Renewed anxieties over the legitimacy of the Australian state, unresolved issues of native title, and the sense of Anglo-Australia as an anomalous racial/ethnic presence in the region all contribute to the disproportionate and hysterical response to the arrival of a few hundred asylum seekers in its surrounding waters or "backyard." The presence of these moving bodies, retracing old routes of connection and creating fresh links across borders, introduces an unpredictable dynamic to ongoing conflicts over internal sovereignty, legitimacy, and title and, in Reynolds's words, reawakens an "ancestral unease about an empty and vulnerable north [that] continues to reside just below the surface of the [white] Australian psyche."[28]

Set-pieces such as the great repulse of the *Tampa* and the acts of excision are, as Rajaram points out, *performative* reiterations of Australian sovereignty in the face of these perceived threats.[29] As such, however, they have the effect of giving rise to counterclaims and assertions and provoking debate about competing styles or modes of exercising sovereignty. One of the most potent of these discussions concerns the ethical and moral responsibilities of the host in enacting ownership of place. While the state has assumed the stance and rhetoric of a besieged householder turning away uninvited guests or trespassers who encroach on private property, other models of ownership emphasize hospitality and generosity to strangers in need as part of the inexorable obligations of ownership.[30] Indigenous Australians draw on their own traditions of inviolable duty toward others to assert a stake in the debate over the treatment of asylum seekers.[31] Tony Birch has written that Indigenous people must assert and claim their ownership of the land through the exercise of their ethical responsibilities of hospitality and care toward people seeking protection as much as through legal claims to sovereignty:

> [A]s Aboriginal people . . . we must also assert moral authority and *ownership* of this country. Our legitimacy does not lie within the legal system and is not dependent on state recognition . . . We need to claim our rights, beyond being stuck in an argument about the dominant culture's view of land rights or identity. And we need to claim and

legitimate our authority by speaking out and for, and protecting the rights of others, who live in, or visit *our* country.[32]

To assume the role of host is to claim and enact ownership of the land. But Indigenous people, while retaining moral authority over the land, also share with asylum seekers experiences of being physically dislocated and dispossessed. As Birch says elsewhere in the same essay, Indigenous people have been for too long positioned as strangers and dispossessed refugees in their own land. Dispossession has taken the form of Indigenous peoples being cast away from their traditional country, their social exclusion from the body of the nation, and their positioning as inimical to its cultural norms and way of life. These aspects of their exclusion from the realm of the national informed the responses of some Melville Islanders when they heard of their land's excision from the body of Australia: "We watch the news and read the paper. We're not stupid people, we're educated. We know what it means to be non-Australians. If that boat comes back, we'll welcome them and give them food and water. You know why? Because we're all one group—non-Australians."[33]

Responding to a history of exclusion, the Islanders invert the logic of deterritorialization. They assume the position of being alien to Australia, but also take on the counter role of host and legitimate custodian of the land by vowing to provide food and water for the strangers. The assertion "*We know what it means to be non-Austra-lians*" exposes the forms of disenfranchisement and dispossession that fissure the idea of a unified and whole nation. The deterritorialization of Melville Island only reinforces for its inhabitants the provisional and incomplete nature of their own belonging in Australia. Now formally relegated to an ambiguous and expendable status by the excision of their territory from the state, the Islanders embrace the identity of the non-Australian. Their use of this term also refers to the frequent use of the descriptor "un-Australian" as a barely coded reference for racial and cultural otherness. The Islanders mark the fractures that already exist within the body of the nation and claim solidarity with the deported asylum seekers, voluntarily excising themselves from the nation in the process: *we're all one group—non-Australians.*

The responses of the Islanders also turn the logic of deterritorialization back on the state. They declare: "If they want to talk about this, they have to come out here and see this place. Next time an election comes around, Labor Party, Liberal Party, they'll be out here asking us to vote for them. We'll say, 'Sorry we're asylum seekers, we can't vote.'"[34] Alienated from the confines of the national, the Islanders

strategically adopt a position that allows them to reject citizenship, a status that they never fully owned in the first place, and disavow the state's claims to exercise authority over them. While statist practices of excision and deterritorialization are acts that assert and perform sovereignty, these acts also expose the random and contingent nature of a power that is exerted or withdrawn at the stroke of a pen. For Indigenous people, who over two hundred years withstood and contested through a range of means the sovereignty claims of the state, the ease with which more than four thousand islands were struck off the map in the course of a single afternoon can only confirm the arbitrary, transient, and discontinuous nature of colonial sovereignty. The presence of asylum seekers in the waters around northern Australia in this sense has the potential to act as a lightning rod for existing contradictions surrounding the Islanders' membership in the nation, and bring to a crisis their ongoing resistances to the sovereignty of the Australian state.

These insights underlie a mock newspaper report that appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* a few days after the excision of Melville Island, under the headline "Proclamation of a 'Great Southern Rainbow Republic of Antipodea' by the spirit of Eddie Mabo." The report imagines the excision of Melville and other islands triggering an immediate declaration of secession from Australia:

> The unexpected but proud declaration by Mabo of the world's newest sovereign territory . . . came after the Australian representative of the British Caretaker Government, Mr Howard, finally surrendered his long struggle to claim ownership of the various islands to the 'Australian' mainland's north on behalf of his Monarch, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second.
>
> Mr Howard . . . is understood to have finally conceded the pointlessness of fighting to retain British sovereignty over the islands . . . by simply 'chopping the bastards off the Aussie map' and declaring them 'terra nullius' again.
>
> This in turn allowed Mr Mabo's spirit to take possession of the islands and re-assert a newly-independent sovereignty.[35]

The excision of Melville and the other islands from the migration zone in effect creates a border inside the border, confirming unspoken truths about the deep racial fault lines of the nation, the parts of it that never really belonged. This in-between zone, a not-quite Australia, opens up new spaces for understanding the limits of membership in the nation and for the possibility of new sovereignties, itineraries, and affiliations.

PACIFIC MATTERS

For a state concerned to assert its internal wholeness and sovereignty and consolidate regional hegemony, the notion of a "Great Southern Rainbow Republic of Antipodea" arching triumphantly over the Pacific constitutes a nightmare scenario. The Pacific Solution and "Great Southern Rainbow Republic" in this sense are alternative cartographies through which the region might be reimagined as borders are made and remade as the moving bodies of asylum seekers engender new spatial practices and configurations.

If the vision of a "Great Southern Rainbow Republic" allows us to imagine a final severing of links with the colonial motherland and a geography that remakes by cutting across existing borders and divides, the Pacific Solution must be understood as a neocolonial act of geographical violence. Like the detainees of the war in Afghanistan held in Guantánamo Bay, the asylum seekers held in Australia's offshore detention camps under the Pacific Solution between 2001 and 2007 occupied a legal limbo, a deterritorialized and dis-located space of indeterminate sovereignty.[36] Their position resembled that of Haitian asylum seekers held outside U.S. jurisdiction at Guantánamo in the 1980s until international protest forced a change in policy.[37]

Under the Pacific Solution, asylum seekers on Nauru and Papua New Guinea were placed out of the reach of Australian law and the international obligations it entails, as well as being outside the jurisdiction of the states in which the camps were located. Such a network of "tactically postterritorial" military installations, camps, and foreign bases, Joshua Comaroff points out, are key features of U.S. strategy in the war on terror. Comaroff likens these leasehold outposts to Solzhenitsyn's "gulag archipelago," a "network 'scattered through the sea of civil society like a chain of islands,' a military parallel to the contemporary offshore and outsourced economies."[38] For Comaroff, such places do not so much represent an Agambenian state of exception, but operate "rather within a deliberate series of legal and geographical contradictions" expressed through "recursive loops of 'both-and' or 'neither-nor.'"[39]

Significantly, these dis-located island spaces, from Guantánamo to Diego Garcia, the Indian Ocean island at the center of the United States' secret rendition program, share legacies of colonial violence and displacement. As places of indeterminate sovereignty, they are also part of a long tradition in which imperial power claims a circumscribed or partial sovereignty over colonized regions, through fabrications such as protectorates, in order to disown or limit legal, financial,

and ethical responsibility for its actions. In these shadowlands of sovereignty and empire, one abuse of justice enables another. The forced removal of the Chagos Islanders from their land in the mid-twentieth century to establish a U.S. military base at Diego Garcia cleared the way for the later collusion between Britain and the United States that enabled them to flout their responsibilities under both international and domestic law and outsource the torture of prisoners held in the war on terror.[40] In the Pacific Solution, the Australian state turned to Nauru and PNG, the former protectorates it had economically and environmentally depleted, to outsource its obligations under the refugee convention by trading on its power as neocolonial hegemon and infringing on the sovereignty of neighboring small states to warehouse asylum seekers outside its own territory.

In Fonteyne's words, with the Pacific Solution: "In one fell swoop Australia created a new international 'practice': the export of a refugee problem from one area to another, thereby creating, in a callous display of neo-colonialist guile, a refugee problem in an area where there was previously none. In the process Australia . . . artificially set the scene for the description of the problem by the government as a 'regional' one requiring, according to the rather shameless . . . argument now being used, a 'regional' solution based on 'burdensharing.'"[41] The creation of a "refugee problem" in a region where none previously existed once again remapped the relations between Australia and its outsides, creating deterritorialized spaces of ambiguous sovereignty. It introduced a new element into the internal dynamics of the affected states and in the relations of the states to one another and to Australia.

In its wake, the introduction of the Pacific Solution prepared the way for a number of other regional interventions under the overarching theme of ensuring secure borders. To quote from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade policy White Paper for 2003, bluntly titled "Advancing the National Interest," the "South Pacific matters to Australia" because:

Instability in the South Pacific affects our ability to protect large and significant approaches to Australia. The Government also has a duty to protect the safety of the 13 000 Australians resident in the countries of the region—some 7 000 in Papua New Guinea alone. And transnational crime in and through the region—terrorism, drug trafficking, people smuggling, illegal immigration and money laundering—is a growing threat to Australia and the South Pacific countries themselves. Cooperation with the South Pacific on such issues, particularly people smuggling, has delivered real benefits to Australia. The establishment of Australian-funded processing

centres in Nauru and PNG showed how regional countries can cooperate to deal with an issue of concern to the region as a whole.[42]

The extract reveals the continual slippages and sleights of hand by which Australian interests are re-presented as regional interests, and the creation of a rationale for increasing Australia's reach into domestic as well as external affairs of South Pacific states. The Pacific Solution was cynically represented as a collective response to a regional threat instead of what it was: the "export of a refugee problem from one region to another" in order to extricate Australia from an international impasse of its own making.

In its operation the Pacific Solution weakened the sovereignty of the participating states, fostered or heightened internal tensions in some of them, and increased Australia's reach into other aspects of their government.[43] In this sense the Pacific Solution cannot be considered in isolation from a range of other moves put in place to reshape the region, forging new geopolitical entities and creating new border zones through the mobilization of discourses of security and its more acceptable counterpart, "human security."

SECURING THE PACIFIC

In an essay written in the weeks after the 9/11 attacks, Agamben discusses the rise of security to the status of a preeminent principle of governance. Drawing on Foucault's lectures later to be collected as *Society Must be Defended*, Agamben suggests that "in the course of a gradual neutralization of politics and the progressive surrender of traditional tasks of the state, security becomes the basic principle of state activity":

> While disciplinary power isolates and closes off territories, measures of security lead to an opening and to globalization; while the law wants to prevent and regulate, security intervenes in ongoing processes to direct them. In short discipline wants to produce order, security wants to regulate disorder.[44]

Security overrides or collapses existing borders as it produces new entities to protect and control. It operates through multiple forms, military and extramilitary, promoting new identities and regionalities. Peacekeeping is one of the key forms through which security operates in the twenty-first century, as a "modality for maintaining

order that does not have a centre, cannot be assimilated to sovereignty and yet prescribes standardized mechanisms for normalizing politically diverse, and economically and socially incommensurable, local situations."[45] At the same time, as Sherene H Razack has argued, peacekeeping operations of the 1990s hark back to an older, imperial model for imposing law and order in the dark places of the earth. They implicitly reinforce "a colour line with civilized white nations standing on one side and uncivilized Third World countries on the other . . . [T]he peacekeeper . . . is entrusted with the task of sorting out the tribalisms and the warlords that have mysteriously sprung up in regions of the world where great evil dwells."[46]

These paired models of peacekeeping are neatly summed up in the twin images that Steven Ratuva identifies as embodying predatory Australian power in the Pacific: the octopus and the great white shark.[47] Peacekeeping as the exercise of an apparently "centerless," diffused, and dispersed power accords with the image of Australian influence winding numerous tentacles through activities of trade, development, and government in the Pacific; meanwhile the great white shark among the minnows invokes the exercise of a voracious and coercive Australian sovereignty over smaller and poorer neighbors.

Multiple tentacles of interest, agendas of security, globalization, and "Australianization" entwined in the 1999–2000 military operations in East Timor, the Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP) in Papua New Guinea, and the intervention in Solomon Islands— all represented as acts of good neighborliness and regional nation-building.[48] The Solomons expedition mirrored the United States-led intervention in Somalia in the 1990s, complete with its own approximation of a "rebel warlord" figure, Harold Keke. The entry of the Australian military into the conflict in East Timor was cast as a down-to-earth goodwill operation: in the words of Adrian Vickers, "The diggers were presented as a sporting team with guns."[49]

Yet this benign image of the local champion stepping in to sort out neighborhood bullies is not without its sinister aspects. The enabling role of Australia in the liberation of East Timor, Clinton Fernandes argues, "was not due to the "goodwill of the Australian government, but because of massive protests that increased rapidly in both size and fury."[50] Following the establishment of the state of Timor Leste, Australia exercised the full weight of its power to claim the lion's share of oil deposits in the Timor Gulf.[51] Under the ECP close to four hundred Australian officials were designated to work in Papua New Guinea in areas such as justice, policing, immigration, taxation, transport, and customs. Australia dismissed PNG's protests that this was the beginning

of a new neocolonial phase in the region, although the demand that Australian officials be granted blanket immunity in advance for any future violations of local law bears out fears that the operation is something more than a friendly hand extended across the backyard fence.[52]

During the same period, the Australian prime minister called for "pooled regional governance" in the neighborhood on the grounds that some states were "too small to be viable" as independent entities, again setting off fears of incursion on the sovereignty of smaller and more vulnerable neighbors.[53] Together these moves suggest an itinerary based on an agile and adaptable repertoire of strategies for managing and reordering the space of the "backyard," a repertoire premised on an implicit color line but promoted in the name of security, border control, and "protection" of the region from external and internal threats. Under the banner of security, Ratuva points out, Australia's "strategic interest is projected to incorporate, change and redefine the sovereignty of neighbouring Pacific states," although "as seen from the Pacific it is Australian policy that makes a terrorist threat more likely in this part of the world."[54]

Australia's defensive response to the entry of asylum seekers into the spatial economies of the region, then, has enabled a series of other movements that, coupled with the internal coercion or collaboration of smaller states, infringes on their sovereignty and attempts to make over the Pacific borderscape through practices and discourses of security, sovereignty, and nation-building. The resistances and countermoves these attempts provoke are, necessarily, more difficult to track. They operate in subterranean and lateralized ways at local and micro levels—for instance through gendered and community collectives that promote alternative modes of territoriality and identity; through counterimages and -geographies, and mobilizations of anti-imperialist and antiracist discourses.[55]

Counterhegemonic and resistant practices also often occur at the level of the nonverbal, gestural, and performative. The arrival of *Tampa* asylum seekers on Nauru is one example of the latter. When they finally disembarked in Nauru, the travelers from the *Tampa* had been at sea for close on four weeks, on three separate vessels, crossing and recrossing the ocean or simply waiting. They had almost drowned and had lost most of their possessions aboard the damaged *Palapa*, and endured long days and nights in the open aboard the *Tampa* while lawyers, agencies, and governments haggled over their fate. Forcibly transferred by the military onto the *Manoora*, they were held in limbo while a high court appeal to return them to Australian waters was turned down. During these weeks on the sea, worlds changed

around them: they now faced the full force of the backlash from the 9/11 attacks, the anticipated war in Afghanistan, and a climate of heightened hostility and suspicion toward anyone who might fit the category of "Muslim" or "Middle Eastern."

The first asylum seekers to disembark into this new world (some would later have to be forced) came ashore with two men holding up a banner thanking the Nauru government for protection and shelter. They were met by rows of slow-moving Nauruan dancers, arms widespread in welcome. The dancers offered a small handful of flowers to each asylum seeker stepping onto the shore.[56] In this wordless exchange, relations of host and guest were enacted and established, momentarily holding in suspension the sordid transaction in which both parties had become enmeshed. The asylum seekers, briefly, were neither "human cargo" nor the international rejects they had become in their wanderings through the Pacific. Simple motions of welcome acknowledged their dignity and inscribed them in a long tradition of wayfarers coming ashore. The Nauruans, who had insisted that no one should be sent to their country unwillingly, claimed their role as hosts, not jailers, performing sovereignty where it could not be spoken.

This beach scene on Nauru is a site where new modalities of connection and alternative spaces of relationality are constructed between peoples *in the shadow of imperialized and securitized borders*. The beach, as meeting place between land and ocean, acts as both boundary and border zone. Even as the color line is reinforced and extended, and borders encircled by other borders, border spaces engender their own defiances, practices of connection, and potential for contestatory actions. Refugee bodies, blocked, disallowed, and terminated, still produce new maps; they fashion new passages and points of transition in and through the border, marking the possibility of other spatial relations and new, as yet unrealized, geographies that confound the territorial trap.

Other Maps and Unrealized Geographies

I close this chapter with Guan Wei's painting, *Target*, as a magnificent representation of an emergent border map that breaks out of the territorial trap and records the work of refugee bodies as new markers in space. *Target* records both points of terminus and living trails of movement as Wei maps the psyches and bodies of asylum seekers onto the Australian terrain, refiguring it as a contested and living spatiality. The painting returns us to de Certeau's discussion of how the modern map "slowly disengaged itself from the itineraries that were the
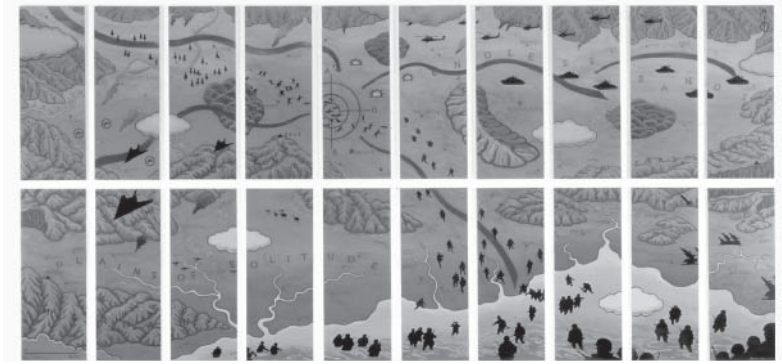
Figure 3.1. Guan Wei, *Target*, 2004, image courtesy of the artist and Kaliman Gallery, Sydney.

conditions of its possibility," an "erasure of itineraries" that denied other configurations, "geographies of actions" and contested, living histories of the border.[57] Against the static and totalizing tableau discussed by de Certeau, Wei's painting reads as an attempt to insert active border practices, itineraries of movement, and new relationalities into the static space of the Westphalian map of states.

The painting shows a landscape both known and unknown, one made strange by a flat and stylized representation that combines western cartography with the conventions of Chinese landscape painting and the one-dimensionality of computer war games. Its distancing effects are reinforced, too, by the breaking up of the landscape into panels, challenging both organic representations of the island continent as geo-body and its enabling myths of territorial wholeness, vastness, and unassailability. The cartoon figures of the soldiers and their weaponry seem at once menacing and unreal. Viewed from a distance, target and pursuer seem indistinguishable on this vast terrain. Viewed up close, it is clear that the hunted and prey, their terrors and hopes, are now inextricably inscribed upon the Australian landscape. Names like *Backyard*, *Sentiment*, *River*, and *Chaos City* mingle with familiar Australian place names, and the land's environmental features are interspersed with names signifying the passage of refuge-seeking bodies: *madness, kick, cool, boring, heart, suffer, awe, love, lust, duty, jolt, quake, bother, babe*—names that also uneasily recall and parallel the violent (re)naming of Indigenous land by early settlers.

In this painting, refugee bodies leave their marks and traces on the land despite the elaborate fictions that excise and disown their places of arrival and incarceration from the national map, either demarcating

them as "not-Australia" or sealing them off as spaces of exception. Despite the technologies of necropower that attempt to erase their presence and the elaborate measures designed to prevent them "ever setting foot on Australian soil," Wei's map records the defiant presence and *hereness* of refugee bodies.

Wei's *Target* and an earlier painting, *Dow: Island*, record the complex unfolding across the Australian landscape and its surrounding waters of refugee bodies, their other maps, itineraries, and stories—stories like that of Amal Basry (see Chapter 2). In turn, these stories open out and engender new spaces of relationality between bodies and across space and time. One powerful instance took place in November 2004 when the great 1950s Australian Olympic champion, Betty Cuthbert, led, from her wheelchair, a boatload of activists sailing from the city of Perth to Christmas Island. In the waters somewhere between these two ports, one still in Australia, the other excised from the national migration map, they stopped at a nameless in-between space to remember with flowers, paintings, and stories the drowned children, those whose names we'll never know and those infants yet unnamed, who died in the wreckage of SIEV X.

Their voyage, cutting across lines on the map, contoured "different edges of the nation" and performed new narratives of relationality. Through such acts new spatial identities begin to be formulated:

> A spatial identity usually has a story, probably many stories, without which such a place or identity would be meaningless . . . On the one hand, stories can change the ways people think about a place, and therefore redefine it, or give birth to new spatial identities. Stories become resources for the new spatial identities, for formulating the narratives of its birth, development, characteristics, and so on. On the other, as a place changes or a different spatial identity emerges, its story usually changes accordingly. A potentially new spatial identity may inspire, and project, stories that help its emergence.[58]

At the edges of Australia the authorized story of the nation—that is, what Winichakul calls its spatial identity—is both violently (re) asserted and potentially weakened. In tracing the itineraries, irregular, intermittent, interrupted, of three boats as they traverse and constitute the space I name the borderscape, different stories are told and heard and other practices enacted; hosts and guests, citizens and others, establish different relations across borders, color lines, and regional divides. Itineraries of bodies moving in time and space confound the intelligibility and stability of place names on the map. They

weave interrelations, engender border practices, reanimate contested sovereignties, and give rise to new geographies, spatial identities, and territorial claims and counterclaims.

In naming the space of these practices as constituting a distinct zone, the borderscape, I am suggesting the need for an alternative conceptual and spatial frame for analyzing what are usually read as disparate elements—negotiations of Aboriginal sovereignty, regional governance initiatives, security and border control operations—within it. Cutting across the conventional classifications into separate "domestic" and "foreign" policy concerns, the notion of a border-scape allows for differentiated understandings of space, territoriality, sovereignty, and identity across this zone. It also opens the way for theorizing emergent formations and practices that are mobilizing in response to the exclusionary assertions and new territorial violences that attempt to overrun the region.

* * *

Adapted from: "A Pacific Zone? (In)Security, Sovereignty and Stories of the Pacific Borderscape" in *Borderscapes: Insurrectionary Politics at Territory's Edge*, ed. Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) 201–27. Copyright © University of Minnesota Press. Used with permission. And from: "They Give Evidence: Bodies Borders and the Disappeared," *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006) 637–56. Copyright © Taylor and Francis. Used with permission.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 4

❧

Torturous Dialogues

Bare Life, Dangerous Geographies, and the Politics of Proximity

The response of Australians to this disaster has just been so overwhelming and so generous and so decent and so good that it makes you very proud indeed to be an Australian.

—*John Howard, Prime Minister of Australia, January 6, 2005*

This chapter on Australia's responses to the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004 takes its title from Alain Corbin's discussion of the aesthetic and affective topicality of the shipwreck in eighteenth-century Europe. Corbin's *The Lure of the Sea* is a profound—and provoking—investigation of the emergence of "a type of pleasure" in the sea and the ways in which the "unconscious desires and obsolete emotions" of European publics came to be performed on the "coastal stage" from the mid-eighteenth century.[1]

Although the period of Corbin's study is coextensive with the heyday of maritime expansion, his is a resolutely Eurocentric production. Its attention is studiously turned on the shores of England, France, and Italy, despite the tacit acknowledgment that Turner's sea paintings or the shipwreck fictions of *The Tempest* or *Robinson Crusoe* all refer to an oceanic realm that is thoroughly imbricated with the imperial and global. Yet Corbin's identification of the complex emotions inspired by the spectacle of the shipwreck and the "dense network of practices" that situate it extends further than the limits of his text. It reveals the emergence of a form of affectivity and what he calls a "dramaturgy of feelings," a repertoire of responses associated with conditions of spectatorship on the "coastal stage."[2]

"Towards the middle of the eighteenth century," Corbin writes, "the shipwreck became the second most evocative figure of catastrophe, after the earthquake, and sensitive souls were moved by any mention of it."[3] This reference to the earthquake as the *primary* figure of catastrophe is an unspoken reminder of the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami of 1755, a key event for European modernity to which I will return. Although the emotional responses to the Lisbon earthquake/tsunami are gathered into what Corbin calls the "rhetoric of pity" associated with the shipwreck, the latter generated a form of affectivity that arose from its specific conditions of spectatorship.[4] Many shipwrecks occurred within sight of land, from where "the spectators could . . . watch the tragedy unfold from the shore and hear the cries and prayers of the survivors."[5] Yet the watching crowds "did not consider the shore as merely a place from which to view the sublime anger of the elements; they also experienced it as a vast stage surrounded by the headlands, with the infinite expanse of water as a backdrop. Contemplating nature's excesses created the dramaturgy of feelings. There gestures of farewell, nostalgic posturing . . . and especially the horror of the shipwreck could be easily staged."[6] In the sublime theater of coastal catastrophe, spectators became actors, performing a repertoire of emotions through words, cries, and gestures, so that "between those who were perishing and those who were watching, torturous dialogues could sometimes develop."[7]

What Corbin in effect brings into focus in the responses to the spectacle of the shipwreck is one of the constituent aspects of western modernity: the turning of the world into picture and representation:

> The Western logic of representing the world as picture means, in Heideggerian terms, "to bring what is present at hand [*das Vorhandene*] before oneself as something standing over against, to relate to oneself, to the one representing it, and to force it back into this relationship to oneself as the normative realm" . . . "Representing," writes Heidegger, "is making-stand-over-against, an objectifying that goes forward and masters" . . . What is named in this process of transmuting nature into picture, into representation, is another aspect of the process of colonisation.[8]

Even in the context of the most "ungovernable" of disasters, such as the storm or tsunami, nature is rendered into a picture that at once domesticates nature by *enframing* it and, simultaneously, guarantees, through this process of enframing, the position of the spectator who watches the drama unfold from the safety of the shore or, as discussed further below, as the magisterial viewer of what Maurizia Natali terms a "wall of screens."[9]

There are a number of ways in which the 2004 tsunami restages Corbin's torturous dialogues in a contemporary arena, dialogues echoed, amplified, and refracted by the technologies that enable forms of direct and indirect spectatorship and representation. Characterized by conditions of desperate asymmetry and elemental disparity, exchanges engendered by the tsunami are marked by interruptions, distortions, and reciprocal unintelligibility between shore and sea, here and there; between those who perish and those who act as spectators and witnesses. The quotation with which I began, spoken by the Australian prime minister of the day, exemplifies how the spectacle of the tsunami is, in Heidegger's terms, brought "to relate to oneself, to the one representing it"—in this instance, its Australian spectatorship—and brought in to a "relationship to oneself as the normative realm." It indicates how the tsunami was, and continues to be, mobilized in Australia's internal dialogues, as it also defines Australia's relations with places impacted by the tsunami, with the region, and within the geopolitical order in which states are positioned as donors and receivers.[10]

This chapter pursues its own series of torturous dialogues across the various geographies in which the tsunami is located—geographies of distance and proximity, of terror and the sublime, of disaster and exception, of bare life and necropolitics—that is, of "contemporary forms of subjugation of life to the power of death" through multiple forms of "making die" and "letting die."[11] It considers how the biopolitics of disaster and trauma, as a set of practices for ordering the life and health of populations, play out across the necropolitical terrain of global inequality and in relation to those it locates as bare life.[12]

Disaster, Bare Life, and the Sublime: The Making of Dangerous Geographies

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755, and the fire and tsunami that immediately followed it, caused the death of about a quarter of a million people, prompting unprecedented outpourings of grief, terror, shock, and empathy throughout Europe.[13] This was a formative event in the development of Enlightenment philosophy, religion, and politics, instigating a number of debates about fundamental questions of good and evil, the nature of the universe, and the existence of God; of belief in providence and the rules of progress—debates that involved some of the key thinkers of the age, including Kant, Rousseau, and Voltaire.[14] In *Candide*, published only four years later, in 1759, Voltaire famously satirized belief in providence through the

figure of Dr Pangloss, a disciple of Pope and Leibniz, who reiterates the unshakable conviction that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds—even as he and Candide are shipwrecked off the coast of Lisbon, caught up in the earthquake, and witness its trail of death and destruction.

The era of modernity that was inaugurated by the Lisbon earthquake, Susan Nieman writes, found its terminus at Auschwitz: the two events signify the poles of natural and moral evil in European intellectual history. Nieman argues that the Enlightenment responded to the crisis of belief caused by the Lisbon earthquake by establishing a fundamental distinction between two "intellectual constellations": between the suffering caused by inexplicable natural disasters—*acts of God*—and those produced by human actions.[15] This categorization in turn paved the way for a critical differentiation between the deplorable but unpreventable suffering of innocent victims and that of other subjects. Through this fundamental distinction that "tells us which suffering was political and which was not," Asma Abbas caustically points out in her essay on the tsunami, "the Enlightenment's responses to Lisbon have left us a legacy of coopting human suffering by imposing limits on which suffering and which parts of life matter, and on their admission into political discourse."[16] Articulated in this distinction is a categorical split between "nature" and the "political" that effectively erases both their discursively constructed status and their geopolitical imbrications and effects.

Such a distinction paved the way also for another founding differentiation that was to prove critical: between those who are the subjects of their own suffering and those who are simply victims of unavoidable suffering, "the parts of life" that do not "matter."[17] The distinction between preventable and unpreventable suffering, whether decreed by a providential plan or as the consequence of the inevitable advance of progress, knowledge, and civilization, provided the preconditions for the massive death tolls of native populations that would accompany the expansion of the Enlightenment into the dark places of the earth. Mapped in Agambenian terms, these economies of suffering layer onto zones of bare life—that which lies outside the realm of the political; those deaths for which no one is to be held accountable: indeed, the deaths that do not *count*.[18]

The dark places of the earth are characterized by what Achille Mbembe, extending Foucault's and Agamben's theorizations of "biopower" and "biopolitics," identifies as necropolitics: these are "locations par excellence where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended—the zone where the violence of the state of exception

is deemed to operate in the service of 'civilization.'"[19] Here violence and death are naturalized through the economy of the unavoidable though regrettable: the price that dark regions must pay for their entry into the grand arena of the historical. The burden of this economy of the "unavoidable though regrettable" brings into focus the Hegelian providential dialectic that justified colonial expansion as the bringing of civilization to savage places even as it rationalized and recuperated the violence and terror inflicted on native populations.

As an instant of terror followed by recuperation, the Lisbon earthquake also left its traces on the philosophico-aesthetic discourse of the sublime. Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, Gene Ray argues, is haunted by the Lisbon earthquake, about which Kant as a young man had written a series of scientific articles. Returning Kant's later writing to the context of the earthquake, "brings back into view a repressed textual burden in Kant's *Critique of Judgment*: the need to silence pessimism." In his reading of the "Analytic of the Sublime," Ray focuses on a key passage in which Kant depicts the "tremor" of the imagination before nature's abyss until it is recalled and recovered by reason: "Kant needed to domesticate those eruptions of the sublime, of which the Lisbon earthquake was exemplary in his own century, in order to neutralize the threat they posed to a myth of progress grounded in natural law and a purported human nature . . . Through the power of reason and its moral law, the great evil of natural catastrophe is elevated, transfigured and 'sublimed' into a foil for human dignity. No effect without a cause, all for the best, *tout est bien*."[20]

The sublime, as a means of advancing "a myth of progress grounded in natural law and a purported human nature," is another enabling trope of European expansion. As Joseph Pugliese reveals in his compelling reading that situates this passage in the context of Kant's body of writings, the "power of reason" that ensures a recovery of the imagination on the very brink of nature's abyss is not one available to all of human nature. On the contrary, it marks the "sublime experience as something exclusive to the Western subject."[21] The sublime, as an effect produced by a complex exercise of imagination and reason only achievable by the western subject, underwrites the West's advance through the awe-inducing and terrifying theater of the natural world.

Kant makes clear that the essence of the sublime lies in the racially inscribed ability to make sense of and appropriate the terrifying alterity of nature. In the terrifying theater of sublime trauma as representational and affective spectacle, the western subject is positioned as both spectator and actor: a benevolent interventionist in the form of colonizer, missionary, aid organization, or volunteer. And, as Meaghan

Morris describes in her essay, "White Panic or Mad Max and the Sublime," this "plot of the sublime" is one that is continually reproduced in Australian history through "a scenario in which a dynamic self, normalized white and male, is overwhelmingly threatened by a fearsome power of alterity; freezes in astonishment . . . then bounces back with renewed strength and vigor by making sense of the threatening power, while appropriating some of its force."[22]

The constellation brought together in the wake of the Lisbon earthquake/tsunami that I have traced thus far—the terror of nature; unavoidable and expendable suffering in the service of a providential plan or progress; the raced faculty of the sublime and its ability to overcome and appropriate nature's power—meshes with the mapping of colonized land as a dangerous and inimical geography. Gregory Bankoff describes how in the production of disasters, "'tropicality', 'development' and 'vulnerability'" form part of "the same essentialising and generalising cultural discourse: one that denigrates large regions of the world as dangerous—disease-ridden, poverty-stricken and disaster-prone; one that depicts the inhabitants of these regions as inferior—untutored, incapable, victims; and that reposes in Western medicine, investment and preventive systems the expertise required to remedy these ills."[23] Yet, Bankoff argues:

> the disproportionate incidence of disasters in the non-Western world is not simply a question of geography. It is also a matter of demographic difference, exacerbated . . . by the unequal terms of international trade, that renders the inhabitants of less developed countries more likely to die from hazard . . . [T]he media often sensationalises a certain region as a 'belt of pain' or a 'rim of fire' or a 'typhoon alley', while scientific literature makes reference to zones of 'seismic or volcanic activity', 'natural fault-lines' or to meteorological conditions . . . [W]hatever the term . . . there is an implicit understanding that the place in question is somewhere else . . . and denotes a land and climate that have been endowed with dangerous and life-threatening qualities.[24]

This somewhere else—this "belt of pain" or "typhoon alley"—is discursively and representationally rendered as *somewhere else* by the enframing technologies of theater, screen, and spectacle already referred to. The technologies of enframing, and of rendering trauma and disaster into a theater of the sublime, symbolically mark the line between the "us" and "them" that Bankoff identifies. These same enframing technologies also generate and sustain the illusion between a wild, undomesticated, and disease-ridden nature, the locus of bare

life, "out there," in contradistinction to a civilized, scientifically advanced, and sanitary environment that is the privileged home of the West. The sea itself figures as one of these inimical and othered geographies, as discussed in Chapter 2, linked to elemental imaginaries of the oceanic as a wild and ungovernable space distinct from land, one associated in Christian symbology with sin and error (as in the biblical flood) and that is simultaneously inscribed by the "protocol of the classical storm."[25]

The bare life located in dangerous geographies lack the ability to *sublimate* their environments and are condemned to an eternal, disposable victimhood from which only superior powers of reason, and the scientific, medical, and economic power it entails, can attempt to rescue them. At work here are all the violently unequal relations of colonial power that, on the one hand, enable, sustain, and reproduce the possibility for strategic providential interventions, rescue missions, and acts of benevolence, while on the other, they demarcate the limits of disposable lives situated within necropolitical domains. Marked with the irredeemable imprimatur of bare life, these lives can be either killed with impunity or be abandoned to innumerable forms of letting die.

In geographies of danger—the Third World, the global south, the arc of instability—"nature" is precisely that which can neither be negated nor transformed (sublimated) through work and struggle. The bare life that inhabits dangerous geographies is represented as incapable of mastering or overcoming its own environment ("nature"); consequently it lacks self-sovereignty and thus subjecthood. This is the conceptual product of Hegelian dialectics in which, as Mbembe explains, questions of "becoming subject," sovereignty, and death all interlink: "In transforming nature, the human being creates a world; but in the process, he or she also is exposed to his or her own negativity. Within the Hegelian paradigm, human death is essentially voluntary. It is the result of risks consciously assumed by the subject. According to Hegel, in these risks, the 'animal' that constitutes the human subject's natural being is defeated."[26]

The inhabitant of the global south, marked by this "failure," is she or he who cannot overcome their "animal" status in order to become human/subject and be "cast into the incessant movement of history."[27] In failing to overcome their animal status in order to become human, their death, as in the world of nonhuman animals, is that which cannot be "essentially voluntary": this is not a death "that lives a human life"; rather, it is the death of the creature caught in unmasterable relations of nature—the typhoon, the earthquake, the tsunami.[28]

Within the Hegelian paradigm, Mbembe writes, mastery and control over the "biological field . . . presupposes the distribution of human species into groups, the subdivision of the population into subgroups, and the establishment of a biological caesura between the ones and the others. This is what Foucault labels with the . . . term racism."[29] As Mbembe outlines with uncompromising clarity, what this biological caesura enables is the division of the world into the domain of European juridical order, *Jus publicum Europaeum*, and the necropolitical domain of unmastered nature and unachieved subjecthood. Mbembe underscores the centrality of this distinction in legitimating the exercise of colonial violence when he concludes that it is "crucial in terms of assessing the efficacy of the colony as a terror formation."[30] Here Mbembe effectively maps out complex relations of power that intersect along seemingly unrelated lines of uncontrolled nature, colonial war, and terror. The following section situates this constellation in terms of what Naomi Klein identifies as "the shock and awe" model of disaster capitalism.

Terror and the Disasterscape

The opening epigraphs of Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine*, an epic text that attempts to map the global operations of what she calls "the disaster capitalism complex," are taken from two sources that at first might seem wildly unrelated: the first from the Old Testament description of Noah's flood, and the second from a text of military strategy that became infamous following the opening campaign of the 2003 invasion of Iraq—Harlan Ullman and James Wade's *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance*. Ullman and Wade describe shock and awe as "actions that create fears, dangers, and destruction that are incomprehensible to the people at large . . . or the leadership," and specify that "Nature in the form of tornadoes, hurricanes, earthquakes, floods . . . and disease can engender Shock and Awe."[31] Mobilizing and redirecting the terror of nature, Ullman and Wade advocate "shock and awe" as a military strategy aimed at achieving "rapid dominance" over an enemy through an operational ability that "can virtually institutionalize *brilliance*."[32] As a strategy designed to produce terror based on spectacular displays of techno-dominance, "shock and awe" is clearly premised on, and appropriates, the effects of sublime terror described above.

Ullman and Wade's text, Malini Johar Schueller writes, "identifies the psychosexual and social coordinates of US imperialism."[33] Klein maps these coordinates more precisely in *The Shock Doctrine* by

drawing clear lines of connection between post-Katrina New Orleans and the devastation of Baghdad in 2003, between Pinochet's Chile and the personal histories of those subjected to CIA-funded experiments of brainwashing and shock treatment. A section of Klein's book is devoted to her visit, a few months after the tsunami, to the heavily damaged beach at Arugam Bay, outside Batticaloa in eastern Lanka, where she documents the resistance of fishing communities to the government's proposal to establish a coastal "buffer zone" that would reshape the "the war-torn east coast . . . into a South Asian Riviera."[34]

Klein's central argument is that disaster capitalism moves into scattered scenes of natural catastrophe, war, and personal or collective trauma to level preexisting structures and modes of being. For Klein, the "fundamentalist model of capitalism" represented by Chicago School economics "has always needed disaster to advance."[35] This "disaster capitalism complex" operates through a systematic and/or opportunistic reliance on the effects of shock and awe to reduce entire populations or isolated subjects to submission.[36] In the state of "psychological shock or paralysis" induced by a "traumatic or sub-traumatic experience which explodes, as it were, the world that is familiar to the subject as well as his image of himself in that world," disaster capitalism finds its opening:

> That is how the shock doctrine works: the original disaster—the coup, the terrorist attack, the market meltdown, the war, the tsunami, the hurricane—puts the entire population into a state of collective shock. The falling bombs, the bursts of terror, the pounding winds serve to soften up whole societies much as the blaring music and blows in the torture cells soften up prisoners. Like the terrorized prisoner who gives up the names of comrades and renounces his faith, shocked societies often give up things they would otherwise fiercely protect.[37]

Klein proceeds to track the linkages between a series of disparate landscapes through the operation of the disaster capitalism complex and the systematic collaboration between national governments and global corporations that trade in the business of war and disaster. Her account is initially disconcerting in its obvious disregard for the distinctive emotional and affective responses that are evoked by different forms of disaster, and the ways in which these in turn shape the modes in which the reconstruction and renewal are couched. These are precisely the distinctions that reproduce the categories of "political" and "nonpolitical" suffering: distinctions that operate to mask the structural connections between disasterscapes. These differing emotional and affective responses pivot on that fundamental, yet untenable, distinction

between "nature" and the "political" that, as outlined above, Mbembe maps in his theorization of necropolitical zones.

The populations of the dangerous geographies who experience the violence of earthquakes or tsunamis emerge as the "innocent" traumatized victims of "nature"—a wild and undomesticated "nature" that they have failed to master and control. Their trauma is one that is affectively acknowledged, even as it is, as Klein makes clear, opportunistically exploited, economically and politically. The "political" trauma experienced by victims of war, in contradistinction to the trauma of the "innocent" victims of "natural" disasters, evokes an entirely other response: as in the case of the targets of the shock and awe campaign in Iraq, their politically marked trauma is rarely acknowledged or witnessed, aside from anonymous mass body counts; rather, this is a trauma that, in necropolitical terms, is framed by the "acceptability of putting to death."[38]

Yet the distinction between the imperative to save and the imperative to make or let die both operate within the same necropolitical framework in which the inhabitants of dangerous geographies remain no more than bare life. Thus in his regular column in *The Australian*, Greg Sheridan sought to incorporate the death and destruction wrought by the tsunami into a higher plan: "This crisis will re-engage the U.S. with Southeast Asia on a broader front than just the war on terrorism. That is a very good thing."[39] Sheridan's description of the tsunami as a "very good thing" for U.S. military power and for its local deputy, Australia, reveals the workings of a sovereign economy in which bare life is that which may yet be disposed of, acceptably put to death, or let die, *regardless* of innocence or guilt.

Sheridan's article was accompanied by an illustration of an Australian kangaroo and an American eagle advancing on a scene of devastation that closely resembled a war zone, inviting a fraught parallel with the war in Iraq. Both the article and the image underscore Klein's central argument that aid and war, humanitarianism and terror, meet in the disaster capitalism complex. Australia's tsunami aid package for Aceh in Indonesia, billed as the largest contribution by any donor nation, was characterized by a number of features of that other intervention: unilateral sidestepping of the role of the United Nations in favor of a partnership with the United States; insistence on monitoring mechanisms and "professionalization" that relied on Australian government officials to oversee the day-to-day administration of the aid—echoing the measures for "good governance" also set in place in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea (see Chapter 6); and the mobilization of a rhetoric of benevolence

that thinly disguised a sense of racial-national superiority and reaffirmed an ontologized distance between recipient and donor.[40] Like the torturous dialogues described by Corbin, the rhetorics of pity activated by the tsunami served to mark distances between here and there, between the hapless inhabitants of dangerous geographies and the good citizens of the Lucky Country.

In the following weeks and months the fine print of the vaunted one billion dollar tsunami aid package for Aceh would clarify that only half that sum was earmarked as an outright gift, while the rest took the form of an "interest-free loan." Some of the aid would be allocated, as per a prior aid budget, in parts of Indonesia that had not been affected by the tsunami. And bids for implementing the aid would be open only to Australian companies.[41] The situation created by the tsunami combined with the ongoing war in Aceh to produce conditions of exception in which disaster capitalism could operate, in part by mobilizing and directing the rhetorics of pity and the spontaneous outpourings of emotion evoked by the tsunami. Arising from the same conjunction of nature, geography, and racism identified above, disaster capitalism and the humanitarian response appear deeply entangled and are coimplicated within the matrix of colonial power relations that Mbembe identifies as necropolitical.

Klein's interviews indicate that the fishing communities of Arugam Bay understood very well how colonial histories, in collusion with agendas of national "development" and the forces of transnational capital, were being brought to bear in aid proposals for local scenes of disaster:

Open land. In colonial times, it was a quasi-legal doctrine—*terra nullius.* If the land was declared empty or "wasted," it could be seized and its people eliminated without remorse. In those countries where the tsunami hit, the idea of open land is weighted with this ugly historical resonance, evoking stolen wealth and violent attempts to "civilize" the natives. Nijam, a fisherman I met on the beach at Arugam Bay, saw no real difference. "The government thinks our nets and our fish are ugly and messy, that's why they want us off the beach. In order to satisfy the foreigners, they are treating their own people as if they are uncivilized." Rubble, it seemed, was the new *terra nullius.*[42]

Klein's reference to *terra nullius* links the project of disaster capitalism and the grand promise to "build back better" after the tsunami to an all-too-familiar Australian history. It returns us to that other landscape where necropower and its various forms of letting die and

making die in the name of progress and civilization operated through the framework of exception provided by the doctrine of *terra nullius*.[43] At the same time, the image of *terra nullius* as empty, uncultivated land, a spectacle that produces an instant of ontological terror in the colonizer's imagination before it is sublimated into action, is a reminder, via Morris's description in "White Panic or Mad Max and the Sublime," of how the "plot of the sublime" works in contemporary Australia: "the sublime in . . . Australia has had *practical* force as a story elaborated for a particular form of settler colonialism as it extended across the continent, Aboriginal land—and as immigrants from Europe began to think of themselves as 'close' to the vastness of 'Asia.'"[44]

The "vastness of Asia," reduced to the rubble and waste of a new *terra nullius*, confronts Australians with a spectacle that is also the restaging of a scene from their history of colonizing violence. Here the terror induced by a dangerous proximity to "the vastness of 'Asia,'" meets the "*practical* force" activated by the sublime prospect of "rubble" as "the new *terra nullius*."

The Wash-Up

On New Year's Day 2005, Bill Leak's cartoon in *The Australian* was a grim offering. Entitled *The Wash-Up*, the image represented a buried hand emerging from a beach. Against a backdrop of wreckage and broken bodies swirling amid the waves, the emaciated brown hand holds up a sign emblazoned with the words, "Happy New Year 2005" and an image of a glowing Harbour Bridge illuminated by Sydney's "best in the world" fireworks display. The image returns us to Corbin's coastal stage and the torturous dialogues between shore and sea.

At a localized level, the appearance of dead bodies and severed limbs in the shadow of the Harbour Bridge both dis-orients and re-orients. It brings home a scene from a beach elsewhere, remembering the Australian lives lost in the tsunami, as it also re-orients viewers to the geographies that connect them to other coastlines, reminding that the Indian Ocean tsunami unfurled from its epicenter in Indonesia to Somalia at one end and the coastlines of Western Australia at the other. Yet the Harbour Bridge and the fireworks display simultaneously re-present the vast cultural and imaginative distances that separate Australia from its region, and recall Australia's historical self-image as an island fortress in the Indian Ocean.

The distance that separates Australia from other Indian Ocean states prompted both public displays of compassion and celebrations

of a distinctive Australian destiny and identity in the wake of the tsunami. National pride, rather than grief or empathy, predominated in the official responses to the scenes of death and destruction, as exemplified in this display of Churchillian rhetoric by the then premier of New South Wales, Bob Carr:

> More people died more quickly than in any known event in human history. More people were displaced, impoverished, economically shattered and dispossessed more quickly . . . than perhaps at any time known in human history. Very quickly, very practically, comfortingly and helpfully, Australia was on the scene. Australians arrived as neighbours, as allies, and as friends. When the need was greatest, Australia was a friend at the time of need.[45]

As in the remarks of the then prime minister quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the affirmation of a special Australian identity or "character"—practical, dependable and above all *good*—takes center stage. The self-congratulatory mood (which crossed party-political lines) and the thinly veiled satisfaction at the potential political and economic benefits and increased regional "good will" dividends, culminated two weeks later, on Australia's official day of mourning for the tsunami victims, in a fireworks display on Bondi Beach. It would, Carr said, "go round the world" and demonstrate to all that "Australia is a good neighbour."[46]

Leak's cartoon, published in advance of Carr's remarks, is not so much prescient as a succinct recapitulation of modalities of interaction and of affective cartographies that have very long histories. It stages the torturous relations of proximity with "neighbors" from whom Australia is separated by vast distances of alterity. This is an alterity that invokes what Morris calls "White Australia's menacing 'Asian' sublime," combining feelings of compassion and terror aroused by the destructive power of the tsunami with a compulsion to the "*practical*."[47] The "vastness of 'Asia,'" so far and yet so near, so abject as a disaster zone and yet so fearsome in its sublime alterity, is an image that produces anew the awe and terror that it historically induces in the Australian settler imagination and reanimates the affirmations of difference with which Australia as a white island in a dangerous geography confronts the proximity of "Asia."[48]

"The Wall of Screens"

The immediate referent for Leak's cartoon is a horrifying photograph that appeared in the same paper a few days earlier, showing a woman weeping over a disembodied hand washed up on a beach in South India. A complex layering of other geographies, landscapes, and iconologies, local and transnational, underlies both cartoon and photograph. In an essay on the imaginary of the "traumatic sublime," Natali deploys the image of "a wall of screens in which each video frames an image of somewhere in the world" to suggest the simultaneity of contexts that mediatize global representations of war and disaster: "Our screen-made memory is full of traumatic 'landscapes with figures.' Neosublime science fiction *pathos formulae* circulate on our screens blended with satellite images of landscapes, war, territorial scars and scenes of ethnic violence, each of which is erased but quickly returns. The visible earth on our screens is produced by a panoptical 'magisterial gaze' and disseminated on an infinite number of walls filled with screens.'"[49]

Let us pause briefly here to consider an exemplary instance, a report by Jeff Greenwald, a volunteer with the Mercy Corps, who found himself in a scenario that combined "nightmare and dream come true" as he set out to "enter the heart of darkness: a once-familiar landscape of temples and palm trees, now ravaged by the Dec. 26 tsunami." Greenwald's duties as an agent of Mercy in Lanka called for him to "write stories, shoot digital video and photographs, and serve as a liaison with the international press" while also "filing my own dispatches—for the publications *Ethical Traveler*, *ThingsAsian* and *Salon.com*." One of Greenwald's early entries lays out the scene before him precisely in the terms of Natali's wall of screens: "The streets have the aesthetic perfection of an expertly decorated disaster movie set. Here is a tree, decorated entirely with clothes; a scattered deck of cards, with the queen of spades face up; a blasted-out living room, with an idyllic mountain scene on the one untouched wall."[50]

Greenwald cannot but view the scene of the tsunami's devastation as an artistically decorated screen set, one in which he himself stars in a dream role in which *Heart of Darkness* meets tropical beach fantasy. Simultaneously his "dispatches" for Salon.com, titled "Tsunami Ground Zero," unavoidably link this made-for-Hollywood scene with another pervasive image on the wall of screens, that other Ground Zero still under reconstruction in New York City. In Natali's analysis, such rapid conflations and seamless transitions between traumatic images of fantasy and live events subsume them alike within the realm

of the spectacle, locating them both precisely as *aesthetic effects*, while serving to obscure their materiality and their political causes and consequences. This "diligent moral distinction between the Hollywood war aesthetic and other political horrors," Natali concludes, is "perhaps one of America's major ideological victories."[51] The rapid synchrony of images on the wall of screens both bewilders and confounds: "We . . . confront traumatic landscapes-information on our screens, and often we do not have the time to elaborate on their shocks, nor to clearly distinguish between the various states of Empire they present to us, nor between the digital effects in fictions and the live shocks on TV."[52]

Natali suggests that these images of destruction merge with the sense of awe and terror induced by the spectacle of U.S. power to become projections of its unacknowledged underside. Images of carnage and ruin shadow the colonizing imagination as portents of its own destruction; intimations of the end of empire, the repressed fears and anxieties that constitute the unspeakable fears and phobias of dominance. As a number of commentators pointed out, the destruction of the World Trade Center in the 9/11 terror attacks had been prefigured in dozens of Hollywood disaster spectaculars and in the scenarios of science fiction.[53] In Morris's discussion, the *Mad Max* trilogy serves as an Australian version of this type of traumatic sublime where the histories of colonization are restaged in the form of fantastic fictions in which "we replay our genocidal past as our apocalyptic future."[54]

The wall of screens, as Natali describes it, not only references a synchrony of contemporary images, but also reaches into the visual archive of empire to include panoramic landscape paintings, colonial exhibitions, and power extravaganzas such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. These, too, represent spectacles of shock and awe; "in the folds of their landscape rhetorics lies the truth of US visual culture and policy"—a truth, however, that remains unacknowledged because of its very marking as representation and spectacle: "Its ideological violence speaks to viewers instead as a fascinating aesthetic experience."[55]

Absorbed into the imaginary of the traumatic sublime, scenes of disaster become no more than a seriality of spectacles, enframed within the magisterial, panoptical wall of screens of empire's self-reflections. Their persistent restaging of the hidden fears and phobias of empire, precisely because they remain unacknowledged, cannot be confronted or transformed. Within this panoptical view the fundamental inequalities and the entangled relations that produce the distinction between natural and political terror, while mystifying the processes of that production and reproduction, remain largely out of the frame.

"Making Sublimity Material"

Disasters such as the tsunami may inspire horror, grief, and outpourings of sympathy, but this very "garrulousness," to use Abbas's term, is produced by the enframing and objectifying technologies that enable us "to remain silent about the inequality and the multiple ways of dying inflicted upon us by society and civilisation."[56] One way to articulate the hidden inequalities inscribed in necropolitical ways of letting die and making die is to contest the distinction between political and nonpolitical forms of suffering; or, as Abbas puts it, to acknowledge the political and material forces that underlie seemingly nonpolitical or unavoidable forms of suffering, and to examine the epistemological and representational histories that define our categories of suffering and disaster. Reopening the discursive and intellectual histories that produce natural disaster would enable us to understand the processes that depoliticize its production, and to "mak[e] its sublimity material."[57]

Yet the intellectual constellations that organize the distinction between natural and political, sublime and social, remain deeply entrenched even in discourses that are skeptical about the role of aid and compassion:

> The race for aid and souls is supposedly on between Al Qaeda and USAID. Aid then is meant to construct a warning system for this terrorism as much as it is meant to construct one for the movement of the sea. Another front has opened up in the war on terror, once again fusing humanitarian aid with imperial ambitions, casting aid as the spread of freedom. Will our warning systems ever capture the magical realism of disaster? Will the Harvard political scientist know when to sound the alarm? Will we know which ocean to wiretap?[58]

Even as Ananya Roy's essay on the tsunami eloquently critiques the appropriation of humanitarian action into the agenda of militarism and argues for a closer examination of the political motives that underlie aid initiatives, her words seem to reinforce the divide between natural and political worlds, casting the ocean as a realm untouched by politics, war, or science. The image of "wiretapping the ocean" is rhetorically powerful, suggesting the futility and the hubris of attempting to control and direct the realm of nature. But for all its powerful rhetorical effect, the image redirects attention from the ways in which the ocean is *already* traversed by political, military, scientific, and legal forces, as it also distracts us from identifying the

fundamental political, environmental, and human security failures that channeled the destructive natural power of the tsunami against the most vulnerable populations.

Roy's phrase the "magical realism of disaster" is more evocative, however, suggesting the surplus or inexpressible excess that attaches to the deepest experiences, that which cannot be rendered in the prosaic terms of reportage or official inquiry. "Magical realism" is also a term that refers to the surpassing or unmaking of normative classifications and that exposes the inadequacy of taken-for-granted categories to register predicaments of heightened exigency or extremity. In Batticaloa, a few months after the tsunami, I found that war and tsunami often became interwoven in conversations as one form of terror inevitably shaded into another. *Piraliyam*, a short film by the Lankan activist and poet sumathy, captures precisely this interpenetration of war and tsunami in its opening sequence when the goddess Kali emerges from the ocean to walk slowly toward a small fishing village on the beach in Batticaloa. Her face is inscrutable. Her blood red sari billows around her bare feet. Shadowing her is the figure of a soldier, a uniformed woman armed with a machine gun. On the white sand, the marks of her heavy boots overlie the footprints made by the goddess of destruction as the two advance steadily together on the village.

In her (pre-tsunami) research in Batticaloa, Patricia Lawrence recounts that its residents often conflated their long experiences of war with memories of a severe cyclone that lashed their villages in 1978. Narrating the experience of the cyclone enabled survivors to articulate other, mostly unspeakable, experiences of violence in a climate of fear and intimidation, and their memories and sensations of one become fused into the other:

> As on many mornings, we could hear the Sri Lankan Air Force bombing Paduvankarai and the Thantahmalai jungle, and there was irritable disagreement among the gathering about whether we were hearing thunder or bombing, even though we could feel the vibrations of the impacts through the straw mats on the sand. (Similarly . . . people sometimes saw black smoke on the horizons as cloud formations.)[59]

This is not to suggest that the inhabitants of Batticaloa are somehow insulated from the hegemonic and *naturalized* distinctions that demarcate between political and natural disaster, but that these distinctions cannot be sustained at the level of their everyday lives or in the emotional and intellectual ways in which they process and make sense of experiences of terror. "Magical realism" might be one way of

naming these uncategorizable or unlocatable orders of knowledge. I end with these different accounts of Batticaloa because making space for stories and images that narrate experiences of the tsunami otherwise is a step toward understanding the biopolitical, necropolitical, and economic relations of power in which war and natural disaster are both embroiled, and that are part of their torturous dialogues. The following chapter turns to Australia's role in these relations and its implication in those same dangerous geographies of the region that official responses to the tsunami attempt to disown.

Chapter 5

———— ✦❖✦ ————

The Gulliver Effect

Australia in "The Arc of Insecurity"

In the years just prior to federation, Alfred Deakin drew the contours of a map of fear that would define virtually every aspect of life in the new state of which he was to become prime minister. In a speech made in 1898 to his staunch allies, the Australian Natives Association (a body whose name already discursively eliminates the land's first peoples from the space of the nation-to-be) Deakin urged the delegates to take up "the fiery-cross of Federation," warning that unless swift action was taken, "we may never be able to recall our lost national opportunities." Mentally surveying the surrounding region he pronounced: "from the far east and the far west alike we behold menaces and antagonisms."[1]

As Anthony Burke demonstrates, the fearful geography mapped by Deakin and espoused by his successors cast security as a founding axiom of the Australian state, "a political technology" that would structure institutions, sites, and subjectivities, "at once produc[ing] and manipulat[ing] bodies, identities, societies, spaces and flows."[2] The effects of adopting security as the central principle, practice, and end of the state are summed up in the striking oxymoron that Burke employs as the title of his study: *Fear of Security.* The nation-state of Australia emerges as one in which fear and security are so thickly entwined as to be indissociable. In turn, the two together define the ontology of the Australian subject. "In this sense to be secure is to be Australian. But what kind of Australian?"[3] Prompted by Burke, we are compelled to wonder: Is the only secure Australian a fearful Australian?

This chapter explores Australia's map of fear—or at least that part of its cartography demarcated as the "arc of instability" or "arc of insecurity." In 2002 Kevin Rudd, then Shadow Minister for Foreign

Affairs and subsequently to become prime minister in 2007, asserted that the specialist or "academic" term "arc of instability" had been superseded in the wake of the bombings in Bali: "Since last weekend our immediate region became for the Australian people, not just for the analysts, an 'Arc of Insecurity.'"[4] The Bali bombing, Rudd maintained, had transformed the security landscape: "it has seared the nation's mind, its memory, and its soul."[5]

Since the 1990s the term "arc of instability" appeared regularly in official documents as well as in the speeches of government ministers. In academic writings it is sometimes used synonymously with an even more loaded term, the "shatterbelt."[6] The "arc of instability" in this sense may be understood as itself "a practice of security," part of the means by which, in David Campbell's words, foreign policy designates those "moral spaces made possible by the ethical borders of identity as much as by the territorial boundaries of the state."[7] Unlike the island, the arc is a spatial form that signifies openness rather than enclosure; its territorial boundaries are not fixed, but indeterminate and variable. Linked to the notion of the "shatterbelt," the arc of instability signifies as a fragmented and volatile geography in marked contrast to the monadic fixity that inscribes the figure of island-Australia.

The "arc of instability" is an elastic and protean term, capable of expanding to take in "about ten per cent of the earth's surface, from the Middle East and South Asia to North Korea to Fiji."[8] In this chapter the Bali bombings, figured by Rudd as at the center of the arc of insecurity, are contextualized against the insecuritization of everyday life in Australia, as well as its operations in the maritime and archipelagic region to its north, the most immediate of its fearful geographies.

The Fear of Small Things

According to a report published in mid-2008, Australia "claims rights over more waters than any other nation" with "sovereignty interests embracing parts of the Pacific, Indian and Southern Oceans and the Tasman, Coral, Timor and Arafura seas." Since April 2008, Australia has exercised "some form of sovereign right" over external territories amounting to 10.7 million square kilometers—greater than the external territorial claims of the United States.[9]

There are key rights and resources at stake in this vast maritime zone, constituted by Australia's Internal Waters, Coastal Waters, Territorial Sea, Contiguous Zone, Exclusive Economic Zone, Continental Shelf, and Australian Fishing Zone (AFZ).[10] Extending from the expanses of the Antarctic (40 percent of whose mainland is claimed

by Australia) to the limits of the Indian Ocean, it includes the rich mineral and biological resources of the Timor Sea. Where the Arafura meets the Coral Sea and the Pacific beyond, the Australian border shaves the coast of Papua New Guinea, encasing the Torres Strait. Further east, the area of direct "sovereignty interests" shades into the southwest Pacific where the Australian state assumes a hegemonic stance in relation to its former protectorates and colonies, historically the sphere of a projected Australian Monroe Doctrine (that is, the principle, originating in the U.S. policy of that name, that sought to exclude any other foreign power from what it considered its exclusive zone of influence).

These vast maritime expanses were amassed by a series of tough negotiations in the period of decolonization, playing on the needs and desires of newly independent states such as Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, as well as on the anxieties of departing colonial masters. Sovereignty over Christmas Island, once a Singaporean territory, was transferred to Australia by Britain in 1957 to "keep the island's phosphate reserves and strategically useful airfields in safe hands." [11] The unexpected consequence of these acts of territorial aggrandizement, Hamish McDonald drily points out, is that they brought with them the persistent worry over intruders in this newly acquired sovereign zone. In the ensuing decades Christmas Island has become a convenient landing place for people seeking asylum on Australian shores, while fishers continue to ply their traditional grounds between Australia and Indonesia regardless of a sequence of treaties negotiated between the 1970s and 1990s.

In 2005 Australia established a coordinated Border Protection Command to control activities within and to secure its immense maritime domain from precisely such worrisome intrusions.[12] The move marked the culmination of a thirty-year period in which a host of small things seemed to mock the very immensity of its sovereignty claims in this zone.[13] As Ruth Balint details in a fine book, *Troubled Waters*, intruding *prau* from the tiny islands of eastern Indonesia fishing in their accustomed waters are an enduring thorn in the flesh of maritime authorities.[14] The evident poverty of the boats and the undernourished bodies of those who sail them compound their transgression. Ostensibly in the interests of "quarantine security," many of these small craft are burnt at sea and their crews taken into custody to be held mostly in offshore detention whose conditions bear striking parallels to those where asylum seekers are mandatorily detained.[15] The fishers, including minors under the age of sixteen, are held in isolation, denied access to interpreters or legal advice, and subject to

draconian fines and lengthy prison terms. A report by the Human Rights Commission in 2005 found that "acts or practices of the Commonwealth were inconsistent with or contrary to the human rights of Indonesian fishers detained on vessels in Darwin Harbour."[16] At least two have died in custody.[17]

In the offending bodies and boats of Indonesian fishers two great historical fears meet. Secreted in the crevices and dark, invisible spaces of these illegalized bodies and intruding small craft lurk the invading germs and threatening microorganisms of the tropics—that dangerous geography that the very construct of insular Australia strives to hold at bay. Even more than the quarantining of bodies, the burning of boats materializes the intense emotions triggered by the presence of these alien fishers claimed, sometimes mistakenly, to be trespassing in Australian waters.[18] Balint reports that in Darwin the burnings were "a public spectacle, and onlookers have been known to drape themselves in and wave Australian flags enthusiastically as the perahu [*prau*] explode in flames."[19] In the detention camp at Willie Creek, "the fishermen are often made to douse and set fire to their own boats. They watch the flames with a mixture of despair and disbelief."[20]

Protection and punishment meet in the spectacle of the burning *prau*; it is a staging of punitive force and sovereign violence whose symbolic and specular effects far exceed any preventive value that the act might possess. In *Boats to Burn* Natasha Stacey protests that "the burning of boats that provide a livelihood for some of the poorest people in Eastern Indonesia while Australia continues to fund aid programs to alleviate poverty in the region represents a seriously inconsistent and counterproductive foreign policy."[21] But the policy is incited by a more compelling historical logic and manifests a deeper internal consistency: the imperative to insulate Australia from the "menaces" on every side perceived by Deakin.

The insidious menace of contagion provides the rationale for excluding or restricting the presence of the maritime peoples of the Torres Strait and Indonesian archipelago from a zone in which they possess historical interests, ties, and rights. Fears of tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and avian flu, coupled more recently with warnings of dengue fever and other diseases associated with climate change, are continually raised in discussions of biosecurity in the maritime zone.[22] As discussed in Chapter 4, those designated as bare life are characterized by their failure to master and control their own dangerous environments, even though, as Bankoff argues, many of the toxic or lethal attributes of these environments (deforestation, poisoned rivers, depleted natural resources, rising oceans—as well as "internal"

conflicts in places like Bougainville and Timor-Leste) are produced by inequitable flows and distributions of capital and resources, and by global asymmetries of power. The violent measures adopted to restrict and contain them within inimical geographies are one more form of letting die and making die to which disposable bodies are subject.

Since the arrival of the first ramshackle boats crowded with refugees of the war in Vietnam, asylum seekers have sought to thread their way through the Southeast Asian archipelago to make landfall on outlying parts of Australia or even on some mainland beach. The policy of compulsorily imprisoning asylum seekers who arrive by boat but not those who seek asylum at airports after arriving by plane was initiated by a Labor government in 1992. It was extended to levels of unimaginable systemic violence in succeeding years, as evidenced, for example, in the story of one eight-year-old boy, Shayan Badraie, who suffered irreparable damage from his exposure to the regime of mandatory detention.[23] Mike Steketee identified clearly the structure of fear that underpins the policy:

> More people fly into Australia to claim refugee status than come by boat. By the Government's definition, these people are just as much illegals: they jump the queue by entering Australia under false pretences, usually on a visitor visa, with the intention of staying here as refugees. Yet the Government does not lock them up in detention centres and treat them as second-class citizens if it finds they are refugees. It is boatpeople who trigger the political paranoia about defending our borders.[24]

The double standard that Steketee names is at once racial and geographic. Asylum seekers arriving by air are not immediately committed to mandatory detention, while those who violate immigration requirements by overstaying their visas are often from the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Ireland, or other nations of the Anglo diaspora. Boat arrivals are asylum seekers from Asia, the Middle East, and the Pacific (excluding, of course, New Zealand, that other white diaspora state in "the region"—and one always carefully excepted from the arc of insecurity).

The "political paranoia" triggered by boat arrivals was expertly stoked in the period beginning as early as 1999, although it was to reach its apogee between 2001 and 2003. A common rhetorical strategy was that adopted by then Prime Minister Howard in one radio interview: "I don't want to use the word invaded . . . but."[25] The remark adroitly puts into play a whole gamut of historical fears from infection to infiltration. In this period boats, germs, and children, as

well as diminutive places such as Rote or Timor, all testified to the fear that small things arouse in the Gulliver of the region.

It is in this light that the remarks made by Vivian Forbes, the coeditor of a book on the arc of instability, about Timor-Leste's claims to the oil in the Timor Sea become intelligible.[26] Throughout his essay Forbes points to the "increasingly ambitious" claims of Indigenous people to land and sea rights, and suggests that Australia has been overly generous in its "concessions" to Papua New Guinea. What galls Forbes most is the temerity of the new state of Timor-Leste in disputing the allocation of a major portion of the Timor Sea oil to Australia.[27] Forbes describes the case made by the Timorese government for a more equitable distribution of these resources as "unrealistic demands perhaps to the extent of blackmail," and dismisses them by appeal to a form of spatial absolutism: "*Geography was never intended to be equal*: Australia's sovereign rights, naturally and legally, extend to the end of the continental shelf and beyond within scientifically determined and internationally defined limits."[28] Here science, law, and the international order are all buttressed by Forbes's appeal to the irrefutable authority of geography.

The remarkable statement, "geography was never meant to be equal," underscores once again what is at stake in the writing of Australia as a massive, singular, and self-contained body on the map, one whose spatial dominance must compel assent and deference from its Lilliputian neighbors. Yet this writing or emplacement of Australia as a colossal and complete geographical entity, the island-continent, is, as I have shown throughout this book, the outcome of complex historical and political forces, as well as by a conscious program of territorial expansion. It is not a "natural" or scientific given. Precisely for this reason, perhaps, it remains subject to unspoken doubts; to anxieties over invasion, infection, or infiltration by smaller or lesser forces; and to a dread of the geography it characterizes as the "shatterbelt." At the same time, paradoxically, the claim of a symbolic or imagined insularity is critical to maintaining the sense of geographical privilege that Forbes exults in, as it is to preserving the all-important distinction between inside and outside, domestic space and foreign space; between the securing of Australia as an organic and self-contained island of stability and the casting of the region as a scattered and fragmented "shatterbelt," or arc of instability/insecurity.

"The Difference Between"

Like Gulliver marooned in a spiteful geography of small, envious, and untrustworthy creatures, an Australia plagued by perennial suspicions of the "shatterbelt" cannot rest easy. The "shatterbelt" is in this sense the mirror image of the sublime "vastness of Asia" (see Chapter 4) evident in some Australian representations of China or India. Where the latter invokes a terror of being overwhelmed or engulfed, the former speaks of fears of being broken apart or cracking open, a splintering of the national geo-body along its unacknowledged internal fissures and racialized fault lines.

Writing in the same volume as Forbes, James Dunn recognizes that the term "arc of instability" simultaneously encodes privilege and anxiety. It is "essentially a new way of expressing a kind of fear of the unknown held by Australians since Federation. It is the expression of a people who see themselves as being different, privileged, when compared with the people to our north, whose instincts, many of us still fear, are to gain access to our riches and space."[29] Dunn proceeds to historicize the "arc of instability" by suggesting that the perceived stability and security of Australia and the perceived instability and insecurity of its surroundings are products of the same historical forces of colonization: "Ironically, just as the total conquest of Australia established conditions for national stability, colonialism's legacy in the region to the north was to create conditions for political instability."[30]

Rather than the "total conquest" that Dunn describes, Australian sovereignty may be more accurately perceived as an *imposed or apparent stability* that covers over internal fissures and aporias of sovereignty. The enforced geographical coherence of the island form reinforces these stability effects. Campbell's formulation of the founding "double exclusion" of foreign policy offers a refinement of Dunn's argument: "Inscribing domestic society, arriving at a representation of the state involves . . . a double exclusion. The interpretations of domestic society resistant to its inscription must be excluded from the internal realm . . . This first exclusion is matched by the second, the purpose of which is to 'hide' the status of the first as an exclusion."[31]

In the case of Australia, the imagined unity that constitutes the first exclusion in order to "arriv[e] . . . at a representation of the state" is simultaneously spatial and racial—the white island of Australia in which Aboriginal and other nonwhite bodies are to be eliminated by policies of assimilation and/or expulsion. This exclusion is reinforced by a second exclusion that emplaces the bodies dissonant to the nation in the irredeemable otherness of "the region." So "Australian society

was originally enframed as Anglo-Saxon through the transposition of a perceived threat to cultural integrity and economic wellbeing from Chinese gold diggers in the 1850s into a fear of invasion in the 1890s."[32]

The double exclusion that allowed for the "transposition" of internal threats to "the region" continued as "the difference within became the difference between in such a way that the resulting domestic order was seen as natural and alternatives were marginalized. This disposition—in which internal threats made possible external dangers and external dangers controlled internal threats—came to provide the interpretive matrix through which all subsequent instances of Australian foreign policy were understood."[33]

Transposed or relocated to the outside of the nation, the fears engendered by colonization and its dispersal of populations return in the form of the threat from without. The difference *within* state boundaries is recast as the difference *between* the nation and its neighbors. This "disposition" of internal anxieties acts to stabilize the territorial/racial subject of the nation while clustering its phobias around the very foreignness of the other. Simon Philpott sums up: "fear of Asia is integral to white Australian identity in which particular white Australian collective memories of Asia are externalized and objectified, forming a stabilizing element of identity."[34] Precisely because of this objectification or externalization of its phobias, situations that signify the parallels or similarities between states are read, within the "interpretive matrix" of the double exclusion, as signs of their unalterable difference.

As an old fear dressed up in new words, the arc of instability "suggests a lack of confidence in our ability to engage the region more closely in peaceful, constructive ways."[35] In order to promote a more constructive exchange, Dunn proposes bringing into view the shared conditions and historical forces that were responsible for the making of Australia as well as the post-independence formation of its neighboring states. Potentially this offers a starting point for alternative historical understandings that "should alleviate those fears that serve to deepen our isolation, and worse, our racist instincts."[36] In the following section I follow Dunn's suggestion by framing the Bali bombings of 2002 in terms of a series of parallels with, rather than differences from, Australia in the same period.

"The Difference Within"

In the days and weeks after the bombings of a series of nightclubs on Kuta Beach on the Indonesian island of Bali, grief-stricken and incredulous Australians could be frequently heard protesting: "But

Bali is our backyard!" Australians had suffered the largest number of casualties in the bombings, with eighty-eight dead. In "A Paradise Bombed," his lament for "our island of domesticated exotica," Adrian Vickers develops the connection, locating Australia as a space suspended from the region, with Bali as its gorgeous extension:

> Before the bombings, paradise island stood apart from the rest of Indonesia at the idyllic end of a spectrum in the Australian imagination, an extension of [the Australianbeach resorts of] Byron and Noosa. The bombings targeted our sense of place, a paradoxical reminder that we are still in Asia, and Indonesia is our nearest neighbour.
>
> At the other end of the spectrum of Australian views about the region is the Asia of danger where Indonesia proper is found—summed up in the cliché of "living dangerously."[37]

Vickers describes his essay as "a eulogy for Bali before it was subsumed by the Asia of 'Living Dangerously.'" On this map Bali is easily located as Australia's extension, detached from that other—real and fearsome—Asia: an exotic, floating Paradise Island separate from the dangerous geographies of the "shatterbelt" or arc of instability (interestingly, Vickers himself appears to have erased Papua New Guinea, which is technically Australia's nearest neighbor, from his imaginative map of "the region"). On occasion, it appears, Australians traveling to Bali failed to realize even that they were entering Indonesian territory.[38] As Australia's "national playground," Bali signified rather as "a kind of tropical veranda tacked on to the top of Australia."[39]

On the other side of the Timor Sea, a more differentiated geography necessarily prevails. Whereas, for Australian observers like Vickers, Bali signifies simply as its main tourist strip, Kuta Beach, the Indonesian commentator Ida Ayu Agung Mas observes that "[p]lacing Kuta on the Balinese conceptual map would be very difficult . . . The famous and glittering Kuta, now in ruins, is actually a 'faraway place' for the majority of local people."[40] From this Balinese perspective, Kuta is a site distinct from Bali, although connected to it. The bombings on Kuta Beach, in Dewi Anggraeni's words, hurt the Balinese greatly "but in an abstract manner. They were devastated to hear that their spiritually protected soil had been so cruelly destroyed, and so many of Bali's guests murdered."[41] Kuta Beach is both remote from the everyday life of the Balinese and an inextricable part of it. In an interview immediately after the bombings, Luh Ketut Suryani, professor of psychiatry and public intellectual, suggested that all Balinese were implicated in the terrible events because they shared responsibility for what Kuta had come to represent: "We

should be able to look back at what we have done. Many years ago, when we developed tourism we wanted it to be cultural tourism. We introduced our culture to those who came to visit our land. Now, we have the tourism of iniquity, where we are no longer in control, where we are chasing the dollar. So we have been punished."[42] Instead of displacing the bombings on to outsiders—"terrorists"—Suryani articulates a sense of collective implication in, and responsibility for, the violence, one from which neither hosts nor guests can be exempted.

A fraught and complex site, Kuta Beach is a border zone where difference is displayed, transacted, and negotiated, and where exchange between peoples—unequal, asymmetrical, iniquitous—happens. After their capture the bombers, who were non-Balinese, revealed that their motive was to purify or cleanse Bali by driving the aliens out of Kuta. This is a more loaded desire than first appears. The bombers' own claims on Bali were mediated by differences in religion and region. The Bali they aimed to produce was informed as much by a nativist vision of Indonesia as by anti-western or global Islamist ideologies. Anggraeni suggests that the prelude to the bombings on Kuta Beach extends further than the West's preoccupation with 9/11, to local Indonesian histories, specifically the 1998 campaign of rape and murder against ethnic Chinese in Jakarta. For the victims of the Jakarta violence Bali was a favored refuge because "it was known as a peaceful place, where the population showed tolerance toward others and otherness."[43] What was targeted in the Kuta bombings, alongside the western presence, was the idea of Bali *within Indonesia* as a multiethnic, multireligious, and pluralist society.[44]

In opposition to the inclusiveness signified by Bali—despite the excesses of the Kuta tourist trade that pervert traditional host-guest relations—the bombers sought to impose on the island a sovereignty based on exclusion. Their actions can be read as asserting the ultimate logic of border protection in response to the perceived threat of difference both within and between. This response, authorized by the desire to exert absolute sovereignty over the space of the nation, creates an unmentionable link between the violence on Kuta Beach and events that took place in the waters between Australia and Indonesia in 2001–03 ("*We* decide who comes into this country . . . "). Both are in-between places where the bodies of moving people become entrapped in the violent logic of the border.

If these parallels seem exaggerated, evidence is readily available that exhortations to "sink the *Tampa*" or "dump them all in the sea" were not infrequent responses by Australians on talk radio and the internet to the appearance of asylum seekers on the national horizon.[45] More

significantly, the same logic is evident in the policy of mandatory detention and the apparatus of the camp that enabled the deterritorialization, dehumanization, and exposure to extreme violence of asylum seekers, as it is in the "secret deterrence program" jointly operated by Australian and Indonesian authorities to prevent the arrival of refugee boats. The role of that covert "disruption program," which may have included practices such as the direct sabotage of boats, in the sinking of SIEV X yet remains to be fully investigated.[46]

The victims of the bombings on Kuta Beach (October 12, 2002) died just one week short of the first anniversary of the sinking of SIEV X (October 19, 2001) somewhere in the waters between Indonesia and Australia. The connections between these two events are mostly unmentionable in Australian political debate. To link them analytically involves first recognizing racialized asymmetries between two categories of "innocent victims": those for whom free and safe movement across national borders is an entitlement, and others whose mobility is illegitimized and fraught with danger. What connects the two in this instance is the violent assertion of "border control" as moving bodies become targets in spaces where sovereignty claims are asserted with deadly force.

What further connects the two is the will to eliminate *difference within*, and the transposing of these differences to an externalized and objectified *difference between*. In the case of Australia the externalization of the threat from without, as Dunn argues above, "is the expression of a people who see themselves as being different, privileged."[47] These fears are most often couched in terms of *geographical* privilege—of a large, mostly unoccupied geo-body that seems to invite invasion, especially through its "empty north." Geographical privilege and geographical vulnerability are closely entwined in this consciousness. Like Gulliver, hemmed in among unknowable creatures who appear now too large and now too small, and who are to be despised, admired, and feared all at once, this is an ungainly, out-of-place geo-body beset by anxieties over its own self-image and plagued by continual suspicion of its surroundings.

FEAR AND LOATHING IN THE WIDE BROWN LAND

As a satire on the literature of exploration, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* draws "the main thrust of its anticolonial consciousness," as Antonis Balasopoulos points out, from "a prolonged intertextual critique" of the topos of the island popularized by *Robinson Crusoe*.[48] Unlike Crusoe and the numerous literary colonizer-castaways who would follow

him, Gulliver finds himself on a sequence of islands that contradict their familiar inscription as "providentially uninhabited spaces that submit to fantasies of *ex-nihilo* formation or uncontestable appropriation."[49] Confounded by these contrary islands whose attributes and inhabitants flout all his expectations, Gulliver gradually succumbs to a sense of psychic dislocation and physical dysfunction, sickened by the disabling consciousness of his own anomalous corporeality. Overcome by shame and disgust at the moral and corporeal order he represents, alternating between states of acute distrust and extreme credulity, he becomes increasingly unreliable as either the author of his own experiences or as an explorer-commentator on his surroundings. At the end of his travels, in a performance of solipsistic insularity at its most extreme, Gulliver turns castaway in the midst of his family, islanding himself at the very heart of the imperial metropolis.

Gulliver's Travels as "a defamiliarizing allegory" of "insularity, subjectivity and colonialism" informs my reading of Richard Lewer's "I must learn to like myself," an economical yet devastating representation of the territorial presence of the Australian geo-body and its emplacement in the region.[50] In Lewer's artwork, the self-help
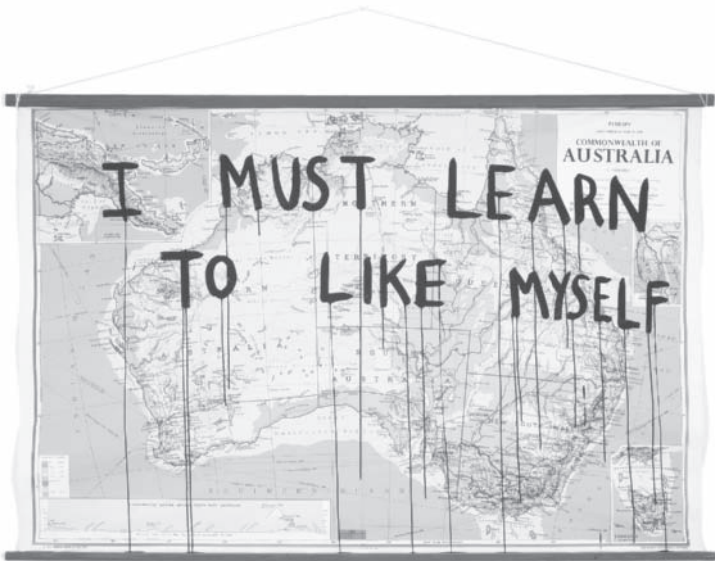
Figure 5.1. Richard Lewer, *I must learn to like myself*, acrylic on found school map, 1500mm x 1200mm, image courtesy of the artist.

industry's banal dicta about body-image and self-esteem are rendered at once menacing and pathetic, scrawled in thick, black capital letters that bleed and drip across a classroom map of the wide brown land.[51] Squeezed in around this massive geo-body, neighboring states crowd the horizons of the image, seeming both to mock and to confirm its worst suspicions. As one critic notes, Lewer "punctures the national posture with a single sentence in a work that reveals a state of mind riddled with anxieties, prohibitions and exclusions."[52] This state of mind, we are reminded, will be faithfully transmitted, in the manner of an intergenerational psychosis, through the medium of the classroom map and the geography lesson.

Unlike the increasingly outlandish destinations of *Gulliver's Travels*, island-Australia is incontrovertibly the stuff of Robinsonian fantasy: an unmoored *terra nullius* of apparently "*ex-nihilo* formation" and one seemingly available for "uncontestable appropriation." This is the vision of its "true form" of insularity, which Malouf identifies as the unique European "gift" to the land—a gift that the Aboriginal inhabitants were incapable of recognizing since they could "never have seen the place in just this way" (see Chapter 2).[53] Insularity, then, is precisely what is at stake in the relations between Australia and "the region." Assumed as its "true form," insularity is what distinguishes Australia from its oceanic and archipelagic surrounds. Yet these relegated and alien-ated geographies fail to remain in their allocated places, returning to encroach on the territoriality of the island-continent and continually to threaten the violation of its perfect and enclosed geo-body.

Invasion, as discussed in previous chapters, is the nightmare in which the past repeatedly reappears, in a variety of guises, to haunt the future of island-Australia. The specter of invasion is also that which vindicates the choices of the present. As collective fantasy and phobia, as historical knowledges that are continually disowned *and* reproduced, as policy and as article of faith, the narrative of invasion is part of the continual process of insecuritization by which the political technology of security operates, as Burke describes, "to construct and influence individual subjectivity, national life and geopolitics."[54] This is the paradoxical premise that Burke identifies at the heart of the Australian state: the island-nation must be fearful in order to be secure. The paradox is sustained by a toxic diet of suspicions, myths, and rumors in which official pronouncements and popular beliefs feed on one another.

While the invasion that founds the Australian state is elided by being named as "settlement" or "arrival," invasion images and narratives pervade its subsequent history and popular culture. They

range from the popular nineteenth-century fictions of alien invasion discussed by David Walker in his pioneering *Anxious Nation* to parliamentary speeches and news reports. In 1909 the *Bulletin* journalist Frank Fox published a fictitious account, styled as reportage, of a Japanese invasion in the Northern Territory. In Fox's vision, despite guerilla-style resistance by a few brave men struggling for "Aryan ideals," the dream of "The White Continent" is finally lost and a "hostile civilization" continues to build itself up in the "alienated extreme northern corner—Australia Irridenta [i.e., a part of the nation subject to a foreign power]."[55]

Later in the century such narratives would add weight to the "enduring furphy" of a threatened invasion by Japan in the Second World War.[56] According to Peter Spearitt and Michele Helmrich, although in 1942 then Prime Minister John Curtin and his military chiefs already "knew that the Japanese had abandoned any idea of invasion . . . the government propaganda machine encouraged the public to believe that invasion was still a possibility" motivated by concerns "about morale, especially in the major and sometimes troublesome industrial centers of Sydney and Melbourne."[57] Once again, internal tensions were displaced by recourse to the racialized menace from without. Peter Stanley extends this argument even further to suggest that there is a continuing complicity, on the part of later historians, politicians, and the public themselves, in perpetuating these mythical invasion narratives: "Why is it that the stories of attack, invasion and incursion are so persistent? It seems to be that Australians want to believe that they were part of a war, that the war came close . . . Why do we want to believe that Australia really was threatened with invasion, that it was attacked?"[58]

Uncoincidentally, throughout the 1990s the sites associated with wartime experiences involving Japan acquired a new level of visibility—most notably the Kokoda Track in Papua New Guinea and the Thai–Burma railway. Together with the renewed investment (economic, emotional, symbolic) by the state in the already heavily mythologized site of Gallipoli, they contributed to a cultural revalorization of war. Ostentatious memorializations of military achievements abroad, a denial or justification of the violence of colonization, and the need to defend "our way of life" from the insidious threats of "multiculturalism" and globalization were all important aspects of the "history wars" and "culture wars" played out in the 1990s and the early years of the new century.

Renewed interest in war and military excursions abroad was actively fostered by what Marilyn Lake describes as the "militarisation

of Australian historical memory" since the mid-1990s: "The Federal Government has invested millions of dollars in the project of shaping historical memory through the expansion of war memorials, the proliferation of plaques, annual pilgrimages to battlefields, the development of war-focused curriculum material for schools, massive subsidies for book and film production and, most importantly, the endless ritual of public commemoration"of past wars.[59] The pervasive campaign to place experiences of war at the center of public life again may be read as an externalization of differences within. Pride in achievements on foreign battlefields, Lake reminds, diverted attention from the Aboriginal lives destroyed in domestic frontier wars. Similarly, pleasure at being recognized as actors on the global stage left little room for asking how imperial adventures from Gallipoli to Vietnam and the Persian Gulf set the trajectories of yesterday's diasporas and swelled today's refugee boats. At the same time, the campaign to place war at the center of national life heightened the sense of a nation constantly under siege. In this context the repeated avowal of the fundamental goodness and decency of Australians is an article of faith that becomes, as Lewer's work suggests, reminiscent of the banal formulae of self-help manuals and talk-show psychology. It indicates the deep ambivalences and insecurities that underlie the notion of national "self-esteem."

The production of a simultaneously insecuritized and aggressive national subject, the revalorization of war and militarism in everyday life, and the formulation of stringent border protection policies against incursion by small things were all key factors in the making of the "arc of instability" and "the closing of a circle of security around Australia."[60] The bombings on Kuta Beach were seen at one level as a vindication of this ensemble of practices adopted in preceding years. Yet one of the most emotionally powerful and politically cogent challenges to the security approach of the state was to arise precisely out of the circumstances of the Kuta Beach bombing.

"An Arrogant Small Nation"

An anguished and urgent reevaluation of the meaning of national security is the central project of the memoir written by Brian Deegan, the father of a twenty-two-year-old son, Josh, who was killed in the bombings on Kuta Beach. Deegan's text is preoccupied with the major contradiction that Josh's killing brings into focus in his own life: that between the policies pursued by the state at home and abroad, and his own commitment, as both citizen and parent, to

protect his children. Deegan casts the book as a reflection on the profound betrayal of the implicit compact of security and protection between citizen and state, one that effectively nullified his own compact as a parent, to protect his child.

Deegan's text covers the period immediately after Josh's killing, as the scene was being set for the invasion of Iraq by the Coalition of the Willing approximately five months later. During these months the sense of domestic insecurity was at fever pitch, heightened by a campaign of fear that conflated asylum seekers, people of "Middle Eastern appearance," and terrorists. A multimillion-dollar media blitz urged Australians to "Be Alert But Not Alarmed," ramping up levels of suspicion and anxiety. Stringent antiterror legislation was put forward, and the harassment and abuse to which Muslim, Middle Eastern, or South Asian Australians were subject surged dramatically.[61] In this fearful climate Deegan begins to reflect systematically on questions of security and sovereignty that are deeply entwined: How are the policies pursued by the state complicit in the killing of Josh? What were its responsibilities to protect him? How is the state's failure to protect Josh bound up with its historical failures to recognize its place in the world?

The questions inexorably lead Deegan to consider also the ethical responsibilities that the state owes to others: to those it does not recognize as full citizens and whose rights it easily sets aside, such as Muslim Australians; to other states of the region, especially smaller states such as Timor-Leste with whom Canberra was engaged in an undiplomatic dispute over access to the Timor Sea oil; its responsibilities, under international law, to the United Nations. These national and geopolitical matters, or "matters of state" for Deegan, could not be more immediate or personal: "My father's death was attributable to his wartime service, Josh had been killed as a result of war and unbelievably the government was promoting more conflict. I had three younger children to protect. No one—no one—could deny my right to have my say."[62]

Through open letters, media interviews, and interventions in public debates, Deegan begins to hold the state's practices of security to account. He initiates a public campaign over the plight of two children, Sara and Safdar, whose Balinese mother, Endang, was killed alongside Josh in Bali, while their Iranian father, Ebrahim, an asylum seeker, is being held in detention in Australia. The children, deprived of both parents, are repeatedly refused visas to visit Australia under Deegan's sponsorship and remain in a legal limbo in Bali. In his open letter to the prime minister, Deegan asks further questions

about ASIO (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation) raids on the homes of Muslim Australians: "Why is your Government torturing certain citizens of our country by allowing armed invasions upon their private properties—all in the name of national security?"[63] He analyzes the difference between the UN-approved intervention in East Timor and the looming illegal invasion of Iraq, and deplores the bullying stance adopted by the Australian government in the negotiations over Timor Sea oil.

At stake in the debate between Deegan and the prime minister in the months between the Kuta Beach bombings and the invasion of Iraq is the question of security and its limits. For Deegan the murder of Josh and of scores of others has ruptured once and for all the imaginary border that separated domestic from foreign affairs, and that seemed to insulate Australia, and its illusory extension, "Bali," from the instability of "the region." By transposing the foreign policy decisions made by the government into the realm of the domestic, Deegan challenges the double exclusion on which foreign policy is premised. He insists on reinstating within the nation those members whose presence is continually externalized, as he calls the prime minister to account over the raids on the homes of Muslim Australians. The response—"The government would be failing in its duty to the Australian community if raids of this kind were not permitted . . . They are necessary for our protection"—in turn underscores how Muslim Australians are excluded from the space of "the Australian community" and the community of those entitled to protection by the state.[64]

Above all, Deegan calls into question Australia's self-image as a decent and large-hearted nation under threat of invasion from treacherous small neighbors: "Gone is the face of the just, democratic Australia for which my dad and uncles fought and died. In its place I see the mask of an arrogant small nation."[65] Deegan's text represents an Australia that is morally diminished by its perverse, misguided, and ultimately destructive understanding of security. In place of this exclusionary, narrow, and arrogant mask, the mask of security assumed by the figures of Prime Minister Howard and Foreign Minister Downer, the text puts forward an alternative model of security, one performed by Deegan himself.

Deegan's broad and inclusive understanding of security extends from the survivors of the bombing to Muslim Australian fellow citizens. In marked contrast to a patriarchal state that would effectively limit the protections of citizenship to those marked by ethnicity and religion as part of "the Australian community," Deegan enacts an inclusive paternity that extends from his lost son, Josh, to Sara

and Safdar, who have been deprived of their father by the actions of the state. By the end of the text, Ebrahim, Sara, and Safdar become entwined with Deegan and his family, as the two become tragically bound together by the deaths of Josh and Endang. The bonds that link them as victims of exclusionary violence overruns national boundaries and also extends to other political victims of war. Thus Deegan's account of the coroner's report on Josh's death is juxtaposed with an agonized description of a thirteen-year-old boy, Ali Abbas, one of the early victims of the bombing of Iraq.

For Deegan, to remember Josh is also to remember a host of other dead, in other places and across national frontiers. Contesting the belief that Australia's security depends on a fearful and belligerent separation from what lies outside, Deegan enacts a model of security that refuses to be confined within insular limits, while simultaneously acknowledging and confronting differences within. In doing so he provides one answer to the question posed by Burke: "What other forms of being, identity and interrelationship might be imagined once the suffocating political embrace of security is escaped?"[66]

"Geopolitics from below"?

Deegan's attempt to perform a different understanding of security is complemented by other countermodels of a *security achieved in* and *with* the region rather than in separation *from* it. These emerged especially in relation to the independence struggle in East Timor where Australians engaged in practices of "diplomacy from below" or "geopolitics from below" that ran counter to the position adopted by successive Australian governments "in the national interest."[67] The East Timor solidarity movement, in Clinton Fernandes's account, is one instance of how defensive and entrenched geographies of security, evidenced in constructs such as "the Jakarta lobby," were counteracted by alternative envisionings of national security. These compelled the Australian state to act as a "Reluctant Saviour" in the final stages of the East Timorese struggle for independence. In 1999 as the wholescale destruction of East Timor by the Indonesian military appeared all too likely, the public campaigns for an alternative response put forward over preceding years generated a swell of popular feeling that successfully shifted the official understanding of what constituted Australia's "national security" interests. Accounts by Fernandes and Balthasar Kehi make clear that this shift in the official security approach was enabled by "a kind of 'diplomacy from below,' ensuring

a strong base of society-to-society links between the populations of the two countries."[68]

> The gradual construction of human networks . . . [and their] politi-
> cal and strategic significance has thus far almost completely escaped
> the attention of mainstream commentators. Yet these human networks
> make it much harder for Indonesia to attack East Timor again, or for
> the Australian government to provide diplomatic cover for this enter-
> prise. Only a few links had developed by 1975, when East Timor was
> invaded. The grassroots organisational effort during the 24-year occu-
> pation was the key to the massive groundswell of outrage that occurred
> in 1999 [when the Australian government, under UN authority, headed
> a peace-keeping force in East Timor].[69]

Post-independence, Fernandes maintains, links between inhab-
itants of Australia and the new state of Timor-Leste are producing
new maps of relations and charting cartographies of interconnection.
Similarly, David Newman, writing in the context of Israel, another
settler state that locates itself among dangerous neighbors, suggests
that "geopolitics from below" contest both the state's official self-rep-
resentations of its security interests and the place the state assumes in
the Westphalian order of nations. Contrary to Forbes's formulation of
geography as a writing that entrenches unequal distributions and dis-
persions of power, diplomacy or geopolitics from below demonstrate
how geographies can be rewritten and new coordinates charted. They
in turn produce other models of security able to release themselves
from the premise of a menaced, and menacing, national subjectivity
based on fear.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 6

———❧———

Our Patch

Racial Horizons and the War on Terror

She [Queensland] could not get New Guinea but managed to get as near as possible. We followed round as close as we could get between the islands and the coast of New Guinea, taking in practically everything.

—Samuel Griffith[1]

The speaker is Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, and "one of the major participants in the story of Federation."[2] Griffith's description of the process that successfully annexed the Torres Strait Islands, though falling just short of acquiring Papua for Queensland, is terse and to the point. It lays bare the sweep of a colonial voracity. How does this appetite to *take in* the horizon shape the imaginative and affective borders of the island-nation and its contemporary maps of the region in a period of renewed imperial aspiration, the global war on terror? What are the *processes of spatialization*, the *imaginative geographies*, and the *territorial teleologies* at work in a war that, through the active, racially marked investment, emotional and material, of the state, remaps Australia's horizons? How do these imaginative geographies enable the *spatializing of raced relations* and contour the *distributions, dispersions*, and *temporalities* of power that enact and reproduce differential forms of sovereignty over national-regional space? These are the central questions I pursue in this chapter.

Imaginative geographies, as Said describes them, distinguish and differentiate *their* space from *our* space, marking their space as both irretrievably different from ours and as inscribed by lack and absence.[3] This is a lack that colonial activity mightily strives to fill. It labors to turn the annexed space of the other into the same and to fold the time

of the other into the teleology of the modern nation—even as it also reproduces the certainty that the other can only ever always fail to become part of the same.[4] In the imaginative geography of the Australian nation, racially marked places such as the Aboriginal communities of Palm Island or Redfern can only ever confirm the nation's worst expectations when they emerge, in various guises of abjection, regression, and desperation, on the nightly news. Such places are immediately disowned, dispatched to the limits of the nation, and labeled as "looking like the Third World." They are places that cannot be part of Australia because they are racially at odds, unfitting, inappropriate, dissonant. Racially *out of place* in the Australian present, they dis-place expectations of the nation, of what it looks like, and of what it *is*, even as it strives to bring them within its purview.

What effects do such spatial and temporal displacements have on how Australia in turn reengages and renews its understandings of the racially marked spaces positioned along the edges and just at the horizon of its line of vision? The horizon is a term signifying that which is at the limits, the very endpoint of the possibility of representation or, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* succinctly puts it, the "boundary of mental outlook," as well as that which defines and gives meaning to all that falls within that boundary. The horizon is simultaneously a threshold and a border. It marks a divide and an illusory, ever-receding point of meeting, and holds possibilities of both promise and threat.

The horizons of this discussion are the new mappings, dispositions, and dispersions of sovereign power in Australia post-2001, a date that marks not only the beginning of the global war on terror but, in Australian politics, the centenary of the federation of white Australia, the turning away by force of the *Tampa* refugees, and the initiation of the "Pacific Solution."[5] This is a significant point of convergence for beginning to understand the ways in which a renewed affirmation of territoriality, secured by reaffirmed ontologies, ideologies, and teleologies of whiteness, is enacted over differentiated spaces, populations, and bodies both inside and outside state borders.

Elsewhere in this book I discuss the topographies of inclusion and exclusion on land and sea produced by the exercise of various forms of sovereign power over castaway refugee bodies: the contraction and expansion of national borders as detention camps are placed outside the limits of the state and lines are drawn in the sea to deterritorialize, dislocate, and excise parts of Australia from the migration zone, while yet other parts are annexed under measures such as "the Pacific Solution" and cartographies of surveillance constituted through extensive militarization and policing of the oceans. In these movements disciplining

and securitizing modalities of power collude to produce a racialized borderscape that is continually mapped and remapped.

This chapter considers the conjunction of security and aid discourses with older narratives of empire at home and abroad. Its focus is on what Sanford Schram and Philip Neisser call the "policy tales" of the state—that is, the narrative practices and figurations that are embedded in and structure the production of the state.[6] Policy tales are told in official speeches and media releases, as well as via the mediating documents that shape state policy and determine the terms in which these policies circulate in public, for example, through the output of influential think tanks such as the Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) and the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI).

The latter's report, *Our Failing Neighbour*, is widely acknowledged to have provided the impetus for the government's initiation of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI).[7] The cover of the report displays the idyllic scene of a postcard resort island, overshadowed by the sinister visage of a masked and helmeted terrorist. These polarized images of beauty and terror are emplaced and localized through the third figure, a map, representing the spatial relationships of proximity, neighborliness, and failure set out in the title. What does this text reveal of our imaginative geographies and how they shape the conceptual, affective, and symbolic borders and horizons of the nation and the region, the domestic and the foreign, the ground of "home" and "not home"?[8] To attempt to answer these questions I first examine in some detail the policy tales that narrate the Solomon Islands expedition for Australian domestic consumption.

A Whiter Shade of Blue: Maneuvers in Middle Power Masculinity

Shifts in policy toward the Pacific in the early years of the war on terror are best illustrated by an article that appeared in a Canadian, rather than an Australian, publication, a specialist newsletter called *Embassy, Canada's Foreign Policy Newsweekly*:

> August 17, 2005
> HONIARA, Solomon Islands—Federal agent Simone Kleehammer dons a helmet and flak jacket before linking up with an army escort for her nightly police patrols. This is where her police colleagues were shot late last year . . . after local gunmen targeted Australian police on this anarchic South Pacific island nation 3,000 kilometers northeast of Sydney . . .

The deadly ambushes sent a chill through this dusty tropical town, demoralizing Australian police deployed here on a precedent-setting mission: to rebuild a failed state by reviving its faltering police force . . .

Relying on a smile and a nine-millimetre Glock handgun, she patrols with her local partners—fresh recruits from the discredited Royal Solomon Islands Police. Hunched in a rickety cruiser, they begin a bone-jarring sweep through "Borderland," the deadliest district in this ramshackle capital.

Despite the threats, most residents of this dirt-poor island chain look upon the strapping Australian men and women in blue as saviors.

Two years ago, these outsiders rescued the islanders from themselves—from the chaos of a failed state riven by ethnic cleansing and gang violence . . . In fact, Kleehammer is one of 300 foot soldiers in an Australian experiment that has redefined her government's approach to global trouble spots. The police deployment is the centrepiece of a massive, decade-long intervention launched in mid-2003 with an amphibious landing . . .

As they restored order, the $1 billion operation was bolstered by squads of elite civil servants reviving the moribund machinery of government, ranging from treasury economists to customs agents patrolling the airport. It is a virtual takeover of a sovereign country—albeit by invitation . . .

The Solomon Islands rescue mission has served as the inspiration for an equally ambitious police deployment in Papua, New Guinea [*sic*]—another crime-infested, corruption-ridden troublespot off Australia's northern coast.

Saving the day is becoming a habit for Australians.[9]

The title of Reg Cohn's report, "Australia, America's 'deputy sheriff,' punches above its weight and criticizes Canada for not doing the same," could not be more informative. It recounts a meeting in which the then Australian Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer, pits Australia's new fighting foreign policy against Canada's "sclerotic" multilateralism, also characterized by him as an "internationalism of the lowest common denominator": "'We pull our weight,' Downer says pointedly. "The contrast with Canada, which prides itself on being a 'middle-power' that absented itself from Iraq, is inescapably unflattering . . . Downer says . . . 'Sometimes we can do it alone—at least lead the operation as we did in East Timor . . . We did the heavy lifting. Same in the Solomon Islands. In Papua New Guinea we do it alone with the PNG government.'"[10]

The muscular persona assumed by Downer stakes a particular kind of claim at global, regional, and national scales. Globally, in the racialized geopolitical hierarchy produced by the war on terror, the

Australian state positions itself, both in its self-figurations and through the indulgent praises of its mighty ally, as the antipodean heavyweight and action hero of the Asia Pacific. "Man of Steel" was the fulsome title that President George Bush bestowed on Prime Minister John Howard after the latter had proudly claimed, then disavowed in the face of regional disgust, the role of neighborhood "deputy sheriff" to the United States.

These personifications at once draw upon and rework long-established continuities in the authorizing racial, national, and imperial narratives and performativities of the Australian state. In undertaking projects such as the expedition to Solomon Islands or the war on Iraq, Australia drew on a repertoire of racial demeanors and behaviors to reconstitute itself as a nation of "saviors in blue." Its army of supermen and -women included not only platoons of the military and police but, as Cohn writes, the ranks of "elite civil servants . . . ranging from treasury economists to customs agents," all engaged in a mission to "rescue . . . the islanders from themselves."[11]

Unlike their Canadian counterparts and rivals in the middle-power order of states, these saviors are emphatically not wearing UN blue, the discredited color of a weak and effete multilateralism. UN-based multilateralism, implying as it does a heterogeneous collectivity of states, also figures as a code word for an equally suspect "multiculturalism." In contrast, the true blue of Australian policing missions abroad references a fighting model of a very different hue: set-pieces like the amphibious landing on the beaches of Solomon Islands recall (selectively) the national myth of Gallipoli and the Allied victories of D-Day. This history is also an appeal, regardless of the gender of individual personnel, to particular forms of raced masculinity as they are bodied forth in the figures of the heavy lifter, the deputy sheriff, and the blue-suited Man of Steel.

Downer's pointed comparisons with Canada in the middle-power heavy-lifting stakes need to be placed in the context of Sherene Razack's penetrating study, *Dark Threats and White Knights*, an examination of the national mythologies that underpinned Canada's peacekeeping engagement in Somalia in the early 1990s. Razack explores Canadians' self-figurations as a nation of altruistic and innocent peacekeepers, "Men from the Clean Snows of Petawawa," a racial personality very distinct from that of the militarism and self-aggrandizement that characterizes its superpower neighbor.[12] "Canadians have often found colonial terrain occupied by Americans, leaving them only with Canada's Aboriginal people and people of colour as the less glamorous 'alien race within.' In the Canadian national

vocation of peacekeeping . . . the glorious dream of being a kinder, gentler version of the US can easily slide into the distinctly unheroic and less masculine role of younger brother playing second fiddle."[13]

By reimagining themselves as an unassuming, clean white nation of mediators and peacekeepers, according to Razack, Canadians can erase or comfortably forget their complicity in colonizing projects at home and abroad. The cost of maintaining this clean and wholesome self-image, however, is that it easily slides into the feminized role of the unremarkable younger brother. Forever in the shadow of the biggest boy on the block, Razack argues, Canadians are left with the unspectacular supporting role of the "hero's friend."[14]

This unheroic view of Canada's role in the global arena is underscored in a comment cited by Cohn that "for a country of its weight [Canada] . . . should be doing more than engaging in good works."[15] This dismissive reference to Canada's "good works" from Owen Harries, a respected scholar and diplomat generally seen as a critic of the Australian government's expansionist policies, indicates the geopolitical realignments taking place as a consequence of the war on terror. As Canada distances itself from U.S. policies of unabashed unilateralism and the doctrine of the preemptive strike in the early years of the war on terror, Australia attempts to reposition itself as the hero's new best friend: Prime Minister Howard's assertion to the U.S. Congress in 2002 that the "U.S. has no better friend than Australia," was endorsed and echoed by an array of dignitaries, including then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.[16] This newfound camaraderie with the United States entailed a more or less explicit dismissal of Canada's role as weak (not "pulling its weight") and effeminate (indulging in "good works") in the war on terror.

Canada is thus found wanting on the scales of middle-power white masculinity at what is produced as the moment of profound crisis for the West. In contrast, the Australian state embraces this crisis as an opportunity for asserting itself on multiple fronts, and for renewing and expanding a sense of *racial mission at home and abroad*. While, according to Razack, the dominating presence of the United States disallows any Canadian attempt to assert itself as a colonizing power outside its own borders except when it does so covertly through the surrogate colonial activity of peacekeeping, Australia's geopolitical positioning pairs with shifting regional dynamics to allow for new attempts to assert greater sovereignty throughout the region. In turn, this expansion of regional hegemony reinforces and enables a renewed assertion of "white patriarchal sovereignty" at "home"—i.e., within its territorial borders.[17] In this sense, in the context of the global war

on terror, inside and outside become intersecting domains for the staging and reaffirmation of Australia as a white nation and a launching ground for renewed missions of racial salvation.

Whereas in Razack's reading what enabled Canada to assume the role of peacekeeper in the aftermath of the 1980s Gulf War was its forgetting or erasure of its internal acts of colonization, in the era of the 2002 Gulf War a distinctly different relationship underpins Australia's approach to Indigenous sovereignty. State projects of maintaining security, peacekeeping, nationbuilding, and aid *in the region* in turn reflect on and reinforce an ongoing *internal* project of enacting or reasserting colonial sovereignty over Indigenous bodies, populations, and lands. I use the word "enactment" here to reinforce the idea that sovereignty needs to be repeatedly performed to be actualized and is best understood, in the words of Thomas Hansen and Finn Stepputat, as an "aspiration," that is, as something never quite complete or achieved and "that seeks to create itself in the face of internally fragmented and unevenly distributed . . . configurations of political authority."[18] As such, sovereignty is best understood not as a singular act but as a set of "practices dispersed across and throughout societies."[19] The terms in which foreign policy debates are articulated illustrate the attempt to enact Australian sovereignty over the dispersed, fragmented, and uneven geography of "the region."

The Heavy Lifting

Australia's expedition to Solomon Islands needs to be situated in terms of wider debates over sovereignty in the context of the war on terror. Greg Fry identifies two consecutive strands in Australian regional policy post-2001: "pre-emptive intervention" and "cooperative intervention."[20] The doctrine of preemptive intervention was announced in the aftermath of the bombings on Kuta Beach in 2002 and made the case for Australia's possible intervention as the U.S.'s "deputy sheriff" in an "arc of crisis" or "arc of instability" (see Chapter 5) that stretched from Southeast Asia to the Pacific. Following the outcry this provoked among Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other neighboring states, a new policy, "cooperative intervention," was unveiled. It focused on the Pacific rather than on Southeast Asia (although careful to exclude West Papua from its agenda to placate Indonesian sensibilities). The doctrine of cooperative intervention was premised not on military action by the racially coded figure of a lone deputy sheriff, but on multilateral initiatives of security and nationbuilding to be undertaken with partners representative of the region's various ethnic and

racial groups. Fry outlines its characteristics as follows: "Where the pre-emptive doctrine emphasised a move away from the principle of state sovereignty, cooperative intervention takes place with the permission, or at the request of, a legitimate government. The new doctrine is concerned with multi-layered and multi-faceted intervention over a long period. Military intervention is seen as preparing the ground for this main intervention . . . Where the pre-emptive doctrine was developed against the conceptual backdrop of the US pre-emptive doctrine for Iraq, the new intervention policy was developed against the backdrop of US policy on failed states and its link to terrorism."[21]

This is a renunciation of the role of deputy sheriff in favor of the more modest one of partner in a gradual nation-building process. The shift in policy can be read, at one level, as an acceptance of the passing of an older model of sovereignty premised on the dynamic between the unassailable sovereignty of the European nation-state and the weak or invisible sovereignty of its lawless nonwhite elsewheres. In its stead, the new model of cooperative intervention claims to recognize local differences and acknowledge the realities of a globalized and dispersed system of sovereignties.

The launch of the RAMSI operation, *Operation Helpem Fren,* was heralded as an exemplar of the new policy of cooperative intervention, although, significantly, UN approval was not sought for the mission. The rationale for the operation, articulated in the ASPI report *Our Failing Neighbour*, cast the mission as a friendly hand across the Pacific. The report not only repeatedly disavowed any colonial or neo-colonial intentions but also emphasized the need to refute any *appearance* of a colonial takeover. Accordingly, briefings stressed support by prominent Solomon Islanders for the operation and made much of the fact that the name of the expedition was in Pidgin rather than Australian English, to signify the former's ownership of the initiative. For all this, however, the words in which Prime Minister Howard described the rationale for the new policy could not have been more resonant of a very different kind of mission: "The rest of the world expects Australia to shoulder a lot of the burden because this is our part of the world, our patch," he said, announcing the expedition.[22] This rationale, since reiterated on numerous occasions, can be said to have been elevated to the status of a Howard doctrine for the Pacific, one emphatically restated as military reinforcements were sent to Solomon Islands after renewed violence in early 2006.[23]

The prime minister's language firmly positions Australia within the lineage of imperial whiteness, taking up the regional burden at the beginning of the twenty-first century in the spirit of Kipling's

exhortation for U.S. intervention in the Philippines at the beginning of the twentieth.[24] At the same time, his words must be read as resounding in a specific contemporary context. Michael Ignatieff has noted that in the history of U.S. overseas interventions "the Iraq operation most resembles the conquest of the Philippines between 1898 and 1902."[25] Seizing on these resemblances, supporters of the United States in the war on terror have breathed new life into Rudyard Kipling's celebration of the White Man's Burden. Influential commentators who invoke the poem include Jean Bethke Elshtain in her book titled *Just War against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World* and Max Boot, who even more directly references Kipling by choosing a line from "The White Man's Burden" as the title of his award-winning book, *The Savage Wars of Peace*. Niall Ferguson, one of the principal advocates of U.S. interventionism, writes in his book *Empire* that while Kipling's language may now be deemed politically incorrect: "The reality is nevertheless that the United States has—whether it admits it or not—taken up some kind of global burden, just as Kipling urged. It considers itself responsible not just for waging a war against terrorism and rogue states, but also for spreading the benefits of capitalism and democracy overseas."[26]

At the close of his book Ferguson elaborates even more explicitly on the racialized continuities that underpin the taking up of the global burden of spreading "capitalism and democracy overseas": "[In the nineteenth century] Americans talked of spreading Anglo-Saxon civilization and taking up the 'white man's burden'; today they talk of spreading democracy and defending human rights. Whatever you call it, this represents an idealistic impulse that has always been a big part of America's impetus for going to war."[27]

While the deputy sheriff may not have been much in evidence in the articulation of the doctrine of cooperative intervention, what is clearly resonant in Howard's terminology is a claiming of the baton of racial authority. From Great Britain to the United States to Australia passes the responsibility to wage the "savage wars of peace" and to take up the ordained burden of spreading Anglo-Saxon civilization in the form of capitalism, democracy, and human rights in this region. In Howard's formulation, "The rest of the world expects Australia to shoulder a lot of the burden"—the "*rest of the world*" reads as a euphemism for the two other states who themselves stand shoulder to shoulder in assuming the white man's burden, and who in turn expect Australia to do the heavy lifting in its own part of the world, its allocated patch.

According to Ferguson, "Anglo-Saxon civilization," while needing to be rebranded as "democracy and . . . human rights" because of the

exigencies of twentieth-century political correctness, remains essentially an expression of the same idealistic impulse that underpinned the project of earlier U.S. (and British) imperialism. Located on a continuum that seems to express the deepest impulses of "Anglo-Saxon civilization," democracy, capitalism, and human rights are implicitly identified as *racial* attributes, transmitted among white settler states along the "crimson thread of kinship" (to cite a famous phrase by Henry Parkes, a central figure of Australian federation).[28] Goldie Osuri and Subhabrata Bannerjee have commented on the nature of this seemingly transcendent link among the members of the coalition in the war on terror and its occlusion of the materiality of white diasporas: "Ideoscapes of democracy and freedom are proclaimed as universal values, but at the same time particularised as the identity of 'white' Western countries . . . these terms provide a space, an identity for the imagined unity . . . between countries considered 'western' which have become the protagonists of the War on Terror."[29]

Taking up the burden of peace-building in the Pacific provides an opportunity for Australia to affirm a largely unspoken but all-pervasive sense of kinship with "Anglo-Saxon civilization" as it extends the particularized values of whiteness through the region. If the exercise of cooperative intervention in the Pacific can be understood on one level as governed by the globalizing logic of dispersal and regulation rather than the colonial logic of containment, its *discursive and ideological* modes hark back to an older form of explicitly raced imperial power.

Although apologists like Ferguson may claim that this power is deployed to the unimpeachable and idealistic end of spreading human rights, democracy, and capitalism, Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka points out, in a perceptive essay locating the Solomon Islands expedition in relation to U.S. interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, that their goal is hardly to turn these countries into "Jeffersonian democracies."[30] Rather, the aim is to produce "quasi-functioning states—[by] restoring order . . . ending violent conflicts and . . . ensuring that terrorists do not use them to attack the invading states."[31] These actions can be characterized at best, Kabutaulaka argues, as a form of "nation-building lite" that focuses on the immediate need to create a "quasi-functioning state that is able to restore order and serve the interests of the intervening forces, but without addressing the underlying causes of unrest or building long-term peace . . . [F]or intervention to be successful it must cultivate a capacity for positive change within the country . . . The role of the intervening force must, therefore, be that of facilitating positive development rather than dictating it."[32]

Kabutaulaka's astute phrase, "nationbuilding lite," deftly identifies the reinflection of nineteenth-century imperial aims for the present. The interventions in Iraq or Solomon Islands are not cast in the terms of classic colonial tutelage but are bluntly instrumentalist in their ends. They may, as Sinclair Dinnen suggests, be more accurately described as attempts at building or shoring up particular functions of the state, based on the security interests of the intervening power. Indeed, Dinnen argues that there has been a marked shift in the discourse of international interventionism from humanitarian concerns to security in the period of the war on terror.[33] A Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) policy White Paper, frankly titled "Advancing the National Interest," acknowledged in 2003 that Australia's preoccupation with "border protection" and security is the motivating force for its recent interventionism in the Pacific. This preoccupation with security, Dinnen and others point out, dictates the parameters and the priorities of intervention and aid projects:

> Privileg[ing] solutions aimed at enhancing security particularly in relation to the perceived threats of international crime, people smuggling, border and customs control, and, of course, terrorism. While these and other potential risks cannot be ruled out, the question is how real they are for countries that are simultaneously facing a range of profound development issues? The prospect of Islamic terrorists establishing themselves in either the Solomon Islands or PNG is, to say the least, remote. Superimposing an external security agenda on the island Pacific risks obscuring more pressing domestic challenges, such as growing levels of inequality, impoverishment and marginalisation . . . There is the real prospect of a progressive securitisation of aid, with donor assistance being shaped progressively by an external, and questionable, security agenda.[34]

Harking back to the argot of regional salvage diverts attention from the "questionable" agenda of security and border protection. By affirming ideological and affective continuities with the nineteenth-century civilizational mission, Australian interventionism in the contemporary Pacific is recast as part of a grand racial project suffused in the glow of a relegitimized project of empire.

Sovereign Horizons

An interview between the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Geraldine Doogue and an Australian National University political

scientist, Ben Reilly, exemplifies the ways in which the aura of the nineteenth-century civilizing mission both mystifies and authorizes the Australian project in the Pacific. The interview begins with Doogue, a respected and influential journalist, asking Reilly to account for the failure of the RAMSI operation "to export democracy to the region in general" in the context of post-election violence in 2006.[35] Reilly offers a mild correction, pointing out that the expedition was an exercise to "restore law and order" rather than the more grandiose attempt to "export democracy." This distinction is largely overlooked by Doogue, who continues to pursue her opening line of questioning about the best way to produce an Australian-style political system in Solomon Islands. She muses, "Maybe we should go back to our founding fathers and others in other Western countries and find out how they created a nationalist ethos." Reilly's caution that it is a mistake to assume Australia can simply change the prevalent culture of localism and require Solomon Islanders to become "more like us" is met with the question, "Do we need more anthropologists on the job, or what?" Finally, while conceding that it would not do to "look like heavy-handed neocolonialists," Doogue breathlessly puts the question that underpins much of the discussion of Australia's role in Solomon Islands and the Pacific: "Do you think that there are parts of the population of the Solomon Islands and PNG that would honestly rather we took back control, or is that too radical to think about, but should it be said so that it can be put back on the table?"[36]

Reilly responds, perhaps somewhat disingenuously, that while ordinary people in the Solomons might express the view that things were better in the good old days, this notion would not be supported by "elites" in Honiara, nor by most Australians who have "no stomach for recolonizing the Pacific." (Reilly's view of Solomon Islander opinion is not supported by a recent finding that "Solomon Islanders hold far more complex and ambivalent attitudes towards RAMSI than those presented in the media in Australia and New Zealand."[37]) Nonetheless, the interview ends with the question "on the table," and Doogue pondering, undeterred, lessons for the future eventuality that, "We may have to recreate RAMSI in the Pacific."[38]

Doogue's speculation regarding the possibility that "we took back control" of Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea is illuminating for a number of reasons. Unlike New Guinea, Solomon Islands was never under Australian "control" but was a British possession from 1893 (or 1899 in the case of the western part of the islands previously controlled by Germany) until 1978. Yet Doogue's use of the term "we," a slip Reilly does not correct, reveals a deeper truth about

Australia's sense of ownership of the Pacific borderscape. It reinforces the pull of the crimson thread of kinship that binds Australia to Britain and remembers British and Australian colonialism as indistinguishable in the region.

This blurring of historical distinctions has some important effects, as evidenced in more complicated ways in the brief history offered in *Our Failing Neighbour*: "Solomon Islands were colonised, somewhat reluctantly by Britain in the late nineteenth century . . . At Australia's urging, London moved into Solomon Islands to curtail what we would now call transnational crime, especially blackbirding, and to ensure that no other imperial power established a presence there."[39] The tale of Britain's reluctant colonization of Solomon Islands for its own protection corroborates Doogue's appeal to the memory of a benevolent imperial past and demonstrates the ways in which that past is harnessed in a narrative that naturalizes Australian hegemony over the region. Operative here is what Prem Kumar Rajaram describes as a "telic tale" that reveals the workings of a sovereign authority to reorder time as "history is . . . codified into meaningful images that fit the ends of state-centric histories, geographies and politics."[40] The ASPI report credits "Australia," an entity that did not formally exist until 1901, with the agency for "urging" Britain to protect the islanders from "transnational crime" in the form of "blackbirding," that is, the abduction or forced recruitment of Pacific Islanders for indentured labor. The clever phrase "transnational crime" taps into contemporary Australian fears about people-smuggling, border protection, and terrorism. By comparison, "blackbirding" is suspended in a historical vacuum. Recast in the context of current fears of "transnational crime," blackbirding is severed from its historical referents of enforced labor and racial exploitation. The passage disallows the questions: Who were the agents and main beneficiaries of the "transnational crime" of blackbirding? If it was "Australia" that moved to protect the Islanders from being blackbirded, who was doing the blackbirding?

Similarly, the reference to "ensur[ing] that no other imperial power established a presence there" recasts a period of ruthless competition between the colonizing powers of Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Queensland, and the United States from the vantage point of contemporary Australia. It glosses over the ways in which the carving up of territories between these powers created the now-entrenched divisions between and within present-day Papua New Guinea, Bougainville, and Solomon Islands by positioning Australia/Britain as above the fray and as local protectors of the region against predatory incursions of outsiders.

The imperial past is both invoked (as good old times that grateful natives recall) and forgotten (as specific histories of blackbirding and exploitation) as regional histories are reordered to support the ends of Australian regional hegemony and security. The exchange between Doogue and Reilly demonstrates the deep, sedimented hold of the myth of Australia's civilizational and racial burden in the region. I describe the interview in some detail not in order to single out Doogue's views, but to suggest how fundamentally the colonizing imperative continues to determine the moral-racial horizons of Anglo-Australia and to define the limits within which political possibilities and futures can be thought. Cutting across (largely) superficial distinctions between right and left, Doogue's remarks must be located within the foundational, structuring framework of whiteness on which the Australian state rests and that, as ideology, interest, institution, and investment, is continually reproduced and reinforced.[41]

Doogue's remarks are premised on the conviction that Australian nationalism, coupled with the example of "our founding fathers" (as well as those of "other Western countries") and the work of anthropologists and related experts, will deliver unambiguous benefits for the populations of the Pacific.[42] Crucially, whiteness as the horizon, the "boundary of mental outlook" of Anglo-Australia, *guarantees* that the values of these "founding fathers" will remain unquestioned throughout the interview. To begin to offer a serious response to Doogue's question about the origins of Australian nationalism and the strategies initiated by "our founding fathers" to unite disparate groups would require a return to the foundational date, 1901, and to the processes that established Australia as the island-nation in an alien sea, and as a state founded upon the imagined unity of subjects racialized as white. This process depended on the nonrecognition or obliteration of the sovereignty of its Indigenous population, and the exclusion of Asian and Pacific populations through its two inaugural pieces of legislation, the *Immigration Restriction Act* and the *Pacific Islander Act* (the latter, it must be remembered, was specifically targeted to expel "blackbirded" labor and their descendants).

Above all, to interrogate the formative forces of Australian nationalism would be to return to the pivotal question of Indigenous sovereignty, the question that remains at the core of the assumption of moral/racial authority to "export democracy" and exercise sovereignty over the region.[43] The unspoken limits of the interview, and the question that is finally unspeakable in any discussion of Australia's present or past role in bringing the values of democracy, human rights, and capitalism to the Pacific, is the ground on which the state

established and continues to exercise its sovereign authority to impose these values *at "home."*

Retaking Injun Country

How is this crucial question of *ground* reposed, as the imperial aspiration to turn the other into the same is exercised anew over the geographies and histories of the Pacific? Simultaneously, how are these foreign expanses of lack and error, as "vacant or anonymous reaches of distance," continually returned home to be "converted into meaning for us here" in telic tales of nation?[44]

I address this question by way of a book about the United States in the war on terror. Robert Kaplan's *Imperial Grunts* (2004) reveals some key dynamics through which the sovereign authority of the conquered homeland animates current aspirations to empire as new imaginative geographies are mapped onto already known ones. Modeled on Kipling's 1892 collection, *Barrack-room Ballads*, Kaplan's *Imperial Grunts* claims, like Kipling's poems, to speak in the vernacular of the "troops themselves," reporting the views of the NCOs and enlisted soldiers Kaplan meets in an "odyssey through the barracks and outposts of the American empire."[45] The starting point of Kaplan's odyssey is a map viewed in the halls of the Pentagon: "The Pentagon divided the planet into five area commands—similar to the way that the Indian country of the American West had been divided in the mid-nineteenth century . . . Instead of the military departments of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, California, Oregon and the West, now there was Northern Command, or NORTHCOM; Southern Command or SOUTHCOM; European Command or EUCOM; Central Command or CENTCOM; and Pacific Command or PACCOM."[46]

Kaplan is awestruck by the revelation of this map that displays, from his vantage point at the epicenter of U.S. military superpower, the entire planet spread out like a carpet at his feet: "This map left no point of the earth's surface unaccounted for. Were I standing at the North Pole where all the lines of longitude meet, I might have one foot in NORTHCOM and the other in PACOM; or in EUCOM if I shifted a leg . . . I stared at it for days on and off, transfixed. How could the US not constitute a global military empire? I thought."[47] As he sets out to traverse in person the length and breadth of an empire already made knowable by its mapping onto the conquered territory of the American West, Kaplan learns to name it in the voice of the foot soldiers of the U.S. military: "'Welcome to Injun Country' was the refrain I heard from troops from Colombia to the Philippines,

including Afghanistan and Iraq. To be sure, the problem for the American military was less fundamentalism than anarchy. The War on Terrorism was really about taming the frontier. But the fascination with Indian Country was never meant as a slight against Native North Americans. Rather, the reverse."[48]

Kaplan does not explain why, in this war of civilization against anarchy, the labeling of enemy territory as "Injun Country" is "never meant as a slight against Native North Americans" but "rather, the reverse." Instead, he develops a series of parallels between the United States' current military activities across the globe and its nineteenth-century "Indian wars" on the mythic frontier of the West. Kaplan links the new frontier to the old in both racial and spatiotemporal terms. Racially, he claims, "The North American Indians were a throwback to the nomadic horsepeople of the Eurasian steppe—Scythians, Turks and Mongols" who also "invite comparisons with another imperial nemesis: the nineteenth-century Pushtuns and Afridis of the North-west Frontier of British India."[49] It is significant that in this homogenizing move, "North American Indians" are not only genetically linked with the present and past enemies of Western/Anglo-Saxon civilization, but are as a people dispatched to the realm of the past ("*were a throwback*") and to the status of historical relics. Precisely as historical relics, they can be subsequently incorporated into the enabling myths of a nation that continues to define itself by their conquest and be fondly, reverentially, and even talismanically invoked in its current wars.

The imaginative mapping of the old frontier of the United States' internal war of conquest onto its current "planetary" one achieves specific spatiotemporal effects. *Temporally*, to map the United States' current theaters of war as "Injun country" is to project these conflicts as reenactments of a drama whose ending is already known and inevitable. *Spatially*, it serves to bring the yet-to-be conquered territory "from Colombia to the Philippines, including Afghanistan and Iraq" within the purview of a previously vanquished and domesticated Injun country, one whose original inhabitants already have been relegated to the past. The ongoing struggles of Indigenous people within the United States cannot figure in Kaplan's understanding of Injun country, or in that of the soldiers he quotes. Injun country is, rather, a vanquished territory of the past over which the sovereign imagination of white America ranges, converting, cannibalizing, and commandeering what it needs to sustain its current wars.

The operations evident in Kaplan's text are both repeated and reinterpreted in the Australian context, where to claim the Pacific as

"our patch" is to invoke the same civilizing imperative to cultivate the anarchic wilderness of "Injun country" and to improve the dark places of the earth. While the term "patch" can be taken to signify on a number of different levels, as an unassuming, local, modest, and provisional claim to title, one that befits a loyal ally of a superpower, or a small-time landowner or bush farmer who might aspire to make do, improvise, patch up something that needs repair, the "patch" at the same time references a specifically colonial discourse of benevolent husbandry: the right to cultivate, regulate, order, correct, protect, secure, civilize, and own.

OUR FAILING NEIGHBORS

The seemingly modest and unassuming project of working one's patch recalls another term that has even greater political resonance in everyday Australian life: the backyard. Like the frontier and the patch, the backyard is a site that figures in Australia's ongoing internal war to possess and take control of Indigenous country, extending into the oceanic hinterlands of the Pacific. The relationship between the Solomon Islands mission and the ongoing internal colonial project is revealed in a comment by Susan Windybank, head of foreign policy research at another influential think tank, the Centre for Independent Studies. Cohn approvingly cites Windybank's remark on the Solomons expedition: "We're all very proud to be punching above our weight . . . We don't want our backyard to become a junkyard."[50]

Like our "patch," the backyard stands for productive, domesticated, and privatized space, the taming of frontier territory. In the Australian imaginary the backyard is, more than any other, the site that exemplifies the pleasures and rewards of the Anglo-Australian way of life, complete with its barbecues, swimming pools, Hills Hoists, trampolines, dunnies, and cricket games. This packed white domain is symbolically counterposed against the racially charged wilderness of *terra nullius* on the one hand and the besieging ocean frontier on the other. As Joseph Pugliese and I have elaborated, the backyard is the space that realizes "the Anglo-Australian dream: home-ownership on a quarter-acre block . . . metonymically signifying that patch of turf which is the little Aussie battler's own kingdom and domain."[51] This is the vision encapsulated in celebrated TV shows such as *Burke's Backyard* and its contemporary spin-off, *Backyard Blitz*. Both are products directed at the seemingly inexhaustible desire for "home improvement" and premised on the "aspirational" viewer—also, uncoincidentally, the ideal addressee of official public relations campaigns claiming to protect the

national backyard against the incursions of land rights or of boats carrying refugees.

During the mid-1990s the seemingly secure and impregnable space of the Aussie backyard was continually figured as in imminent danger of invasion. Indigenous native title claims were misleadingly characterized as paving the way for the repossession of suburban backyards in a bid to mobilize public feeling against the Mabo and Wik legal judgments—despite the fact that these judgments offered no, or minimal, land rights to the vast majority of Indigenous people. The backyard, beset by legislative threats and subject to constant challenge, figured as the new Australian frontier, a nightmare vision that paired with the prospect of productive pastoral land reverting to wilderness or serving as the battleground for warring tribes.

The campaign to instill false fears over the safety of Anglo-Australian backyards has had serious long-term consequences for Indigenous people. According to Irene Watson, "The fear of native title claims enabled a policy shift which resurrected the ghosts of assimilation, with the renewed expectation that Aboriginal peoples would become fully absorbed into the one nation."[52] Measures to impose mutual obligation contracts and the scaling back of welfare entitlements are premised on the notion of lazy and wasteful Aboriginal communities who squander benefits accrued from native title royalties and government handouts. Fueled by the backlash against what Watson calls the "myth of recognition" of native title, autonomous Aboriginal spaces faced new threats as unproductive and "unviable" communities were targeted anew for extinction and subjected to coercive pressures to become "more like us."[53]

Windybank's remark plays directly to fears of waste, disuse, and a reversion to the unproductive and empty time before colonization. The deterioration of the backyard into a junkyard conjures scenes of neglect, dereliction, and the collapse of the cultivated suburban patch into wasteland, accompanied by the disintegration of artifacts that symbolize domesticity, prosperity, and modernity. The image of the junkyard articulates with familiar news footage of breakdown in Aboriginal communities at home and, in the context of the ASPI report's emphasis on the failures of post-independence societies, of general Third World decline and disorder abroad. Our failing neighbors fail once again.

The backyard as junkyard performs complex operations of spatialization, reflecting both inward and outward, moving back and forth among the cozy suburban backyard, derelict Indigenous communities, and "at-risk" Pacific nations. The Anglo-Australian backyard

threatened by Aboriginal land rights is mapped onto the space of the Pacific, while simultaneously setting in motion fears of a scenario of regional failure playing out within Aboriginal communities in Australia. Since 1996 the failed state, characterized by pathological degeneration, endemic corruption, and chronic problems of poverty and degradation, is the optic through which Aboriginal communities are invariably represented. Informed by representations of the postcolony in various stages of breakdown and disarray, they are viewed as evidence of the inevitable failure of policies of self-determination and land rights, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commissioners and other Indigenous leaders are cast as so many corrupt Third World thugs and buffoons.

In Pacific states, as in Aboriginal communities, collective title arrangements in particular are subject to attack. Helen Hughes, like Windybank a researcher at the Centre for Independent Studies, argues that collective title is one of the main causes of poverty and crime in Papua New Guinea even as Indigenous Australians are being urged to renounce collective title to land in favor of individual homeownership as a way of increasing productivity and developing pride in their environments.[54] Following the post-election violence of 2006, this argument was extended to Solomon Islands by Windybank, who argued that current levels of intervention did not go far enough, and that the key task for RAMSI was to "rescue the Solomons' economy" rather than fulfilling "cargo cult expectations" of financial aid: "Only if security provides the foundation for economic reform—starting with private property rights in land and going on to changes throughout the economy to create labour-intensive employment—will there be lasting progress."[55]

The mostly unspoken comparisons between Aboriginal remote communities and the failed postcolony were brought into the open in 2007, following a decision by the federal government to deploy the military into Northern Territory Aboriginal communities in response to the latest in a series of reports detailing horrific levels of violence against children in many communities.[56] The "Northern Territory Intervention" as it came to be known was, in Osuri's words, "the exercise of a white colonial sovereignty through a humanitarianism conducted in the language of war."[57] Among the chief features of the intervention were compulsory health inspections for all children in prescribed communities, blanket quarantining of residents' income (thus entrenching the notion that all were bad parents, abusers, and/or addicts), the abolition of the permit system allowing communities to restrict entry to their lands, and changes to collective land

title arrangements. Some of these moves required a suspension of the *Racial Discrimination Act* before they could be implemented, invoking the conditions of a state of exception in these prescribed communities.

The measures were supported by both main political parties, and were retained by Labor even after it took over from the hardline Howard regime, a fact that, as Osuri points out, underlines the deep structural continuities in the state's exercise of sovereign power over its Aboriginal subjects.[58] Criticisms of the arbitrary and paternalistic nature of the intervention were countered by invoking the specter of a failed state within the Australian state. In the words of a lobby group dedicated to continuing the intervention, the possibility of a failed state "at the heart of our nation" would "constitute . . . a sovereign risk to the entire Australian nation."[59] Their report warns of dire social, environmental, and security consequences if the intervention is not sustained, including the possibility of "white flight" from northern Australia, leaving open "the most vulnerable regions of the nation" and heightening "threats and breaches of security—including bio-security—emanating from south-east Asia and the south Pacific."[60] Here the geographies of racial risk invoked by the "empty north" stage their return in reworked discourses of invasion, racialized contamination, and security. The report concludes that in order to avert these forms of risk the "footprint of government" on the region must be restored and deepened—a telling turn of phrase that returns to the disciplining and civilizing exercise of sovereign power over untamed wilderness: *terra nullius.*[61]

The parallels between dysfunctional Aboriginal communities at home and failing Pacific states abroad ramify on a number of levels. As Australian sovereignty extends its reach, boundaries between here and there are effectively blurred. Remapped as a new frontier in the war against terror, as Australia's backyard, and as its allocated patch in the burden shared among the most muscular of the white diaspora states, the Pacific is corralled within the space of the nation. Small Pacific islands, like remote Aboriginal communities and town camps, are increasingly characterized as unsustainable or "unviable," with assimilation into urban, globalized societies seen as their only hope— a solution to be legally and militarily imposed where necessary "for their own good."

Cast as an extension of domestic conflicts over sovereignty, self-determination, and economic productivity, the expeditions to Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea (though different from each other) continually take as their implied reference point the campaigns

for renovation and reform of Aboriginal communities. Projecting the threatened space of the Anglo-Australian backyard onto the Pacific enables the Australian state to claim a similar mandate as at home to protect and rescue it from unworthy occupants. Wider questions of sovereignty and self-determination are diminished by being cast as backyard disputes between neighbors; any objections are dismissed as airing irrelevant and superseded concerns about neocolonialism. Australia's island backyard expands, unilaterally, into the surrounding oceans, even as its successes in the region authorize new assertions of sovereignty over Indigenous country at home.

Our Failing Geographies

"Everybody needs good neighbours," the venerable Australian soap opera warns. A banner newspaper headline, "Neighbour Trouble," suggested that in 2006, despite its best efforts, Australia's neighbors were a long way off from becoming "the perfect friends."[62] West Papuans, the latest in a throng of refugees besieging its shores for asylum, forced it into new torsions of geographical unmaking as the Australian mainland was designated part of an ever-expanding not-Australia.[63] East Timor ungratefully disputed Australian claims to the oilfields of the Timor Sea.[64] Indonesian "itinerant fishermen, wander[ed] . . . into our patch" harboring unknown diseases and the threat of terrorism and reawakening old fears of competing sovereignties in a not-so-empty north.[65] The rejection of the Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP) by the High Court of Papua New Guinea in 2005 was followed by a debacle in Solomon Islands, where RAMSI had been, till then, the one shining exemplar of unqualified success in the region. The columnist Greg Sheridan lamented in *The Australian*: "After three years of the operation, with billions of dollars pumped into the country by the Australian tax payer, with law and order guaranteed by Australian police and military, with the cleanest national election in many years, what are we left with? A city in flames, a Chinese business district burned to the ground . . . ethnic looting . . . the capital in chaos."[66] Sheridan, a staunch supporter of the invasion of Iraq, failed to perceive any parallels with that other experiment in "nation-building lite" across the planet. Instead, he squarely faulted "Melanesian culture," a term that reflects the ethnographic categorization and fragmenting of the region, for the crisis in Solomon Islands: "The truth is Melanesian independence has been a disaster. This is not a recommendation for recolonisation, although it is clearly true that Australia decolonised PNG far too quickly and left it unprepared for

the modern world. Melanesian culture is very poorly adapted for dealing with the modern world. Communal ideas of property ownership may appeal to Western romantics, but they make serious development almost impossible."[67]

Despite disowning any desire to "recolonise the Pacific," Sheridan is blind to the forces that predicate Solomon Islands or Papua New Guinea as always already failing states. As in Derek Gregory's argument in the context of the war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, the impossible territorial units carved out of imperial remnants, and the fractured state formations to which they gave rise, must remain invisible or irrelevant in "the colonial present."[68] In a caustically titled essay, "The Trouble with Melanesia," Dinnen identifies the enabling fallacy at the heart of diagnoses of Melanesian collapse: "From an historical perspective, one could argue that the main problem with post-colonial Melanesian states is not so much that they are prone to falling apart, but that they have never been properly put together in the first place."[69]

But for Sheridan, as for Doogue, the trouble with Melanesia is that colonization ended too soon—or perhaps at all. Their scenarios of breakdown and failure cannot admit Dinnen's questions about the long and painful processes of *decolonization*: "Might it not be that the turbulence in the Melanesian states is symptomatic of an ongoing (or renewed) process of decolonisation rather than the last gasps of polities in terminal decline? Are we witnessing the turmoil of internal decolonisation that will lead to the birth of a genuinely post-colonial order?"[70]

Inscribed by paternalism and naturalized as geographies of lack, displaced from the time of modernity and entombed in anthropological categories, racially othered territories of the Pacific cannot but fail again and again.

The diminishing metaphor of the wrecked backyard/junkyard is only the latest in a succession of failing geographies imposed on the region. As Epeli Hau'ofa powerfully itemizes, these geographies of failure range from the beautiful but savage "South Seas" to be "pacified, Christianized, colonized, and civilized" to "the South Pacific region of much importance for the security of Western interests in Asia" and the "Pacific Islands Region of naked, neocolonial dependency."[71] Against these mappings, Hau'ofa proposes a countergeography, Oceania, as a decolonizing identity for the region, a remapping of colonial cartographies of isolated "islands in the sea" into the vision of "a sea of islands."[72] This map of Oceania refutes both the Australian exceptionalism of the island-continent and its expansionist agenda of

securing the Pacific as a regional "backyard." A sea of islands, Oceania holds together under the fracturing and failing gaze from without.

Coda: Clearing the Waters

I end by returning to the horizon. In the history of the Australian state the geocultural space of the horizon has always provoked racial anxiety, xenophobia, and exclusionary violence. Current policies of border protection are part of a continuum of practices and discourses expressive of the sovereign desire to command the horizon, to tether it to a national teleology, and to discipline it into a knowable geography. "What you have to ask is: do I turn my head and allow another country to exploit my resource? And do I just walk away from my territorial integrity of that claim? Or do I position myself in such a way as they can't exploit it? Or do I position myself in such a way as I'm going to exploit it myself before I get there."[73] Senator Barnaby Joyce's reflections on mining the resources of the Antarctic, coming from a member of the Federal Parliament's External Territories Committee, constitute an extraordinary statement of claim over the horizon. Joyce's comments express the voracious logic of Australia's sovereign authority over a vast external territory where, "because of its Pacific, Indian and southern Ocean holdings, Australia has been able to acquire one of the largest Exclusive Economic Holdings in the world—an area larger than the Australian land mass."[74] Joyce's seemingly awkward question, "Do I position myself in such a way as I'm going to exploit it myself before I get there?" perfectly articulates the logic of a colonizing teleology. The assertion of "my territorial integrity of . . . claim" to the Antarctic projects an imaginative geography that has already *taken in* the horizon, that knows the territory to be exploited anterior to its arrival, and that has already arrived in anticipation of its own arrival.

Joyce's projection of the certainty of *future* exploitation of Antarctica (where international treaties prevent any mining until at least 2048) must be read in the light of other operations to clear Australia's horizons. This clearing is not an activity for the present alone, but one that aspires to secure both the past and the future in a telic tale that reorders the entire region. Henry Reynolds has discussed elsewhere the crisis posed by the presence of Macassans on Australia's northern shores for early British claims of sovereignty over the region.[75] Bruce C. Campbell and Bu Wilson, who in their groundbreaking historical study located the evictions of Macassan fishermen from the oceans off Australia's northern coast on "a continuum of the colonial process which had earlier dispossessed northern Aborigines of their hunting

and fishing grounds," name this clearing of the waters *mare nullius*, underlining its continuities with *terra nullius* and pointing out that both provide "a moral rationale for expansionist policies."[76]

Clearing the waters of the past presence of Macassan boats and bodies secured the primacy of the British claim to sovereignty over the seemingly uninhabited and isolated mass of the Great South Land. Correspondingly, between 2003 and 2005 a series of operations code-named "Clearwater" enacted Australian sovereignty over the oceans, extending the election slogan of 2001, "We will decide who comes into this country and the circumstances in which they come." Ruth Balint describes these operations as "the making of a White Ocean Policy," drawing a neat parallel with the White Australia Policy at federation.[77] Under Operation Clearwater, Indonesians caught fishing illegally, or sometimes simply visiting ancestral graves in territory that was once on their side of a line in the sea, are subject to suspicions of terrorism, people smuggling, and drug trafficking.[78] Demonstrating the force of nationalist mythologies, Operation Clearwater harnesses old hostilities between Indigenous Australians and the fishermen within the framework of "border protection," funding local communities in the Kimberley to patrol the waters. Prohibitive fines, imprisonment in substandard conditions, and the burning of their boats are some of the disproportionately punitive measures imposed on those who are captured.[79] Invoking a colonial logic of extermination and decontamination, this alien presence must be removed from the waters, the horizon swept clean of their ramshackle boats and disease-ridden nonwhite bodies, the ocean cleared of their tracks and stories.[80]

And this imperative to extend command over the horizon does not stop at the present clearing of waters. These "itinerant fishermen, wandering into our patch" are positioned as interlopers encroaching *on the future*, with the potential to compromise anticipated "territorial claims to the Antarctic."[81] In this statement, colonizing teleologies and the sovereign aspirations of a presence that has already arrived prior to its own arrival are reenacted. Our patch expands, seemingly without horizons, in time and space.

* * *

Adapted from "Our Patch: Domains of Whiteness, Geographies of Lack and Australia's New Politics of Space in the War on Terror" in *Our Patch: Australian Sovereignties Post-2001*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: API Network, 2007), pp. 119–46. Copyright © Suvendrini Perera.

C H A P T E R   7

————⋆✦⋆————

A Pogrom on the Beach

A 1994 cartoon by John Spooner depicts an ardent Hitler addressing a scattered and only mildly interested group of sunbathers on a beach. The caption reads: "The problem of raising a pogrom."[1] The cartoon was Spooner's contribution to the debate over the introduction of racial vilification laws in Australia. Huntsman, who reproduces the cartoon in her book on beach culture, draws from it the reflection that racist extremism is inimical both to Australian society and to beachscape itself: could it be that "the ranting of fanatics loses its power to persuade as it is dissipated into the sky and the sea above and beyond?"[2]

Seven years after Spooner's cartoon, a pogrom on Sydney's Cronulla Beach, fueled by white supremacist rhetoric against "lebs and wogs," made world headlines.[3] The German artist Gregor Schneider was prompted to create his installation *21 Beach Cells* after reading news reports about the event. On arrival in Australia, Schneider elaborated: "Germans are accustomed to race riots, but they were amazed at the fact all this would happen on the beach."[4] A pogrom on the beach is an image that defies the imagination. A pogrom on the beach confounds the spatial and conceptual categories that render events intelligible: it is an anomaly, or even absurdity, like the title of a lost Ionesco play. A pogrom on the beach, the Spooner cartoon implies, is a kind of bad joke.

Schneider's words refer us to the tropical beach of European fantasy: a scene of play and pleasure, childhood and sexuality, innocence and license, where the natural and the exotic meet. Pogroms may occur on city streets, in public squares, in schools and stadiums, but the space-time of the beach is of another order altogether. It belongs to the topos of the resort and the idyll, worlds away from the historical and social life of the state.[5] Drawing on such romanticizing associations, Huntsman and Spooner, too, forget the very different representational and territorial histories that produce the Australian beach. In

contrast to the asocial world of the European beach fantasy, in Australia the beach is a site that cannot be sequestered from the political life of the state. It encompasses the full weight of politico-historical experience as an arena where vital contests for power, possession, and sovereignty are staged. This beach is both the original scene of invasion and the ultimate border, a site of ongoing racial demarcation and exclusion, as of endless vigilance and fear.[6]

Andrew Taylor's poem "Hydrotherapy" identifies two kinds of Australians, the naïve, unknowing ones "sitting in a ring/and looking inward," and those who maintain vigil over the beach "waiting for Japs, Indos, Boat People/and the next big wave." The narrator worries that the enemy may descend unsuspected behind the backs of the inward-looking Australians:

> There might be nasty surprises in the carpark
> when those inward Australians look for their Toyotas." [7]

Taylor deploys irony, described by Morris in her essay, "On the Beach," as "one of the dominant registers of public rhetoric in Australia," to expose the paranoid and xenophobic forces that underpin beach culture in all its ordinariness.[8] Unlike their unsuspecting, Toyota-driving counterparts, the "true watery Australians" never relax their guard as to what might come over the horizon. Invasion anxieties and the next big wave connect in a watery lexicon that relies on "wave," "tide," and "surge" to describe the entry of migrants and refugees into this fearful island (see Chapter 2). As Stratton writes, "the coastline, localised in the beach [is] . . . the symbolic site of the differentiation between 'us,' the white people within Australia, and 'them,' the non-white people to be kept out of Australia." [9]

The symbolic significance of the beach extends from the historic to the everyday, the sublime to the banal, generating culturally resonant images such as Max Dupain's famous photograph *Form at Bondi* (1939). Dupain's perfect racial specimens, and the date, if not the location, of his photograph, would surely strike a chord with Schneider's German audiences. On the beach two tensed, vigilant figures stand side by side, scanning the horizon under a darkening sky. In the distant background, a few smaller figures appear, also facing out to sea as if engaged in some watching ritual. The two giant watching figures, magnified by the low camera angle and bathed in reflected light, appear as mythic, superhuman racial guardians of the beach, outlined against the ocean horizon. The stance of the male figure in particular—widespread legs firmly planted on the earth, hands on

Figure 7.1. Max Dupain, *Form at Bondi*, 1939, gelatin silver photograph, 30.4 x 29.0 cm.
Purchased 1981, Collection: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Photograph: Diana Panuccio. Reproduced with permission.

hips—conveys a masculinist proprietorship over territory, supported by the nervous defensiveness of his female companion.

Like Taylor's poem, the image shifts between registers: as Morris points out, "on the beach" is "a framework culturally available for addressing 'the state of the nation' (also the world, the human condition, public affairs, perhaps an intimate, even trivial, situation)."[10] From the reenactments of Captain Cook's landing on Australia Day to advertising images designed to entice British migrants, the beach stands as the signal achievement of Anglo-Australia. It is the supreme stage for the performance of the national type, the scene where "our way of life" is boldly put on display, even as the unspoken fears and

Figure 7.2. Cronulla Beach, December 11, 2005, Photo: Dean Sewell. Reproduced with permission.

apprehensions that contour the island-nation silently lap around its edges and slowly seep into its waiting sands.

This chapter begins and ends with the pogrom on the beach. The watershed event, Cronulla Beach, is situated in terms of its ramifying political consequences, its circulation in the everyday, and its reinflections of racist imaginaries and identities. Located in an economy of territorialization from colonial occupation to the present, Cronulla Beach is revealed as the appropriate scene for a very Australian pogrom.

EFFACED GEOGRAPHIES OF VIOLENCE: BOTANY BAY, REDFERN, CRONULLA BEACH

In the summer of 2004, a seventeen-year-old Aboriginal youth died, horrifically impaled on the railings of a local park, while being chased through the streets of Redfern, the inner-city suburb that is home to large numbers of Indigenous residents. The awful circumstances of this death, one in a long sequence for which police bear responsibility, sparked furious community protests and rioting.[11] After initially struggling for control, police responded with a violent crackdown through Redfern. In the aftermath, Ray Minnecon wrote of the fraught process of "rebuilding . . . Aboriginal identity, integrity and community from the ashes of our burnt-out histories in this place we call Redfern":

For me as an Aboriginal person Redfern is a place where one can inter-act with a powerful collective will to struggle against the imperial forces that continue to interfere with . . . our history . . . For almost 200 years we were locked away from the new Australia that was built on our lands . . . We are not happy with many of the results of that nation-building process . . . And we are still picking through the rubble of that terrible history, not made with our own hands, to rediscover ourselves, our identity and our place in the new nation . . . Redfern is all of these things and more to me . . . I live with this hope that my Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people will find our place and our space in the most alien and inhospitable place of all to Aboriginal culture and people—the city of Sydney.[12]

The history of Redfern powerfully substantiates Achille Mbembe's formulation that "space was the raw material of colonial sovereignty."[13] The site of a "nation-building" project premised on the exclusion of Indigenous people, Redfern and its environs are the ground upon which colonial occupation "writ[es] . . . new social and spatial relations." This writing that Mbembe names "territorialization" is "tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the sub-version of existing property arrangements; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries."[14]

Mbembe itemizes the processes of colonial boundary-making, the fabrication of spatial, epistemological, and ontological borders that undergird and organize colonized societies. Territorialization, the writing of space as race, is a process of violence, a violence inscribed in the etymologies that link *terra* and *terror* with territory, *a place from which people are frightened off*.[15] Terror against Aboriginal bod-ies remains one of the primary ways in which the boundaries of race and space are reproduced and policed. The punishment, incarcera-tion, and killing of Indigenous bodies reinforces colonial "hierarchies, zones and enclaves" that continue to produce racially marked sites such as Redfern. And they do so even as, in Minnecon's words, its inhabitants determinedly take on the collective task of "rebuilding . . . Aboriginal identity, integrity and community from the ashes of our burnt-out histories in this place we call Redfern."

I begin on the streets of Redfern in order to underline that the pogrom on the beach cannot be understood in isolation. A hidden but inexorable logic of territorialization binds Redfern to Cronulla Beach. Both must be situated in the context of the metropolis of Sydney, the largest city in Australia, as a space written by ethnoracial hierarchies,

zones, and enclaves; that is, by the production of borders. Borders operate not only spatially, but also conceptually and analytically. To understand the violence on Cronulla Beach as an aberration or as the outcome of a set of local circumstances alone is a form of border policing: it denies the sociospatial linkages that sustain Sydney as a city constituted by racialized and ethnicized borders, reinforced by a neoliberal regime that both recodes and reinscribes colonial demarcations, scales, and categories. The marketing of Sydney's cosmopolitan charms should not obscure that it is a city marked at every level by the racialized differentiation of space, from the location of most of its mosques and Hindu and Buddhist temples in industrial areas, next to waste dumps or in the middle of highways, to the saturation of the airwaves by racist calls to arms.[16]

Sydney, described by Minnecon as "the most alien and inhospitable place of all to Aboriginal culture and people" is inscribed, perhaps more than other major Australian cities, by a racialized and ethnicized topography. In this landscape names such as Redfern, Lakemba, Bankstown, and Cabramatta signify at a national scale. As the preserve of the native and the alien they are the locus of fear and abjection. Simultaneously, they are structured by a continuing colonial logic that veers between the poles of exclusion and assimilation. Even as they function as ghetto precincts that operate to encircle, separate, control, and police racially othered populations, these spaces are subject to the demand to reflect the dominant culture back to itself.

The assimilationist demand takes varied forms, from the seemingly benevolent desire to promote modernization, renewal, and "development" (such as on the Block in Redfern) to the drive to eliminate spaces of difference perceived as threats to "law and order," "social cohesion," and, increasingly, "national security." The opaque, unknowable, and shadowy spaces of the city must be rendered open, orderly, and secure. Even before the war on terror, selected suburbs became subject to new forms of criminalization and surveillance as escalating rates of Aboriginal imprisonment, the introduction of racial profiling, and the mandatory incarceration of asylum seekers combined with the neoliberalist drive to privatize the prison/detention system. It was in this context, as private security guards began patrolling the streets of Redfern and the adjacent suburb of Chippendale that the Redfern elder, Auntie Ali Golding, commented in early 2001, "It's as if we're living in a detention centre."[17]

Since Australia's entry into the war on terror, these moves have gathered force to redraw ever more narrowly the limits of belonging within the nation and to police the frontiers of citizenship. The

overarching imperative of national security combines with neoliberal logic on the one hand and assimilationist pressures on the other to train the searchlights on new spaces of racial fear and danger. The suburbs of Bankstown, Lakemba, and Auburn are cast as landscapes that mirror the war zones of Lebanon and Iraq, with their residents subjected to levels of unrelenting suspicion and surveillance.

In the late 1990s Pauline Hanson, leader of the racist One Nation Party, identified Bankstown and Cabramatta as suburbs that threatened the social fabric of the nation with their linguistic and visual heterogeneity. Following the mobilization of "culture" and "values" as surrogate terms for race in the war on terror, the demand for bodies in these spaces to be rendered intelligible, transparent, and knowable could only amplify. Dress and speech are registered as acts of aggression not only against the "values" of the nation, but also against the security of the state. The demand to be open, available, and transparent is enforced in differential ways upon gendered and racialized sectors of the population, as in the attacks led by senior politicians on Muslim women's veiling practices. Women wearing hijab or burqa are subjected to a spectrum of violence from physical assault to the suspicion of concealing bombs under their burqas and accusations of "confronting" the sensibilities of Anglo-Australia by their mere presence in public spaces.[18]

These territorialized inscriptions of threat and embedded histories of exclusion structure the relations among Cronulla Beach, Sutherland Shire, and Western Sydney. In the days immediately after the racist attacks in Cronulla Beach, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported: "The shire is a white, Anglo-Celtic, Christian heartland. But, ominously, this white sanctuary is hemmed in by the great Middle Eastern melting pots of Sydney." The shire's status as a "white sanctuary" is reinforced by the information that the area is "fast becoming a celebrity haven" as the home to Australia's former cricket captain, Steve Waugh, and Olympic swimming champion Ian Thorpe.[19] As household names, these local heroes anchor Cronulla Beach in national space. In pointed contrast are the faceless masses who inhabit "the great Middle Eastern melting pots of Sydney" that "ominously hem . . . in" this haven of whiteness, and who weekly encroach on its hallowed beaches.

But the shire's status as a "white sanctuary" has a deeper purchase on the national imaginary. Its official Web site proclaims that "Sutherland Shire is known as the 'Birthplace of modern Australia,' as Kurnell (now a suburb of the Shire) was the first landing site on the east coast of Australia by James Cook. He went ashore on 29 April, 1770 at a spot now within the Captain Cook's Landing Place, part of the

Botany Bay National Park. For eight days he and his scientists, seamen and marines explored and mapped the area."[20]

Faithfully represented here are the processes of territorialization enacted at the "Birthplace of Modern Australia." The first place to be mapped, explored, and rendered intelligible to colonial control, the shire is also the originary scene of Aboriginal dispossession. The presence of a succession of imperial pioneers—Cook, Phillip, La Perouse—is scored into the terrain that now bears the seemingly innocuous name Botany Bay National Park. This ground, subsumed into the sanitizing regime of the "National Park," is the land of the Dharawal people, who were previously effaced under the sign of "Botany." This effacement is repeated in the Web site's description of Cook's exploration and mapping of "the area."

The Dharawal, invisible in the extract from the shire's Web site, were "among the first Aboriginal people to resist the invasion of their land, the first to be struck down by smallpox and other introduced diseases, and the first to become decimated by random killings and massacres."[21] Rob Welsh, chairman of the Metropolitan Aboriginal Land Council, recalled this history in May 2005 as people from Redfern and La Perouse came together to complete the burial ceremonies for six Dharawal people whose fragmented remains had been salvaged from museums as far away as Edinburgh in Scotland. As Welsh notes, Aboriginal bodies, as much as land, were objects of theft. They too formed the ground on which colonial sovereignty mapped out its demarcations and carved the frontiers of what would constitute the limits of the human and the citizen within the new nation.

The line that connects Redfern and Cronulla Beach runs through Botany Bay. Bringing back into view the violence that inscribes the site of Botany Bay National Park is one way of reframing representations of the shire as a "white sanctuary" threatened by melting pots." Instead of being "a white haven" under siege, the ongoing presence of the Dharawal bodies rewrites the white sanctuary of the shire as itself a site of violence. As Maria Giannacopoulos argues, instead of being a place threatened by "*ethnic* violence," the shire is exposed as a place predicated on "a form of white sovereign violence that continues to be retrospectively legalised."[22] In the form of the law of the land this unacknowledged "white sovereign violence" continues to produce and patrol the limits of the nation.

Bodies, Beaches, Borders

In an article written for the *Boston Globe* in the days after the pogrom on Cronulla Beach, Yvonne Abraham recounts her childhood years in Sydney in these words: "Back then, when we went to the beach it was always to Coogee, a few miles north of Cronulla. The Lebanese kept to the north side of Coogee beach, gathering on a grassy embankment we dubbed 'Kibbe Hill' . . . After some years, we ventured south onto the sand, but the Lebanese I knew steered clear of Cronulla, jewel of the Sutherland Shire, the whitest part of Sydney. We knew our place."[23]

Abraham's article traces a microtopography of southern Sydney's racialized shoreline and Lebanese-Australian families' slow advance over the years from the grassed area of "Kibbe Hill" all the way down to the off-white sands of Coogee Beach. The sparkling waters of Cronulla, however, remained off bounds to these nonwhite bodies well disciplined to know their places. The place the Abraham family occupied in the racial hierarchy of the city could not have been more precisely delineated: "Growing up in working-class Sydney in the '70s, being Lebanese was the second-worst thing imaginable. Only Aborigines ranked lower. 'Wogs,' the Anglos called us, and often 'dirty wogs.' We heard it everywhere: shouted from passing cars, on the playground, at shopping malls.

"They could spot us a mile away."[24]

The sense of exclusion ("They could spot us a mile away") the family experiences in other public spaces—shopping malls, children's playgrounds, the street—crystallizes in their banning from the beach, a ban all the more powerful because it is also internalized.

In print advertisements and cinematic promotions designed to attract "new Australians," primarily from the United Kingdom, in the 1950s and 1960s (as in present-day tourist commercials), the beach is presented as the locus of the everyday pleasures constitutive of Australian life, of what it means to be Australian. A perfect correspondence is implied between the territorialized body of the beach as the figure of the nation and the imagined collectivity of the white bodies sunbathing on its sands and swimming in its waters. Abraham's experience reveals the conditions that underwrite this definitive image—that is, that everyday Australianness and its racialized pleasures are constituted precisely by the exclusion of those bodies that are *not seen* in these promotional pictures. Indeed, these representations are the site of historical struggles for access that amplify and situate Abraham's memory of exclusion from the beach.

Isobel Crombie has discussed the key elements of Dupain's famous beach photographs in the context of a cluster of concerns shaped by German theories of "eugenics, racial nationalism and vitalism" that underpinned Australian "body culture" of the 1930s.[25] Crombie locates this body culture against the attempt to identify a distinctive Australian racial type through technologies ranging from anthropometry to teleology. Body culture celebrated the racial triumph of a "new 'indigenous' [i.e., white] Australian," one who "possessed a body that was considered a distinctive product of the unique conditions of this country [combined with] the genetic inheritance of its Anglo-Celtic forbears."[26] This new body type was explicitly contrasted with the degenerate, inbred, and diseased bodies of racial others within the nation, especially Aboriginal bodies. Naked, bronzed, and symmetrical white bodies with a military cast to their rude good health, such as the bodies of sunbathers, surfers, and especially lifesavers, "the soldiers of the sea," were idealized as the champions of the new racial typology.[27]

Crombie's meticulous historicizing of Dupain's photographs locates *Form at Bondi* within iconographies of Aryanism and white supremacy, a context that is often elided in purely formalist readings of this work. Both the title and the iconography of *Form at Bondi* echo Charles Meere's near-contemporaneous *Australian Beach Pattern* (1938–40), often regarded as the classic Australian beach painting. Terms such as "form" and "pattern" allude to the visual regime celebrated in the paintings: the *form* of the white Caucasian body—its metrics, proportions, composition—as the perfection of human symmetry. In this regime of visuality, nonwhite bodies register as aesthetically—and consequently morally and intellectually—failing to *measure up* to the ideal because of their deviation from the white standard and their identification with beastly and monstrous bodies.[28] In this sense, the iconography of Dupain and Meere finds its logical extension in the posters circulated by the White Pride Coalition at the time of the Cronulla pogrom, contrasting the ideal Aryanized body with the animalized body of the nonwhite.

Crombie's discussion of another influential Dupain photograph further "serves to illustrate how his creative concerns were informed by knowledge of body culture and racial issues." The photograph is titled *On the Beach* and was taken on Cronulla Beach in 1938:

> The year was a time of peak interest in national fitness and *On the Beach* shows a white Australian family on sand dunes at Cronulla Beach. The man, woman and child are a racial archetype representing the ideal

embodiment of the Australian nuclear unit. They are all in ruddy good health, displaying supreme confidence in their own naked bodies and harmony with their environment. The image also carries the reassuring promise that the qualities of fitness so evident in the man and woman have been passed to the child, thus ensuring the continuity of this race of godlike beings . . . The undulating smooth lines of the sand dunes follow the curves of the human forms and imply an elemental link between the body and the landscape.[29]

Here the very contours of the beachscape become imbued with and are merged into the racially specific lineaments of the ideal Anglo-Australian body. On the beach at Cronulla, naturalized as the home ground of Dupain's archetypal white Australian holy family, Abraham's Lebanese-Australian family has no place even half a century later. The beach remains the preserve of decent, wholesome white bodies, policed in a variety of ways against any contaminating whiff of "dirty wog"—and, by implication, even dirtier black—bodies.

Such representations that reproduce the everyday racial exclusions of the beach are confronted by artists such as Anne Zahalka, whose subjects depart from the formal/racial norms of beach paintings. Zahalka challenges the Aryanized racial aesthetic of Dupain by photographing migrant and working-class bodies of all ages against a painted backdrop of Bondi Beach. More recently, Diane Jones inserts her Aboriginal body into Dupain's photographs, or waves at the viewer from a crowd of sunbathers in paintings such as *Beach Scene 2003*. Both Zahalka and Jones *put into the picture* the bodies expelled from the beach by Dupain or Meere. As their work suggests, the fight to maintain the racial exclusivity of the beach is ongoing, even as this exclusion is likely to cloak itself in recent years in more acceptable discourses of nativism and environmentalism, for example, the Bondi anti-train movement, or the championing of "locals' rights" to these iconic national sites.

Homeland and Headland

On the historic headland of the beach, the contemporary war on terror reactivates the invasion phobias triggered by the arrival of refugee boats and moral outrage over the presence of bodies of "middle-eastern appearance" in the civic spaces of the nation.[30] Conflated with "the homeland insecurities" of the war, the constitutively white site of the Australian beach compounds the effects of exclusionary violence and xenophobia.[31]

Reflecting on the emergence of the term "homeland" in the United States in the first phase of the war on terror, Amy Kaplan identifies it as producing a heightened sense of territoriality in comparison to earlier constructions of the United States as a land of endless mobility and ever-advancing frontiers. Although the discourse of mobility enacts its own racial erasures and exclusions, the adoption of "homeland" in national security discourses solicits sentiments of rootedness, ground, and national essence by appealing to "a sense of native origins, of birthplace and birthright."[32] In this territorialized homeland with its appeal to a singular history and undivided allegiances (Kaplan cites President Bush's ultimatum: *"You are either with us or with the terrorists"*), there is little room for migrants who may look to more than one land as home or shuttle between different lands and homes; nor is there space for indigenous peoples' different understandings of land and home.[33]

The appeal to the homeland as the territorial birthright and native-ized essence of one people was pervasive in the media and political discussion in the months leading up to the pogrom on Cronulla Beach. Andrew Fraser, an academic who argues that migrants from sub-Saharan Africa pose a threat because of their genetic inferiority, mobilized the energies of the war on terror when he referred to Anglo-Australians as being engaged in "a life-or-death struggle to preserve their homeland" from these migrants.[34] In "Rethinking the White Australia Policy," Fraser alludes nostalgically to "a folk memory [that] still survives of a time when Australia was the homeland of a particular people of British stock with their own particular way of life."[35] Fraser's emotive appeal to the "folk memory" of a time when Australia "was the homeland of people of British stock" gives the impression of a vanishing race—as if the overwhelming majority of the current Australian population were not "of British stock"—and ignores the extent to which political, legal, cultural, military, and economic power is unshakably vested in this "particular people" of "British stock."

The term *homeland* produces a powerful sense of native-ized birthright for some subjects, as citizenship and belonging are increasingly racially configured as a matter of national protection through "homeland security" (for example by measures such as the 2001 *Border Protection Act* and 2005 anti-terrorism legislation). By the same token, the homeland becomes a site where some migrants and refugees more than others cannot by definition be *at home;* they are anything but safe and secure in the homeland. In Kaplan's words, in the aftermath of the *Patriot Acts* in the United States:

> The notion of the homeland itself contributes to making the life of immigrants terribly insecure. It plays a role in policing and shoring up the boundaries between the domestic and the foreign. Yet it does this not simply by stopping foreigners at the borders, but by continually redrawing those boundaries everywhere throughout the nation, between Americans who can somehow claim the United States as their native land, their birthright, and immigrants and those who look to homelands elsewhere, who can be rendered inexorably foreign.[36]

But more than this: it is not only migrants and first peoples who are insecure in the homeland. As homeland security dictates the continual redrawing of boundaries *within* the body of the nation, it explodes that self-same sense of a territorially based and securely bounded, whole, deep-rooted, and thickly interconnected nation founded on "birthright" that the term *homeland* is meant to invoke. The very notion of *homeland security*, then, serves to produce its opposite among those who lay claim to the homeland as their exclusive, native-ized territory. To speak of *the homeland* in effect is to generate a sense of insecurity and displacement in that segment of the population that understands itself as most entitled to be *at home* in the homeland. The very urgency of securing the homeland throws the sense of being at home, of possessing a "birthright," of entitlement, into crisis by revealing the deep fissures that constitute the homeland: the homeland as such is a construct that generates racial terror.

Recruited into the Australian "culture wars," *homeland* becomes the ground where multiple forms of racial terror meet, reinforce, and refract one another. Particular racialized bodies are figured not only as threatening Anglo-Australian identity and interests by their presence in the homeland but also as threatening *national security*. White Australian interests are thus reinforced as the national interest even as the native-ized claims of homeland as a secure and settled space of home are once again threateningly put into question by the hypervisibility of those other bodies uncovered by the very practices of racial surveillance intended to ensure the security of the homeland. On the ground of the headland, homeland culture war becomes race war becomes war on terror.

Terror on the Beach

On the beach, these threads of racial terror begin to come together on December 11, 2005. The beach, *this* beach, mythologized as the sacred ground of white bodies in the photographs of Dupain and

Meere, painfully enforced in everyday understanding as "the whitest part of Sydney," a warning that keeps people who know what's good for them in their places, today is actually looking like a border. It is patrolled by police on foot, police with dogs, police in boats, police on horseback. Inscribed across a bare, bronzed back the ultimate claim to native-ized essence: *We grew here, you flew here.* The Australian flag, with its affirmation of enduring racial kinship with "British stock," is inscribed on bodies in multiple forms: blazoned on bikinis and backpacks, tattooed on arms and torsos, painted on faces like warpaint, wrapped around shoulders like a trophy. This is a performance of native-ized territoriality that echoes other assertions of sovereign territoriality: *We decide who comes into this country and the circumstances in which they come.*

In the course of the day the submerged meanings of the beach as a site where everyday (white) Australianness is staged as both celebration and warning will become evident. In the minds of those already assembling here, rallied by the White Pride Coalition, Youth Pride League, Australia First, and other neo-Nazi organizations, or summoned by radio and text messaging to a "community day of leb and wog bashing," this beach is a beachhead. Slogans from "Who said Gallipoli wouldn't happen again!" to "Osama don't surf" establish the frame of reference.[37] One participant likens the day's events to facing the (mythical) possibility of Japanese invasion in the Second World War. For others it stands for Anzac Day, for a memorial picnic at Gallipoli, for the turning away of the *Tampa*, for the streets of Iraq. It is the homeland.

In Marilyn Lake's reading, the violence that took place on Cronulla Beach on that day layers onto another site where multiple phobias meet and racial terror is enacted. "Indeed in the masculine melee . . . mateship provided vital reinforcement of white solidarity, in that traditional Australian way. But now the battleground is that iconic national site, the surf beach. Placed in a nationalist frame, the politics of race became the politics of possession: proprietorial 'Aussies' determined to reclaim their territory and 'protect their women,' the same excuse invoked by lynch mobs in the American South."[38]

Lake's words remind me of my first response to the images I saw of the pogrom on the beach. The atmosphere of the family picnic in the photographs, the proud display of racist and nationalist regalia, the parade of Klan-style hoods and cloaks, and above all the faces clenched in orgasmic frenzy, inescapably recalled James Baldwin's famous short story, "Going to Meet the Man," the story of a holiday lynching.

Then the crowd rushed forward tearing at the body with their hands, with knives, with rocks, with stones, howling and cursing . . . Someone stepped forward and drenched the body with kerosene. Where the man had been, a great sheet of flame appeared. Jesse's father lowered him to the ground.

"Well, I told you," said his father, "you wasn't never going to forget *this* picnic." . . . At that moment Jesse loved his father more than he had ever loved him. He felt that his father had carried him through a mighty test, had revealed to him a great secret which would be the key of his life forever.[39]

In Baldwin's story the "great secret" of race is collectively performed, reaffirmed, and transmitted to a new generation in a ceremony/celebration that reenacts, in Lake's words, "the politics of possession" through terror. I gloss this scene with a later quotation from Baldwin, taken from his interview with Frank Shatz, a Hungarian-American refugee. In the interview Shatz, a migrant and survivor of Nazi camps, struggles to comprehend the legacies of the abolitionist John Brown, a white man who, with a small group of multiethnic companions, took up arms against the slave-owning state at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Talking to Shatz, a migrant hovering somewhere between white and nonwhite identity in the U.S. postwar racial order, Baldwin attempts—it is hard going—to teach this new American the answer to the "great secret" of race:

FS: But still, I would like to know, you know, because I am, you know the word, liberal. I have a conscience.
JB: I am not liberal.
FS: I have a conscience. Now, I would like to see changes, and I would like to help.
JB: Are you willing enough to pay for them?
FS: In what way? What is the price now?
JB: The price is a regular identity.[40]

"A REGULAR IDENTITY": CITIZENSHIP, TERRITORY, AND NATION

On December 11, 2005, geopolitical insecurities over the safety of the "homeland" and the racialized fears and anxieties that characterize the metropolis of Sydney were layered onto Cronulla Beach as a sacred site of Anglo-Australia. These spatialized relations correspond to Arjun Appadurai's description of "geographies of anger": "the volatile relationship between the maps of national and global politics . . . and

the maps of sacred national space." Appadurai suggests that geographies of anger, "the spatial outcome of complex interactions between far away events and proximate fears," manifest "uncertainty about the enemy within and the anxiety about the always incomplete project of national purity."[41]

Read as a staging of Appadurai's "geographies of anger," Cronulla Beach reveals how anxieties about the war on terror and the "great Middle Eastern melting pots of Sydney" combine with the project of preserving the racial purity of the shire as the "birthplace of modern Australia." Mapped onto these geographies of anger focused on the beach and the shire is yet another type of "sacred national space," the space of citizenship. At the intersection of law, territory, and nation, citizenship becomes intelligible anew as a site where the (racialized and gendered) limits of the national are tested, and symbolic checkpoints enforce a regular identity. The concluding sections of this chapter explore, across a series of discontinuous sites and contexts, how Cronulla Beach plays a key role in renewing and reenergizing racist identities and promoting a resurgent border policing of citizenship.

The deployment of citizenship and border control as mechanisms for differentiating spatially and racially among the population is not new; rather, it is constitutive of the Australian state. Brian Galligan and John Chesterman note, "The elaborate legislative and administrative regimes constructed around citizenship rights and entitlements by successive colonial, Commonwealth and state governments . . . have been mainly exclusionary. Their overwhelming purpose was to bar any 'aboriginal [*sic*] native of Australia, Asia, Africa, or the Islands of the Pacific' from rights and benefits, with quite extraordinary and ingenious efforts being applied to this negative cause."[42]

The "negative cause" of excluding nonwhite "aboriginal [*sic*] natives" was complemented by other forms of border control. Henry Reynolds argues that in the absence of substantive independence from Britain, the government of the newly federated Australia "was able to assert its independence not by hauling down the Union Jack but by closely controlling what and who could enter the country by means of tariffs, immigration controls, customs and quarantine regulations. These forms of control, rigorously exercised, came to be the surrogate assertion of independence by an impaired nation state."[43] In the impaired state created post-1901, border control over bodies and goods, enabled by the territoriality of the island-nation, operated in tandem with the continued definition of national identity in racial terms and through subjection to Britain. Australian citizenship, then, was constituted by prohibition, isolation, and subjection, ensuring,

according to Galligan and Chesterman, that "Australians have no core notion of positive citizenship upon which to draw."[44]

On December 11, 2006, that is, on the first anniversary of the pogrom on Cronulla Beach, the then Prime Minister, John Howard, announced a series of amendments to the Citizenship Act. Its centerpiece was a citizenship test requiring "a basic level of English language skills, as well as knowledge of the Australian way of life and our shared values," which would be required of all future citizens.[45] The images of a seething mass of bodies, flags, and riot police provided a telling backdrop for the announcement. Rather than putting forward a "core notion of positive citizenship," the inauguration of a new citizenship regime was juxtaposed with replays of scenes of mob violence, reinforcing an understanding of Australian citizenship as at once beleaguered, belligerent, and exclusionary. The promise of a new citizenship that would articulate "the Australian way of life" was anchored not by reference to shared futures or common ends, but by an unspoken but nonetheless unmistakable threat: the specter of Cronulla Beach.

Although the notion of a citizenship test based on "knowledge of the Australian way of life and our shared values" initially seems to gesture toward the definition of a positive, rather than "non" or negative, content for Australian citizenship, historically the test recalls the implementation of the White Australia Policy through the technology of the dictation test.[46] The announcement resituated the category of citizenship, not in terms of the policy of multiculturalism but in the terms of neoliberalist discourse as "an important extension of the government's broader philosophy of mutual obligation."[47] This rearticulation of citizenship within a neoliberalist framework might be construed, once again, as potentially providing a new, positive content for Australian citizenship. Understood as "mutual obligation," the relations between state and citizen are seemingly privatized, cast as matters to be negotiated at the level of the individual, remote from the bloodied battlegrounds of history and culture. However, as Aihwa Ong points out, "neoliberalism as a technology of governing relies on calculative choices and techniques in the domains of citizenship and of governing."[48] Significant, if submerged, links tie the project of neoliberalism to the formation of citizenship as a category. Both are predicated on forms of demarcation and differentiation—"calculative choices"—between subjects, that reward some and penalize others on the basis of assumed traits and attributes. Here racial and economic regimes coincide as the discriminations between subjects are produced through remarkably similar sets of binaries, for example,

those working to distinguish self-sufficient, flexible, enterprising, and disciplined subjects from groups classified as hidebound, recalcitrant, lazy, or ill-disciplined.

Reporting on a review of the citizenship test commissioned by the new Labor government in 2007, Andrew Jakubowicz notes that the test's "focus is clearly to make access to citizenship (as the proxy for integration) remarkably easy for skilled immigrants, while reinforcing the sense of marginalisation and estrangement that characterises much of the humanitarian stream experience."[49] It is not surprising, given its technocratic and essentially neoliberal approach, that the new Labor government chose to reject most of the recommendations for amending the test, to maintain an official silence on the policy of multiculturalism, and to continue the implicit association between citizenship and British ancestry. Jakubowicz elaborates:

> The supporting documents for the test make no mention of multiculturalism as an Australian value or even a momentary dimension of Australian policy. Nor are there any questions that explore this idea. The test has a limited sense of what Australian values and practices may be (none are associated with the immigrant communities from non-British origins), and the expectation that citizens sign on to these values recurs frequently in the sub-text of the support documentation. In many places the supporting book reveals an astonishing ignorance or reconstruction of Australian history, ranging from the assertion that soccer is a recent phenomenon to a justification for anti-Chinese racism in the nineteenth century.[50]

The contracting of the cultural and linguistic borders of citizenship in the interests of national security and cohesion intersects in complex ways with the shrinking of the state demanded by neoliberal logic. Both work to exclude, punish, or render expendable their target populations, who often, if not always, coincide in the same racialized and gendered bodies: for example, remote Aboriginal communities deemed "unviable" for survival or those unwilling or unable to enter into "mutual obligation" arrangements with the state. Within the racialized landscape of Sydney in the period leading up to Cronulla Beach, Fraser's writings targeted particular migrant communities from sub-Saharan Africa as racially and culturally unfit to adapt to life in contemporary western society.[51]

As neoliberal technologies of governing reorganize sociopolitical space and the relations among sectors of the population, these demarcations and differentiations do not replace but are mapped onto

preexisting racial regimes.[52] Neoliberal logic redeploys regimes of race and ethnicity while simultaneously *transcoding* them into the terms of its own, seemingly racially unmarked, economies of morality and value. Brought into play as the backdrop to the reorientation of Australian citizenship in neoliberal terms, Cronulla Beach testifies to the unspoken nexus between the two and points to a key paradox in the official campaign to redesign citizenship: the neoliberal incarnation of Australian citizenship that is meritocratic, inclusive, and positive depends on the silent shadow-presence of a fearsome and intractable underside of racism.

Reworked Repertoires of Australian Racism

Ellen Fanning: Prime Minister, part of what was chilling yesterday was seeing a lot of people in between the violence doing things that you'd see at the cricket, singing 'Aussie, Aussie, Aussie, Oi, Oi, Oi', wrapping themselves in the Australian flag. What do you say to people who use the Australian flag in that way?

Prime Minister: Look, I would never condemn people for being proud of the Australian flag. I don't care—I would never condemn people for being proud—

Ellen Fanning: What if they've got a beer in their hand and a baseball bat in the other?

—Ellen Fanning, interview with the
Prime Minister, December 12, 2005.

The political and legislative changes to the ground of citizenship work hand in hand with a reenergization of racist imaginaries set in motion by Cronulla Beach. The line that differentiated between what the Australia First Party described as a "community picnic" and racist violence as a display of "100% Aussie Pride" became indistinguishable on Cronulla Beach.[53] On the beach, the performative and the specular elements of beach culture played key roles in allowing racism to be camouflaged through its proxy terms as it was also defiantly staged and celebrated. In the following months, Cronulla Beach enabled the promotion and regularization of identities in which white pride and patriotism, banal and blatant or aggressive nationalism, shaded into one another, as well as giving rise to new styles and modalities of consumption centered on the *re*-racialized symbol of the Australian flag. Cronulla Beach thus signifies as a name that absorbed white racial fear and resentment and presented

them anew, defiantly wrapped in the colors of national pride. The interview with the then Australian prime minister, cited above, is a telling instance of how "national values" and exclusionary violence—"a beer in their hand and a baseball bat in the other"—are closely entwined in the racialized nationalism signified by the flag.[54]

The Cronulla 2230 game, dedicated "to all those who stood up for the freedoms of fair dinkum Aussies" is one artifact that unabashedly celebrates the racist face of Cronulla Beach. The game, freely available on the Internet despite the NSW government's attempts to restrict it, solicits support for the white supremacist Australia First Party (although the party itself has denied any involvement with the game). Structured as a Monopoly type board game, the objective of Cronulla 2230 is for the winning player "to become the wealthiest person in the Cronulla area through buying, renting and selling property [in order to] . . . fund patriotic organizations like Australia First and the Patriotic Youth League, so they can get into parliament and Win Back Australia."[55] An uneasy mix of racism and real estate, the game reproduces the racial and ethnic polarization that is also reflected elsewhere in the landscape of Australia's wealthiest city. At the same time, the aim of "Winning Back Australia" interpellates publics at different levels, appealing to the aspirations of "ordinary Australians," carefully fostered over the last decade, to amass real estate, while also playing on underlying anxieties about globalization in the form of foreign investment and competition.

The Cronulla 2230 board game is accompanied by a series of "Aussie Luck" cards that alternatively reward or penalize players. The term "Aussie Luck" references the title of Donald Horne's 1964 classic, *The Lucky Country*. Although Horne intended the title as a warning and an indictment, the term has long since acquired a self-congratulatory nationalist gloss. Among other things, it is used to hark back to a golden age before the advent of multiculturalism or invoke a land of freedom and plenty into which nonwhite migrants should be grateful for receiving admission, a belief mocked in the title of Rosa Cappiello's mordant novel of migration, *Paese Fortunato*, translated as *O Lucky Country* (1984). Elsewhere I have suggested that Horne's text betrays more ambivalence about multiculturalism and the coming Asian century than is often realized.[56] The return of the Aussie Luck Cards in the Cronulla 2230 game can be seen as exploiting the buried ambivalences in Horne's brand of reformist nationalism.

The messages on the cards refer not only to events immediately relating to Cronulla Beach but reproduce the full repertoire of white racism. Messages such as "Health inspectors find dogs & cats in

fridges in Asian restaurants, Pay \$15," appear side by side with "Lebos spoil Cronulla Beach for families, Pay \$5." Reward cards proclaim: "Rally for compulsory vaccinations for Asians, Collect \$20"; "More and more Aussies fly the Australian flag from their cars and utes, Collect \$30"; and "Locals rally to stop the Captain Cook memorial from being moved, Collect \$40." On the game board itself images and slogans from December 11, 2005 ("*We grew here, you flew here"; "Freedom for Aussies*"), are surrounded by the street names and landmarks of the suburb. Similarly marked are places labeled as "rallying points" for various white supremacist groups such as the Patriotic Youth League and Australia First. Chillingly, selected sites such as "Captain Cook's Landing Place Park," Beach Street, and the Cronulla train station, where the mob hunted for "lebs and wogs" to assault, are designated as points of "Aussie Luck." The board maps a localized itinerary of racist violence from the arrival of Captain Cook to the pogrom on the beach. Players reenact this itinerary of violence as they progress through the game.

On one level, Cronulla 2230 is a product of the normalization of racism in Australian life. The Aussie Luck cards recycle the familiar racisms of the radio talk show and the Internet conspiracy theory, and reproduce the xenoracism that Pauline Hanson and John Howard brought into the mainstream of politics. What is new is the triumphalist declaration of "Aussie Pride," materialized in the photographs of bared white bodies decked in racist slogans and massed displays of the Australian flag reproduced on the game board. These images suggest the ways in which Cronulla Beach has reenergized and reactivated racist imaginaries, enabling their address to a range of new publics and their ability to engage new circuits of consumption and specularity.

While the Cronulla 2230 game itself is one instance of these new sites of display and consumption, the reanimation of racist imaginaries is also reproduced at other levels. In the lead-up to Australia Day 2006, about a month after Cronulla Beach, the all-too-familiar register of irony was deployed in the redneck "Sam Kekovich" persona's TV commercials recommending eating more lamb as a remedy for un-Australianism. More insidiously, the reworked repertoire of white Australian racism operates through submerged associations and the interpellation of new communities of consumption and spectatorship. Post Cronulla Beach, the flag emerged as the essential beach accessory. In the weeks leading up to Australia Day 2006, major supermarket chains displayed an array of products (manufactured mostly in China) emblazoned with the flag. Red, white, and blue water bottles, towels, thongs, sandals, plates, socks, mugs, and backpacks suggested

that in the lucky country there was only one place for the patriotic to celebrate the national day. In the everyday space of a supermarket, such displays, recoded through Cronulla Beach, simultaneously camouflage and stage racist violence.

A convergence of forces enables the circulation of these mass-produced mementos and souvenirs of Cronulla Beach: the globalized neoliberal marketplace that enables a large supermarket chain to produce and distribute these artifacts within a relatively short space of time; the public and acceptable face of patriotic display in the context of the war on terror; an official campaign to increase the visibility of the flag in schools and offices: all these collude with heightened emotions called forth by the aesthetic of white Australian racism post Cronulla Beach. Underpinning these local and immediate factors is a wider economy of representations and histories. As spectacle, Cronulla Beach references a visual archive that includes white supremacist iconographies of bared Aryan bodies, memories of mass rallies and Anzac Day parades, canonized Australian beach paintings, and images of the beach as the naturalized site of white privilege and pleasure.

This capacious visual archive interpellates and addresses a range of viewers, presenting an "innocent" and "patriotic" as well as a "sinister" and "extremist" aspect. Working within this archive the two-faced or double-coded images of Cronulla Beach, distributed through conventional as well as alternative media sources, represents *a reworked* a*esthetic of white Australian racism*. Precisely because of its double-coding, this aesthetic is able to be deployed in contexts that range from the beach and the mainstream consumer culture of the suburban shopping mall to the staging of underground or subcultural white supremacist identities.

Fundamentalism by Sea

A character engendered by Meere's celebrated painting, *Australian Beach Pattern*, is literally brought to life each summer by the Art Gallery of New South Wales. Clothed in the 1940s swimming costume of a Meere or Dupain painting, her name is none other than "Gert by Sea." Gert by Sea is described on the gallery's Web site as "the spirit of Australian art for the past 150 years," stepping out of Meere's Bondi Beach painting to guide young viewers through the national collection.[57] Gert by Sea is a name that identifies this incarnation of the spirit of Australian art both with the island-Australia celebrated in the national anthem and the "true watery Australians" of Taylor's poem. Gert, a daughter of Britannia, may be a figure enunciated in

the dominant national register of irony, but she is one nonetheless that serves to naturalize and reaffirm canonical representations of a national-racial type. Frozen in the 1940s, a period before white Australia gave way to an era of non-Anglo and non-European migration, Gert attests to the weight of historical and cultural representations that inscribe her as a gendered, territorialized, and racialized embodiment of the island-nation.

An aura of serene indifference envelopes the image of Gert on the gallery's Web site, marking her as an incarnation of the banal nationalism of the state. Yet she signifies as more than a naturalized icon of the nation in a context in which, three years after the pogrom on the beach, candidates in the council election were calling for Sutherland Shire, as "the birthplace of the nation," to be "a place for white Australians."[58] A few months later, on the Australia Day holiday on January 26, 2009, as the final pages of this book were being written, a spate of racial violence once again broke out on beaches across the country following accounts of the continuing arrival of refugee boats. One of the most disturbing outbreaks was at Manly, an affluent beachside Sydney suburb, where crowds of young men and women wrapped in the Australian flag, with outlines of the island-nation painted across their bare chests and stomachs, attacked nonwhite faces in the crowd.[59] A local journalist wrote: "The truth of Australia Day was the Australian flag became a symbol of the mob . . . Australia Day was two bright looking girls, in their Union Jack and southern cross swimming costumes on Manly Beach. They stand with a young man as fine examples of Australian potential.

"Across their bellies, in proud English, they write: 'F . . . off, were [*sic*] full.'"[60]

Like Schneider's remarks when he first heard about the pogrom on Cronulla Beach, the passage registers the disturbing and oxymoronic conjunction of things not usually associated with one another: violence and the beach meet in the spectacle of "two bright looking girls" decked out for Australia Day in swimwear and racist slogans. Seeking to perform the truth of the beach as the supreme symbol of the national way of life, Gert's vernacular counterparts embody the territorialized and exclusionary figure of island-Australia. The national symbols (the Union Jack, the flag, the southern cross) emblazoned on their bikinis are natural extensions of the sea-girt island painted on their skins. The girls enact "girt by sea" as the affective geography that embodies the common sense of the nation and shapes its everyday incarnations. Bodied forth here is the convergence of banal and "extreme" nationalism—the implicit, taken for granted nationalism of "Australia *means* the beach" and the brutal instruction, "F*** off

we[']re full" directed toward the continuing arrival of refugee boats as well as against those within who do not belong. Juxtaposed with these other Gerts, the art gallery's icon can no longer stand as a representation of innocence or of an all-forgiving "irony." She is rather a figure who actively personifies and reinforces the framework of racialized insularity within which the Australian nation continues to be enacted and reproduced.

The phrase "F*** off we[']re full" inscribed on the bodies of beachgoers is a blunt reminder of the beach as both border and "place of death."[61] A memory of invasions, where past plays out as future, converges at the beach.[62] Fatal arrivals and the traces of castaway bodies pile on its shores. In the two "bright looking girls" and their companions the twin significations of the beach, as the scene of violence and pleasure, of freedom and exclusion, meet. They reveal the beach as the only appropriate scene for a very Australian pogrom.

* * *

Adapted from: "Race Terror, Sydney 2005" *Borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006), http://www.borderlands.net.au. Copyright © Suvendrini Perera, used with permission. And from: "'Aussie Luck': The Borderpolitics of Citizenship Post-Cronulla Beach," *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies 3, no. 1* (2007), http://www.acrawsa .org.au. Copyright © Suvendrini Perera and ACRAWSA. Used with permission.

Conclusion

—◦❧◦—

Blood or Water?

"Fluid-State Nationalism" and *Terra Australis Infirma*

. . . the water's edge, the edge of history, edge of repression.

—Michael Taussig *"The Beach (A Fantasy),"*[1]

In his reflections in the wake of the bombings on Kuta Beach, Tom Nairn makes the claim that Australia is "the single exception" from the "standard route into modernity"—a state where "political identity has not been fused with a much deeper current of origins because the matrices of ordinary 'nation building' were inapplicable" here:

> National-identity politics quickly overran West and East alike—but it could do nothing for Van Diemen's land, and the lineage of the First Fleet. Here, metaphorical blood was to flow by different rules, at a disconcerting tangent to the nation state world. The descendants of a population torn from its roots and hurled across the planet were (so to speak) condemned to modesty . . . I put it this way to avoid . . . the temptation to exalt the great penal settlement . . . Essentially it seems to have been merely a matter of fact, plus a big quota of geographical and other accidents.[2]

In this passage Nairn puts forward the extraordinary argument that Australia is the "unique" instance of a modern state that remains

unmarked by the "national-identity politics" of origins, blood, and race; indeed, that here "blood" (albeit "metaphoric") was "to flow by different rules," whereas elsewhere an "extended family" model of nationalism prevails, built on the assumption that "the nation must run through our own insignificant veins." Nairn describes Australia as distinguished by an "indefinite or fluid-state nationalism," unlike the rest of "the nation-state world," where "communal linkages were rendered permanent and the emotions of kinship turned over into statehood."[3]

Nairn's characterization of Australian nationalism as marked not by "blood," but by something altogether more modest and matter of fact, resulting in an "indefinite or fluid-state" nationalism, could not be more different from the argument put forward in these pages about the watery foundations of this colonizing island-state. In *Australia and the Insular Imagination* blood and water are not incompatible fluids; rather, they intermingle to produce an exclusionary state, the insular homeland of a subject that is primarily defined by race. Throughout these chapters I have shown that the "national-identity politics" of the Australian state are premised on a subject that is racialized as white and imperial. This transnational whiteness is famously invoked in the "crimson thread of kinship" referred to at federation by Henry Parkes.[4] Although in the lead-up to federation, politicians advocated fervently for formal *political* separation from Britain, racially and culturally their subjectivity remained staunchly white and British. And, as Henry Reynolds shows, racial exclusivity was so compelling an objective for the new state that substantive political independence from Britain was, paradoxically, curtailed by, and finally subordinated to, the imperative of enforcing a racialized territoriality through border protection.[5] This emergent settler state is distinguished by a "national-identity politics" of race that demarcates both its horizons of aspiration and its frontiers of fear. A fearful white Australian nation in the making finds its form—its plot, its rationale, and its ultimate justification—in the geo-body of the island. Geo-graphy, then, far from being "accidental" to this national subject, is constitutive of it.

Internally, legal and cultural citizenship would continue to be withheld from those racialized as nonwhite through formal acts of—spatialized, raced, gendered—exclusion and through the consolidation of a "national" character and eth(n)os. As the era of formal exclusion and segregation based on the mission camp and the White Australia Policy entered its closing stages approximately half a century after federation, the consolidation of a national character took the form of what Angela Mitropoulos describes as the "post WWII Anglo-Celtic compact," one that was embodied in the "figure of the Aussie and its egalitarian

ethos—which is also an ethnos—of the 'fair go.'"[6] The racially marked figure of "the Aussie," and the political, economic, and sociocultural relations encapsulated in the ethos/ethnos of the "fair-go," Mitropoulos argues, are sites where tensions between "unions and employers," between "descendants of the English upper classes and working class Irish," between those deported as convicts and those who policed and ruled over them, would be resolved through the "nationalist compact."[7] As the site where the ethnoreligious, class, and economic contradictions of the convict-settler state are resolved, or at least effectively suspended, the ethos/ethnos of the "Aussie" and the "fair-go" derives its authority from the figure of the border. The border seals, in the senses of both securing and validating, the "nationalist compact" between citizen and state, as the figures it excludes—the noncitizen as foreigner or as alien within—cohere and endorse the privileged subject of the nation. The beach is critical to this process: in Huntsman's celebratory words, Australia is "a nation contained within a beach."[8] The beach is both the actualization of the border of the insular state and the stage where the Aussie eth(n)os is performed in its most banal as well as its most flagrant and violent manifestations. So, preceding chapters show, the concentration of anxieties around the beach, the coastline, and the ocean, as sites where "our way of life" and the territoriality of island-Australia itself are both put on display and imagined as continually under threat.

Contemplating the sense of national threat and insecurity following the bombings in Bali, Nairn projects a distinctly unenthusiastic outlook for the future based on his understanding of Australian nationalism as a "fluid-state," "modest," and bloodless affair: "After all it is the traditions of 'who we are' that normally provide the basis and reference-points for both reform and revolution. Severance from roots and occlusion of origins produces by contrast an uncertainty, even a volatility of outlook. The resultant feeling . . . is somehow always up for political grabs."[9] Nairn's Australia is a place that lacks "reference-points for both reform and revolution" because "the past 'we' remains indecisive or questioned." In this modest and weak state, "mourning is also a kind of appeal, like a plaintive question mark. In Australia it asks who the bereft now want to be, or to become."[10]

Whereas Nairn identifies Australia as exceptional in the world of nation-states because of the seeming inapplicability of "the matrices of ordinary 'nation building'" in its formation, I have proposed that here the "matrices of nation-building" are produced by a claim to *racial-geographical exceptionalism* ("the island-continent") based on insular consciousness. This Australian insular consciousness is not itself exceptional; exceptionalisms seldom are.[11] Australian insularity is shaped by

the topos of the island in the geopolitical order of western modernity, as it also draws on the particular imagined island-consciousness of England/Great Britain. An insular geo-graphy—in the terms of Rogoff's definition of geography as "knowledge underpinned by nationalism, sustained by the regulating bureaucracies of the state and disseminated through cultural fantasies of otherness"—is the matrix of Australian nationbuilding.[12] By the same token, it is here, too, that the sources of national identitarianism that Nairn seeks (but does not find) are to be discovered: they constitute the "traditions of 'who we are'" that Nairn identifies as "normally provid[ing] the basis and reference-points for both reform and revolution."

Nairn's reflections on mourning after the Kuta Beach bombings return me to Brian Deegan's *Remembering Josh* (see Chapter 5) and the answers it might offer to Nairn's question, "Who [do] the bereft now want to be, or to become?" Deegan responds to the death of his son Josh by beginning to question the fundamental assumptions that underlie policies of national security, and to explore their limits. The borders of the family, the nation, and the region are all subject to remapping in *Remembering Josh* as Deegan devotes his energies to opposing the impending invasion of Iraq and advocating for the two children (Safdar Sammaki, age seven, and Sara Sammaki, age three) of another victim of the bombings, an Indonesian woman, Endang. Endang had been in Kuta on that fateful day to seek legal advice about the case of her husband, Ebrahim, a refugee from Iran. At the time of the bombing Ebrahim, intercepted by the navy on his voyage to seek asylum in Australia, had been held in the Baxter Detention Centre in South Australia for more than fifteen months. For Deegan, the safety of Safdar and Sara, now virtual orphans in Bali, becomes entangled with his obligation to ensure the safety of his own remaining children against the dangerous policies being pursued, in the name of security, by the state.

Lobbying by Deegan and a handful of activists and supporters for Safdar and Sara to be allowed into Australia reached a sudden conclusion when, after a year of rejections by immigration authorities, at the first anniversary commemoration of the bombings, the children mysteriously sneaked into a photograph to appear hand in hand with the Australian prime minister at a ceremony on Kuta Beach. The photograph appeared on the front pages of newspapers and on television. It refused to go away. Prime Minister Howard protested that he had had no idea who the children were. But overnight, walls in the water came down. Ebrahim Sammaki was released from the Baxter detention camp. The immigration department plucked visas out of thin

air for Sara and Safdar. Within weeks, the three surviving members of Endang's family were together again, authorized to become legal residents of Australia. Deegan had a single comment on the remarkable ending to this story: "I'll treat this as a gift from my son to this family."[13] Josh's gift is the interweaving, through his death and Brian Deegan's mourning for him, of the lives of his surviving family with the lives of Ebrahim, Sara, and Safdar.

Together with other determined efforts by refugees and their supporters, Deegan's text is an attempt to break out of a geography of insecurity and fear. These are practices that in effect combine to produce new affective maps of interconnection, overwriting the excising geographies of insular Australia and its racialized filiations of blood, citizenship, and belonging. Transborder and translocal relations such as Deegan's escape the hold of a security that would emplace Australia as an island of order and safety in an arc of instability. Fernandes's analysis of the work of grassroots transnational networks and popular movements for East Timorese independence runs along similar lines, suggesting that a type of activism or "diplomacy from below" cuts across the borders of "national interest" and extends the limits of "national security" (see Chapter 5). Like Newman's "geopolitics from below," Fernandes's "diplomacy from below" reorganizes the official identities assumed by the state, allowing for the recognition of minoritized and localized imaginaries as alternatives both to the state's self-representations and to its location in the system of sovereign nation-states.[14] If subterranean networks of deterritorialized and displaced islands and postcolonies produce the serviceable geographies of empire that underpin the dominant geopolitical order, Fernandes describes a counternetwork that would circumvent and undermine them both "from below" by mobilizing those same occulted colonial histories and the anti-imperialist energies they engender.

Still, the story of Josh's gift is not, it would seem, the stuff of "reform and revolution" that Nairn looks to. I read it, rather, as a different sort of story: a tidalectical parable perhaps, for "who the bereft now want to be, or to become"—a counter-story to the terrestrial and territorial fundamentalisms of insular nationhood. For stories, as Winichakul reminds, are "the resources for . . . new spatial identities, for formulating the narratives of its birth, development, characteristics, and so on." Moreover, "a potentially new spatial identity may inspire, and project, stories that help [its] emergence."[15] In the story of Josh's gift—a story from that space mapped out by many voyages of hope and despair over land and sea (Ebrahim's, Endang's, Josh's, Deegan's); by diverse forms of love in the shadow of the border; by

audacious underground political tactics that ensnared a prime minister in the coils of his own publicity machine—does a "potentially new spatial identity" project and inspire a story that might help produce its own conditions of emergence?

As a story that overruns the plot of the island-nation and maps new intersubjectivities and extraterritorialities of belonging, the realization of Josh's gift is characterized by contingency and unpredictability—an unfolding that is "politically up for grabs." This unpredictable potentiality and contingency also characterizes the countergeographies and grassroots geopolitics I have discussed in preceding chapters. As interventions in the geopolitical, such campaigns "from below" differ from other attempts to produce new "narratives" of the nation. Michael Billig points out, for example, that conventional multicultural approaches "are still typically constrained within the notion of nationhood."[16] Billig cites as an instance Sneja Gunew's call for multicultural narratives of Australia. While critiquing the "narrow definition of Australian culture as based upon white, Anglo-Saxon male narratives," Gunew nonetheless advocates "an alternative 'narrative of a national culture.'" In this reimagined Australia, Billig notes, "The culture is still 'national' and still located within the same territorial homeland. 'Australia' as an entity is still to be reproduced."[17] Writing from a very different perspective, Grant McCall has produced a manifesto for "nissology" or a "study of islands in their own terms," that would break with the colonial geographies of the island.[18] Yet, in this call for a "disembedded" geography, "Australia as an entity" is once again reproduced. McCall's "nissological" vision is one that, paradoxically, *re*produces the geopolitical and imaginative construct of the island as a *sui generis*, self-enclosed, and self-sufficient formation.

In contradistinction to these approaches in which "'Australia' as an entity is still to be reproduced" stands Burke's bold, open-ended question: "What other forms of being, identity and interrelationship might be imagined once the suffocating political embrace of security is escaped"?[19] The question is cast in the mode of "productive anticipation." It opens a mental antechamber that allows for the hosting of possibilities and intimations of a coming politics; an interval or suspended space for "considering things before they exist properly in time and . . . taking up developments that are not yet in place."[20] As Fernandes's account of the war in East Timor makes clear, this is not a space that allows for resting easy or basking in comfortable certainties; as a ground that is "politically up for grabs," it is simultaneously open to the ethical demand of the border: a space for defining urgent political choices and for redrawing the limits of responsibility;

for facing the risks and obligations involved in deploying "love in the nick of time."[21]

"Love in the nick of time" is Fernandes's term for the determined mobilizations of those who transformed the definition of Australian national interest in East Timor, an array of diverse actors that included dock workers, dissident Canberra bureaucrats, and members of the Timorese diaspora. No less, the term applies to the broad coalitions of refugees and their supporters since 2001—artists, medical professionals, rural communities—who attempt to humanize the faceless castaways at the border and fight their arbitrary incarceration and deportation. As a volatile and evolving tactics, the anticipated politics that reject Australian exceptionalism and the racial-geographical determinism on which it rests are not founded on any one claim to identity, shared ideology, or strategy for action. Rather, they engage what Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider describe, drawing on Giorgio Agamben and Jean-Luc Nancy, as a grouping or collectivity of singularities. Irreducible to the same, their coming politics are mobilized around "the sharing of momentary . . . affiliations" and attachments. And, most important for this book, they coalesce around the sharing of spatial as well as political "proximities."[22] "*What the map cuts up, the story cuts across.*"[23]

This page intentionally left blank

Notes

Introduction

1. Jacqueline Rose, *States of Fantasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 23.
2. Ibid., 25.
3. Ibid., 20.
4. William E Connolly, *The Ethos of Pluralization* (Minneapolis: "Minnesota" University Press, 1995), xxii.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Thomas More, Utopia (1516; repr., London: Elibron Classics, 2000), 44.
8. Paul Battersby, "Mapping Australasia," in *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in the Torres Strait,* ed. Anna Shnukal, Guy Ramsay, and Yuriko Nagata (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004), 14.
9. Anna Shnukal, Guy Ramsay, and Yuriko Nagata, eds., *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in the Torres Strait* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004).
10. Mary Morgan, "Highway to Vision: This Sea Our Nexus," *World Literature Today* 68, no. 4 (1994), 663.
11. Ibid.; see also Elizabeth Deloughrey, "Routes and Roots: Tidalectics in Caribbean Literature," in *Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*, ed. Annie Paul (Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2007).
12. Joshua Comaroff, "Terror and Territory: Guantánamo and the Space of Contradiction," *Public Culture* 19, no. 2 (2007), 395.
13. See Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 61–68.
14. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986), 24.
15. Philip Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood: The Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State," *Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (2005), 256.
16. Comaroff, "Terror and Territory," 395.
17. Ibid., 397–98.
18. A decision announced by the incoming U.S. President, Barack Obama, to close the camp at Guantánamo by 2010 is yet to be implemented at the time of writing.

19. Peter Hanks, Patrick Keyzer, and Jennifer Clarke, *Race and the Law of Territories: Australian Constitutional Law: Materials and Commentary* (Chatswood, NSW: LexisNexis, 2004).

20. Amy Kaplan, "Where is Guantánamo?" *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005), 837; see also Amy Kaplan, "Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.

21. See, for example, Mamdouh Habib and Julia Collingwood, *My Story: The Tale of a Terrorist Who Wasn't* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2008); Moazzam Begg, *Enemy Combatant: My Imprisonment at Guantanamo, Bagram, and Kandahar* (London: W. W. Norton, 2006).

22. Andy Worthington, "Guantánamo's Ghosts and the Shame of Diego Garcia," http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2007/10/22/; British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC]; "Fresh Battle Over Chagos Exiles," http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/southern_counties/; Stephen Grey, *Ghost Plane: The True Story of the CIA Torture Program* (New York: St Martins, 2006); Amnesty International Report, "USA: Below the Radar: Secret Flights to Torture and 'Disappearance,'" 2006, http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/

23. Antonis Balasopoulos, "Nesologies: Island Form and Postcolonial Geopoetics," *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008), 23.

24. Kaplan, "Where is Guantánamo?" 842.

25. Jana Evans Braziel, "Haiti, Guantánamo, and the 'One Indispensable Nation,'" *Cultural Critique* 64 (2006): 127–60.

26. Ibid., 148–49.

27. Suvendrini Perera, "What is a Camp . . . ?" *Borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera_camp.html

28. Michael Evans, "Island Consciousness and Australian Strategic Culture," *Institute of Public Affairs Review*, 2006, 1, http://www.ipa.org.au/publications/755/island-consciousness-and-australian-strategic-culture/pg/3

29. Frank Broeze, *Island Nation: A History of Australians and the Sea* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998), 2, 4.

30. Simon Ville, "Island Nation: A History of Australians and the Sea," *Journal of Transport History*, 20, no. 1 (1999), 86.

31. Isobel Crombie, *Body Culture* (Mulgrave, Vic: Peleus Press, 2004), 61.

32. Rachel Wells, "Athletes' Uniforms 'UnAustralian,'" *Brisbane Times*, August 10, 2008.

33. Kim Beazley, leader of the federal opposition, doorstop interview, June 21, 2001, http://www.alp.org.au/media/0601/kbmcact210601.html

34. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 6.

35. Ibid., 9.

36. On the coexistence of imperial consciousness with domestic anti-colonialism in the United States, see the introduction in Ashley Dawson and Malini

Johar Schueller, eds., *Exceptional State: Contemporary US Culture and the New Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 2–4.

37. Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider, "Productive Anticipation," in *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation*, ed. David Held and Henrietta L. Moore (Oxford: One World, 2008), 347.

38. Ibid., 349.

39. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), 6; Rogoff and Schneider, "Productive Anticipation," 347.

40. Rogoff and Schneider, "Productive Anticipation," 347.

41. Some instances are cited by Tom Nairn in "On the Modesty of Australia," *Arena Magazine* 62 (2002–2003), 5.

42. Sutherland Shire Council Web site, "Birthplace of Modern Australia," http://www.sutherland.nsw.gov.au/ssc

43. Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008 Immigration Detention Report, http://www.humanrights.gov.au/human_rights/immigration/

Chapter 1

1. Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 27.

2. For an account of the changes in the political climate after the election of a conservative government in 1996, see Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "'Racial Suicide': The Relicensing of Racism in Australia," *Race & Class* 39, no. 2 (1997): 1–20.

3. Brett Nielson, "Bodies of Protest: Performing Citizenship at the 2000 Olympic Games," *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 20. See also the discussion of Anu's performance by Elizabeth McMahon in "The Gilded Cage: From Utopia to Monad in Australia's Island Imaginary," in *Islands in History and Representation*, ed. Rod Edmund and Vanessa Smith (London: Routledge, 2003), 190–202.

4. The Mabo ruling of 1992 was historic in recognizing for the first time that Australia was not *terra nullius* at the time of colonization. However, the judgment also found that in many places the Indigenous title had been subsequently "extinguished" by the colonizers' use and ownership of the land.

5. The dress, now part of the Powerhouse Museum collection, can be viewed at http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=10744

6. http://www.howlspace.com.au/en3/anuchristine/anuchristine.htm

7. http://www.neilmurray.com.au/pages/song_islandhome.html

8. In marked contrast, the film of the same name in which the song featured, set on an unnamed Caribbean island, attracted strong protests for its scenes of interracial romance "although the actors were not allowed to engage in any displays of physical affection on the screen." Of the film's two interracial couples, one (Belafonte and Joan Fontaine) are forced to renounce each other at the end, while the second couple must leave the island "so they can be married off camera in England." Renee Romano,

Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 166.

9. Diana Loxley, *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands* (London: St Martin's Press, 1990), 3.

10. Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 17, emphasis added.

11. Ibid., 15.

12. Ibid., 16.

13. Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21.

14. On the island as the paradigmatic territorial state, see Philip Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood: The Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State," *Geografiska Analer* 87 B, no. 4 (2005): 253–65.

15. See Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), xxv–xxvii; Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 1–2.

16. Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105–27; Ross Gibson, *South of the West: Postcolonialism and the Narrative Construction of Australia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 10.

17. Rod Edmund and Vanessa Smith, eds., *Islands in History and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1.

18. On literary representations of the island and their relation to British imperialism, see Loxley, *Problematic Shores.*

19. Robert P. Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the *Robinson Crusoe* Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context," *Boundary 2* 29, no. 2 (2002): 137, 139.

20. National Library of Australia, "Documenting Democracy," my emphasis. National Library of Australia, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/item.asp?dID=34

21. William Eisler, *The Furthest Coast: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8–11; Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, 112–15; Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen, *The Myth of Continents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 29–30.

22. Ibid.

23. John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 3–4.

24. Ibid., 3.

25. Ibid., 2.

26. Ibid., 5.

27. Gillian Beer, "The Island and the Aeroplane: The Case of Virginia Woolf," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 271.

28. S. E. Jackson, "The Water Is Not Empty: Cross-Cultural Issues in Conceptualising Sea Space," *Australian Geographer* 26, no. 1 (1995): 89. See also Richie Howitt, "Frontiers, Borders, Edges: Liminal Challenges to the Hegemony of Exclusion," *Australian Geographical Studies* 39, no. 2 (2001), 239–40.

29. I use the italicized term *country* to signify Indigenous Australians' understandings of traditional lands and waters. As Deborah Bird Rose describes it, "country is a place that gives and receives life. Not just imagined or represented, it is lived in and lived with . . . People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country." (*Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*, Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, 1996, 7). On the relationship between European cartography and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' mappings of *country* see also Alexander Reilly, "Cartography and Native Title," *Journal of Australian Studies* 79 (2003): 3–14.

30. Jackson, "The Water Is Not Empty," 87.

31. Miriam Cosic, "The Saga of Life in Three Hollow Logs," *Australian*, August 14, 2006.

32. Ibid.

33. Nonie Sharp, *Saltwater People* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002), 31–35.

34. Howitt, "Frontiers, Borders, Edges," 240.

35. Djon Mundine, Foreword, in Buku-Larrngay Mulka Centre, *Saltwater Yirrkala Bark Paintings of the Sea Country* (Neutral Bay: Buku-Larrngay Muka Centre 1999), 20; National Oceans Office, *Living on Saltwater Country,* Canberra: National Oceans Office, 2004, 20.

36. Ibid., 21.

37. Ibid.

38. C. C. Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), 33.

39. See Regina Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian Aboriginal Contact in Northern Australia* (Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2006), 46–47; see also Paul Battersby, *To the Islands: White Australians and the Malay Archipelago since 1788* (Lanham, MI: Lexington Books, 2007).

40. Ganter, *Mixed Relations*, 4.

41. Matthew Flinders, "The Voyage of H.M.S. *Investigator*," in C. C. Macknight, ed., *The Farthest Coast: A Selection of Writings Related to the History of the Northern Coast of Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 61.

42. Flinders, "The Voyage of H.M.S. *Investigator*," 68.

43. David Day, *Claiming a Continent* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 1996), 30. By this act, Ganter points out, Flinders also erases any Dutch claims to the territory (*Mixed Relations*, 16).

NOTES

44. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 154.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 154–55.
47. Flinders's biographer, Ernest Scott, quoted in Nonie Sharp, *Saltwater People*, 183.
48. Sharp, *Saltwater People*, 183.
49. Ibid., 186.
50. Ibid., 187.
51. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, 155.
52. Bronwen Douglas, "Slippery Word, Ambiguous Praxis: 'Race' and Late-18th-Century Voyagers in Oceania," *The Journal of Pacific History* 41, no. 1 (2006): 25.
53. Ibid., 26.
54. Ruth Balint, "The Last Frontier: Australia's Maritime Territories and the Policing of Indonesian Fishermen," *Journal of Australian Studies* (1999) 63, http://www.api-network.com/cgi-bin/page?archives/jas63_balint
55. Ibid.
56. Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 130.
57. Lars Jenson, *Unsettling Australia* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2005), 94–95.
58. Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege*, 128; see also Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 31–41.
59. Eisler, *The Furthest Coast*, 24–26.
60. Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege*, 53.
61. Ibid., 128.
62. Ibid., 2–3.
63. Ernestine Hill, *The Territory* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1995 [1951]), 31–32.
64. Ibid., 32.
65. From Charles Wentworth's poem, "Australasia" (1823), quoted in Day, *Claiming a Continent*, 137.
66. Day, *Claiming a Continent*, 152.
67. Henry Reynolds, "Part of a Continent for Something Less Than a Nation? The Limits of Australian Sovereignty," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books 2007), 66.
68. Henry Reynolds, *North of Capricorn* (Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), viii.
69. See Ganter, *Mixed Relations*, and Henry Reynolds, *Nowhere People* (Camberwell, Australia: Viking, 2005).
70. David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850–1939* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1999); J. V. D'Cruz and William Steele, *Australia's Ambivalence towards Asia* (Clayton, Vic: Monash Asia Institute, 2003).

71. On the leper line, see Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 6; on the Brisbane line, see Julianne Schultz, "Beyond the Brisbane Line," *Griffith Review* (2005): 8.
72. Jon Stratton, "Deconstructing the Territory," *Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (1993), 38–39.
73. Ibid., 39.
74. Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 17–18.
75. Stuart Hall, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Southern Review* 17 (1983), 193.
76. Brian Castro, "Dangerous Dancing: Autobiography and Disinheritance," *Australian Humanities Review* 12 (1998), http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-1998/castro.html
77. Robert D. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, quoted in Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 16.

Chapter 2

1. Tim Winton, *Cloudstreet* (Ringwood, Australia: Penguin, 1992), 25–32.
2. I take the term "geoimaginary" from Christopher L. Connery's "Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements," *Boundary 2* 28, no. 2 (2001): 173–201.
3. See John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 3–4; Christopher L. Connery, "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary," in *Global Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 284–311; Philip Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Antonis Balasopoulos, "'Suffer a Sea Change': Spatial Crisis, Maritime Modernity and the Politics of Utopia," *Cultural Critique* 63 (2006): 122–56; "Nesologies: Island Form and Postcolonial Geopoetics," *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008): 9–26; Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2004); Michael Taussig, "The Beach (A Fantasy)," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 249–77; Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*: *The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (1988; repr., London: Penguin, 1994).
4. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind*, 2–4.
5. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 108–24; see also James Muldoon, "Who Owns the Sea?" in *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in British Literature and Culture,* ed. Bernhard Klein (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 13–27.
6. Connery, "Ideologies of Land and Sea," 177.

7. John Fiske, Bob Hodge, and Graeme Turner, *Myths of Oz* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 53. See also Leone Huntsman, *Sand in Our Souls* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001); Franke Broeze, *Island Nation, A History of Australians and the Sea* (St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1998); Douglas Booth, *Australian Beach Cultures* (London: Frank Cass, 2001).
8. Jon Stratton, "Dying to Come to Australia," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 183.
9. Carl Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, trans. Simona Draghici (1950; repr., Washington, DC: Plutarch Press, 1997), 48.
10. Ibid., 48–49.
11. Ibid., 48, 50.
12. Ibid., 50.
13. William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 2.1.40–60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
14. Sebastian Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 4; Alex Law, "Of Navies and Navels: Britain as a Mental Island," *Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (2005): 267–77.
15. *Richard II*, 3.4:43.
16. *Richard II*, 3.2.54–55.
17. *Richard II*, 3.3.46; 2.2.98–99; 3.2.109–10.
18. Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, 50.
19. Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature*, 1.
20. David Malouf, "The Island," The Boyer Lectures, No. 1, ABC Radio National, November 15, 1998, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyers/stories/s988457.htm
21. Ibid, emphasis added.
22. Ibid.
23. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind*, 5.
24. John Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2003), 3.
25. Philip Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood: The Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State," *Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (2005), 256.
26. Ibid., 259–60.
27. Ibid., 255, 256.
28. Huntsman, *Sand in Our Souls*, 5.
29. Ibid., 219.
30. Steinberg, "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood," 255.
31. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 36–37.
32. Ibid., 46–47.
33. Jacqueline Rose, *States of Fantasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 11.
34. Connery, "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary," 289.

35. Wilson quoted in Connery, "Oceanic Feeling and Regional Imaginary," 290.
36. Laura Doyle, "Sublime Barbarians in the Narrative of Empire; or, Longinus at Sea in *The Waves*," *Modern Fiction Studies* 42, no. 2 (1996), 326.
37. Joseph Pugliese, "Indigeneity and the Racial Topography of Kant's 'Analytic of the Sublime,'" in *Indigeneity: Construction and Re/Presentation*, ed. James N. Brown and Patricia M. Sant (Commack: Nova Science, 1999), 23, 27. See also Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 13–15.
38. Pugliese, "Indigeneity," 30–31.
39. Rose, *States of Fantasy*, 8.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 3, 6.
42. Ibid., 4.
43. Fiona Capp, *That Oceanic Feeling* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 36.
44. On border protection and Australian policy toward refugees in this period see Suvendrini Perera, "A Line in the Sea," *Race & Class* 44, no. 2 (2002): 23–39; Joseph Pugliese "Penal Asylum," *Borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/pugliese.html; "The Incommensurability of Law to Justice: Refugees and Australia's Temporary Protection Visa," *Law and Literature* 16, no. 3 (2005): 285–311; "Subcutaneous Law: Embodying the *Migration Amendment Act 1992,*" *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 21 (2004): 23–34; David Marr and Marian Wilkinson, *Dark Victory* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003). For the testimonies of asylum seekers and refugees in this period see Linda Briskman, Susie Latham, and Chris Goddard, eds., *Human Rights Overboard* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2008).
45. Rose, *States of Fantasy*, 4.
46. For a discussion of the Pacific Solution see Greg Fry, "The 'Pacific Solution'?" in William Mayley et al., *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World* (Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, 2002); Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Making Place: The 'Pacific Solution' and Australian Emplacement in the Pacific and on Refugee Bodies," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, no. 3 (2003): 290–306.
47. Capp, *That Oceanic Feeling*, 4.
48. On the surfer as a figure of subversion see Fiske, Hodge, and Turner, *Myths of Oz*, 64–72, and Booth, *Australian Beach Cultures*, 107–23; for a different reading of localized surfing culture see Clifton Evers, "The Cronulla Race Riots: Safety Maps on an Australian Beach," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 2 (2008): 411–29.
49. Capp, *That Oceanic Feeling*, 254.
50. Ibid., 255.
51. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart* (Sydney: Vintage Books, 2002), 500–501.

52. Peter Hulme, "Cast Away," in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, ed. Bernard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun (London: Routledge, 2004), 187–97.
53. See Ian Anderson, "Reclaiming Tru-ger-nan-ner, Decolonising the Symbol," *Art Monthly* 66 (1993–1994): 10–14, and Tony Birch, "The Last Refuge of the 'UnAustralian,'" *UTS Review* 7, no. 1 (2001): 17–22.
54. Hulme, "Cast Away," 187.
55. Ibid.
56. Capp, *That Oceanic Feeling*, 273.
57. Ibid., 272.
58. Amal Basry, "I Am Still in the Water with the Dying of SIEV X," http://www.AxisofLogic.com [November 1, 2004] reprinted with permission in Suvendrini Perera, "They Give Evidence: Bodies Borders and the Disappeared," *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 637–56; see also Arnold Zable, "Amal Basry's Long Journey Finds Home," *Age*, March 21, 2006. *Hope*, a documentary about Amal Basry, directed by Steve Thomas, was released in 2008. Her story also inspired a number of paintings, songs, and literary works.
59. The most detailed investigation of the circumstances surrounding the sinking of SIEV X is by Tony Kevin in *A Certain Maritime Incident: The Sinking of SIEV X* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004).
60. Capp, *That Oceanic Feeling*, 272.
61. Joseph Addison, Letter to the *Spectator*, vol. 7, 1712, quoted in Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*, 123.
62. Perera, "They Give Evidence," 637–56.
63. Derek Walcott, "The Sea Is History," in *The Oxford Book of the Sea*, ed. Jonathan Raban (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 500.
64. Ibid., 501.
65. Elizabeth Deloughrey, "Routes and Roots: Tidalectics in Caribbean Literature," in *Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*, ed. Annie Paul (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2007), 168.
66. Quoted in Silvio Torres-Saillant, "The Trials of Authenticity in Kamau Brathwaite," *World Literature Today* 68, no. 4 (1994), 697.
67. Deloughrey, "Routes and Roots," 163.
68. Mary Morgan, "Highway to Vision: This Sea Our Nexus," *World Literature Today* 68, no. 4 (1994), 663; Deloughrey, "Routes and Roots," 168.
69. Joseph Pugliese, "Bodies of Water," *HEAT* 12 (2006), 17.
70. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Anne Lavers (London: Paladin, 1973), 121.
71. Meaghan Morris, "On the Beach," in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992), 461.
72. Sebastian Smee, "Artist Aims to Bust Beach Myths," *Australian*, September 29, 2007.
73. See also Fiske, Hodge, and Turner, *Myths of Oz*, 53–72.

74. Philip Drew, *Veranda: Embracing Place* (Pymble, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1992), and Philip Drew, *The Coast Dwellers. Australians Living on the Edge* (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1994).

75. Gideon Haigh, "Shute the Messenger," *The Monthly*, June 2007, 42.

76. Ibid.

77. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind*, 51–52.

Chapter 3

1. Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Locating Political Space: Asylum and Excision in Australia," in *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge*, ed. Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 263–82.

2. Giorgio Agamben, "The Camp as *Nomos* of the Modern," trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen, in *Violence, Identity and Self-Determination*, ed. Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 106–18; *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

3. For further discussion of Australian detention centers as spaces of exception, see Suvendrini Perera, "What is a camp . . . ?" *Borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 1 (2005), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera _camp.html

4. More detailed accounts of the *Tampa* can be found in Suvendrini Perera, "A Line in the Sea" *Race & Class* 44, no. 2 (2002): 23–39.

5. See Greg Fry, "The 'Pacific Solution'? Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Policies," in *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World*, William Mayley et al. (Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, 2002), 23–31; and John-Pierre Fonteyne, "'Illegal Refugees' or Illegal Policy?" in *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World*, William Mayley et al., 16–31. For a detailed description of the brutal conditions of the offshore camps see Kate Durham "On Burning Out: House Rules and Human Rights," http://www .katedurham.com/01_cms/details.asp?k_id=2

6. The testimonies of many of those on board these boats are collected in Linda Briskman, Susie Latham, and Chris Goddard, eds., *Human Rights Overboard* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2008).

7. For comprehensive information about SIEV X, its implications and aftermath, see www.SIEVX.com, www.SIEVXmemorial.org, and Tony Kevin, *A Certain Maritime Incident: The Sinking of SIEV X* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004).

8. *El Pais*, August 20, 2003, trans. Virginia McFadden; quoted by Liz Fekete in "Xeno-racism and the Demonisation of Refugees: A Gendered Perspective," in *Women, Crime and Social Harm: Towards a Criminology*

for the Global Era*, ed. Maureen Caine and Adrian Howe (Oxford: Hart, 2008), 100.

9. See James Agnew and Stuart Coleridge, *Mastering Space* (London: Routledge, 1995), 214.

10. Nevzat Soguk, "Transnational/Transborder Bodies: Resistance, Accommodation, and Exile in Refugee and Migration Movements on the US-Mexican Border," in *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*, ed. Michael J. Shapiro and Hayward R. Alker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 293.

11. Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 10–11.

12. Ibid., 11.

13. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 117.

14. Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Making Place: The 'Pacific Solution' and Australian Emplacement in the Pacific and on Refugee Bodies," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, no. 3 (2003), 290.

15. Ibid., 291.

16. See, for example, Steven Ratuva, "Australia's New Assertiveness in the Pacific: The View from the 'Backyard,'" in *Intervention and State-Building in the Pacific*, ed. Greg Fry and Tarcis Tara Kabutaulaka (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 87–101.

17. Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 10–13.

18. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, 121.

19. Ibid., 122.

20. Anna Shnukal, Guy Ramsay, and Yuriko Nagata, *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in the Torres Strait* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004), 2.

21. See for example Regina Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian Aboriginal Contact in Northern Australia* (Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2006), 83–91.

22. Henry Reynolds, *North of Capricorn*, *The Untold Story of Australia's North* (Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 13.

23. Ibid., 12.

24. Ibid., 14.

25. Ruth Balint, *Troubled Waters* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).

26. Julietta Jameson, *Christmas Island, Indian Ocean* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2003), 13.

27. Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "'Racial Suicide': The Relicensing of Racism in Australia," *Race & Class* 39, no. 2 (1997): 1–20; and Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "Wogface, Anglo-Drag, Contested Aboriginalities: Making and Unmaking Identities in Australia," *Social Identities* 4, no. 1 (1998): 39–72.

28. Reynolds, *North of Capricorn*, 193.

29. Rajaram, "Making Place," 292.
30. Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), and *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes (London: Routledge, 2001).
31. Perera, "A Line in the Sea."
32. Tony Birch, "The Last Refuge of the 'UnAustralian,'" *The UTS Review* 7, no. 1 (2001), 21.
33. Michael Hodson, "Government Lies Again—Tiwi Islanders: "We're all non-Australians," *Green Left Weekly*, November 19, 2003.
34. Ibid.
35. Jack Robertson, "Eddie Mabo Proclaims Great Southern Rainbow Republic," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 14, 2003.
36. Perera, "What is a camp . . . ?"
37. Jonathan Simon, "Refugees in a Carceral Age: The Rebirth of Immigration Prisons in the United States," *Public Culture* 10, no. 3 (1998): 577–607.
38. Joshua Comaroff, "Terror and Territory: Guantánamo and the Space of Contradiction," *Public Culture* 19, no. 2 (2007), 397. See also Amy Kaplan, "Where is Guantanamo?" *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 831–38.
39. Comaroff, "Terror and Territory," 397, 391.
40. On the case of the Chagos Islanders, see Simon Winchester, *Outposts* (1985; repr., New York: Perennial, 2003), 19–54; John Pilger, *Tell Me No Lies: Investigative Journalism and Its Triumphs* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004); Andy Worthington, "Scandal of Diego Garcia Rendition Flights," UK Watch, July 12, 2008, http://www.ukwatch.net/article/scandal_of_diego_garcia_rendition_flights
41. Fonteyne, "'Illegal Refugees,'" 19.
42. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, 2003, http://www.dfat.gov.au/ani
43. For example, disputes over the use of force in disembarking the *Tampa* asylum seekers in Nauru, and arguments about responsibility for the care of hunger strikers in the camps.
44. Giorgio Agamben, "On Security and Terror," trans. Soenke Zehle. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 20, 2001, http://www.egs.edu/faculty/agamben/agamben-on-security-and-terror.html
45. Laura Zanotti, "Taming Chaos: A Foucauldian View of UN Peacekeeping, Democracy and Normalization," *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 2 (2006): 163.
46. Sherene Razack, *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping Violence and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 10.
47. Ratuva, "Australia's New Assertiveness," 94.
48. Ibid., 99.

49. Adrian Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed," *Griffith Review* (2003), 108.
50. Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the Independence of East Timor* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004), 113.
51. See Balthasar Kehi, "Australia's Relations with East Timor: People's Loyalty, Government's Betrayal," *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 2 (2004), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no3_2004/kehi_timor.htm; and Goldie Osuri, "War in the Language of Peace and An Australian Geo/Politics of White Possession," *ACRAWSA e-journal* 4, no. 1 (2008): 8–10, http://www.acrawsa.org.au/journal/acrawsa%205-5.pdf
52. See Tim Anderson, "Fond Illusions: Some Reflections on Australian Dependence, Pacific Interventions and Indigenous Land," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 105–17.
53. Nic Maclellan, "Helping Friends or Helping Yourself?" *Spinach7* 2 (2003/04), 22.
54. Ratuva, "Australia's New Assertiveness," 91–92.
55. Maclellan, "Helping Friends."
56. David Marr and Marian Wilkinson, *Dark Victory* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003), 164.
57. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, 122.
58. Thongchai Winichakul, "Writing at the Interstices: Southeast Asian Historians and Postnational Histories in Southeast Asia," in *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*, ed. Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), 13, 9.

CHAPTER 4

1. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (1988; repr., London: Penguin, 1994), 282.
2. Ibid., 234, 236.
3. Ibid., 234.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 235. See also Hulme's discussion of the mapping of the classical storm onto new geographies of empire in *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 94–115.
6. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*, 236.
7. Ibid., 235.
8. See Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "Parks, Mines and Tidy Towns: 'Post'Colonialism, Enviro-Panopticism and the Politics of Heritage in Australia," *Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (1998), 84, citing Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), 131, 150.

9. On the "wall of screens," see Maurizia Natali, "The Course of Empire: Sublime Landscapes in the American Cinema," in *Landscape and Cinema*, ed. Martin Lefebvre (New York: Routledge, 2006), 100–101.

10. For a more detailed discussion of the Australian prime minister's comments, see Suvendrini Perera, "The Good Neighbour: Conspicuous Compassion and the Politics of Proximity," *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 3 (2005), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no3_2004/perera_good.htm

11. Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," trans. L. Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003), 39.

12. Ibid., 11–40.

13. Susan Nieman, *Evil in Modern Thought* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 240–42.

14. Gene Ray, "Reading the Lisbon Earthquake: Adorno, Lyotard, and the Contemporary Sublime," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 17, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.

15. Nieman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 2–3.

16. Asma Abbas, "Damages Inc.: Making the Sublime Matter," *Politics and Culture* 2 (2005), http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=377

17. See Kris Olds, James Sidaway, and Matthew Sparke, "White Death," *Environment and Planning D* 23 (2005): 475–79.

18. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

19. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 4.

20. Ray, "Reading the Lisbon Earthquake," 10–11.

21. Joseph Pugliese, "Indigeneity and the Racial Topography of Kant's 'Analytic of the Sublime,'" in *Indigeneity: Construction and Re/Presentation*, ed. James N. Brown and Patricia M. Sant (Commack, NY: Nova Science, 1999), 27.

22. Meaghan Morris, "White Panic or Mad Max and the Sublime," in *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* ed. Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1998), 242.

23. Gregory Bankoff, "Rendering the World Unsafe: 'Vulnerability' as Western Discourse," *Disasters* 25, no. 1 (2002), 29.

24. Ibid., 24.

25. Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*, 234.

26. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 14.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 17.

30. Ibid., 24.

31. Harlan K. Ullman and James P. Wade, *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996), 110, http://www.dodccrp.org/files/Ullman_Shock.pdf

32. Ibid., xxix.
33. Malini Johar Schueller, "Techno-Dominance and Torturegate: The Making of US Imperialism," in *Exceptional State: Contemporary US Culture and the New Imperialism,* ed. Ashley Dawson and Malini Johar Schueller (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 167, 169.
34. Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine* (Camberwell, Vic: Allen Lane, 2007), 388.
35. Ibid., 9.
36. Ibid., 12.
37. Ibid., 16–17.
38. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 17.
39. Greg Sheridan, "There When Asia Needs Us," *Australian*, January 6, 2005.
40. Perera, "The Good Neighbour."
41. Ravi Tomar, "Australia's $1 Billion Tsunami-related Aid Package to Indonesia: Progress on the Eve of the March Ministerial Meetings," Research Note no. 36, 2004–05, Department of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, March 7, 2005, http://www.aph.gov.au/library/Pubs/RN/2004-05/05rn36.htm; Tim O'Connor, "Aid with Strings Attached," *Inside Indonesia* 85 (Oct–Dec 2005), http://www.insideindonesia.org/edit84/p8-9_o'connor.html
42. Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, 402.
43. See Goldie Osuri, "War in the Language of Peace and an Australian Geo/Politics of White Possession," *ACRAWSA e-journal* 4, no. 1 (2008), 6, http://www.acrawsa.org.au/journal/acrawsa%205-5.pdf
44. Morris, "White Panic," 242–43.
45. Parliament of New South Wales, "Indian Ocean Tsunami," Hansard full day transcript February 21, 2005, http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/PARLMENT/hansArt.nsf/V3Key/LA20050222024
46. ABC Radio News, January 14, 2005.
47. Morris, "White Panic," 255.
48. Ibid., 246. On Australia and Asia see also Foong Ling Kong, "Postcards from a Yellow Lady," in *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities/Ethnicities/Nationalities,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian, 1995), 83–97; and Suvendrini Perera, "Representation Wars: *Embassy*, Malaysia and Australia's *Corps Diplomatique*," in *Australian Cultural Studies: A Reader,* ed. Meaghan Morris and John Frow (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 15–30.
49. Natali, "The Course of Empire," 100–101.
50. Jeff Greenwald, "Tsunami Ground Zero," Salon.com, 2005, http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2005/01/11/sri_lanka/index2.html
51. Natali, "The Course of Empire," 100–101.
52. Ibid.
53. See Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real: Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates* (London: Verso, 2002).

54. Morris, "White Panic," 247.
55. Natali, "The Course of Empire," 94.
56. Abbas, "Damages Inc."
57. Ibid.
58. Ananya Roy, "To What End?" *Politics and Culture* 2 (2005), http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=378
59. Patricia Lawrence, "Violence, Suffering, Amman: The Work of Oracles in Sri Lanka's Eastern War Zone," in *Violence and Subjectivity*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Patricia Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 188.

Chapter 5

1. Alfred Deakin, *The Federal Story: The Inner History of the Federal Cause 1880–1900* (1944; repr., Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963), 179.
2. Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security* (2001; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2, 10.
3. Ibid., 4.
4. Kevin Rudd, "Arc of Instability—Arc of Insecurity," *The Sydney Papers* 14, no. 4 (2002), 114.
5. Ibid., 105.
6. Dennis Rumley, "The Emergence of Australia's Arc of Instability," in *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security,* ed. Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffen (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006), 17.
7. David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (1992; repr., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), ix–x.
8. Graeme Dobell, "The 'Arc of Instability': The History of an Idea," History as Policy: Framing the Debate on the Future of Australia's Defence Policy, Australian National University, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre Seminar Series 2006, http://epress.anu.edu.au
9. Derek Woolner, "Policing Our Ocean Domain: Establishing an Australian Coast Guard," *ASPI Strategic Insights* 41 (2008), 2–3.
10. Vivian Louis Forbes, "Australia's Maritime Space: Conflict and Cooperation," in *Australia's Arc of Instability*, ed. Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffen (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006), 23.
11. Hamish McDonald, "We Took a Lot and Now We Have a Lot to Give," *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 25, 2009.
12. Woolner, "Policing Our Ocean Domain," 1.
13. Although later in this book I reference Arjun Appadurai's *Fear of Small Numbers* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), my argument here is related more to questions of relative *size* rather than numerical

comparison, and is focused on practices of policing and quarantining *at the border* rather than "the enemy within" that is Appadurai's central concern.

14. Ruth Balint, *Troubled Waters* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).
15. Woolner, "Policing Our Ocean Domain," 13.
16. Australian Human Rights Commission, "Report of an Inquiry into a Complaint by Mr Zacharias Manongga Consul for the Northern Territory, Consul of the Republic of Indonesia that the Human Rights of Indonesian Fishers Detained on Vessels in Darwin Harbour were Breached by the Commonwealth of Australia" (2005), http://www.hreoc.gov.au/legal/HREOCA_reports/
17. See the coroner's report on the death of Mansur La ibu, which reveals the confined, isolated, and deprived conditions in which the fishers are detained, http://www.nt.gov.au/justice/courtsupp/coroner/findings/2004/mansur.pdf
18. In some cases these arrests for supposed violations of Australian sovereignty are found to be mistaken, as in an instance in 2008 when Australian officials wrongly burnt five boats and took fifty-five crew into custody. Nick Butterly and Chris Johnson, "Indon Boats Burnt by Mistake," *The West Australian*, May 16, 2008.
19. Balint, *Troubled Waters*, 98.
20. Ibid., 99.
21. Natasha Stacey, *Boats to Burn: Bajo Fishing Activity in the Australian Fishing Zone* (Canberra: ANU Epress, 2007), 171–72.
22. Richard Tanter, "Briefing Note: Climate Change, Security and Infectious Disease: Dengue Fever in Southeast Asia and the Pacific," http://www.globalcollab.org/Nautilus/australia/apsnet/notes/bulletin/2007/20070802#n6
23. See Jacquie Everitt's account of the Badraie family's experiences in *The Bitter Shore* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2008).
24. Mike Steketee, "Return to Sender," *Australian*, March 1, 2007.
25. John Howard, interview with Phillip Clarke, October 31, 2001, quoted in Burke, *Fear of Security*, 3.
26. For a detailed discussion of Timor-Leste's case see the Web site of the Timor Sea Justice Campaign: http://tsjc.asiapacificjustice.org/; and Balthasar Kehi, "Australia's Relations with East Timor: People's Loyalty, Government's Betrayal," *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 3 (2004), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no3_2004/kehi_timor.htm
27. Forbes, "Australia's Maritime Space," 28, 31, 43.
28. Ibid., 45.
29. James Dunn, "East Timor in the Arc of Instability," in *Australia's Arc of Instability*, ed. Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffen (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006), 101.
30. Ibid.

31. Campbell, *Writing Security*, 63.
32. Ibid., 64.
33. Ibid.
34. Simon Philpott, "Fear of the Dark: Indonesia and the Australian National Imagination," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 55, no. 3 (2001), 376.
35. Dunn, "East Timor," 101.
36. Ibid.
37. Adrian Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed," *Griffith Review* (2003), 107.
38. Richard Chauvel, "I've Been to Bali Too," foreword in Dewi Anggraeni, *Who Did This to Our Bali*? (Melbourne: Indra Publishers, 2003), viii.
39. Patrick Lindsay, *Back from the Dead* (Sydney: Random House, 2003), 38.
40. Quoted in Anggraeni, *Who Did This*, 94.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 79.
43. Ibid., xix–xx.
44. See also Lindsay, *Back from the Dead*, 28–29.
45. Burke, *Fear of Security*, 207.
46. See John Faulkner, "A Certain Maritime Incident—the Aftermath," in Margo Kingston, "Howard's 'Disruption Programme,'" *Sydney Morning Herald On-Line* 2003, www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/07/23/1058853131600.html. See also Tony, Kevin, *A Certain Maritime Incident: The Sinking of SIEV X* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004), and Suvendrini Perera, "They Give Evidence: Bodies Borders and the Disappeared," *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006), 645–47.
47. Dunn, "East Timor," 101.
48. Antonis Balasopoulos, "Nesologies: Island Form and Postcolonial Geopoetics," *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008), 15.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. "Wide brown land" is a phrase from the popular poem "My Country," by Dorothea MacKellar that is often taught to Australian children.
52. Melissa Keys, "Better Places," catalogue essay, Perth Institute of Contemporary Art, December 2008.
53. David Malouf, "The Island," The Boyer Lectures, No. 1, ABC Radio National, November 15, 1998, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyers/stories/s988457.htm
54. Burke, *Fear of Security*, 11.
55. Frank Fox [pseud. C. H. Furness], *The Australian Crisis* (1909), quoted in *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1980s,* ed. Neville Meaney (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1985), 178–79.
56. Peter Spearitt and Michele Helmrich, "An Enduring Furphy," *Griffith Review* (2003), 25–32.

57. Ibid., 31.
58. Peter Stanley, "Threat Made Manifest" *Griffith Review* (2003), 23; see also Peter Stanley, *Invading Australia: Japan and the Battle for Australia, 1942* (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2008).
59. Marilyn Lake, "The Howard History of Australia," *Age*, August 20, 2005.
60. Rumley, "The Emergence of Australia's Arc of Instability," 11.
61. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) *Isma— Listen: National Consultations on Eliminating Prejudice Against Arab and Muslim Australians* (Sydney: HREOC, 2004), http://www.hreoc .gov.au/racial_discrimination/isma/index.html
62. Brian Deegan, *Remembering Josh: Bali, A Father's Story* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005, 133.
63. Ibid., 122.
64. Ibid., 127.
65. Ibid., xi.
66. Burke, *Fear of Security*, 6.
67. Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the Independence of East Timor* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004), 128; David Newman, "Citizenship, Identity and Location: The Changing Discourse of Israeli Geopolitics," in *Geopolitical Traditions? Critical Histories of a Century of Geopolitical Thought,* ed. Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 1998), 303.
68. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour*, 128–29; Kehi, "Australia's Relations with East Timor."
69. Fernandes *Reluctant Saviour*, 128–29.

CHAPTER 6

1. Quoted in W. E. Holder, "The Queensland 'Border': The Legal Position," in The Border and Associated Problems: The Torres Strait Islanders, ed. E. K. Fisk, Maree Tait, W. E. Holder, and M. E. Threadgold, vol. 5 (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1974), 38.
2. Geraldine Mackenzie, "An Enduring Influence: Sir Samuel Griffith and His Contribution to Criminal Justice in Queensland," *QUT Law and Justice Journal 2,* no. 1 (2002), http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/ journals/QUTLJJ/2002/3.html
3. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 54–55.
4. On teleologies of nation see Suvendrini Perera, "Futures Imperfect," in *Alter/Asians,* ed. Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law, and Mandy Thomas (Sydney: Pluto Press, 2000), 3–24; for a discussion of "telic tales" of Australian sovereignty in the context of refugee arrivals, see Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Locating Political Space: Asylum and Excision

in Australia," in *Borderscapes: Rethinking the Politics of Migration and Belonging,* ed. Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 263–82.

5. See Suvendrini Perera, "A Line in the Sea: The *Tampa*, Boat Stories and the Border," *Race & Class* 44, no. 2 (2002): 23–39.

6. Sanford E. Schram and Philip T. Neisser, *Tales of the State: Narrative in Contemporary US Politics and Public Policy* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997).

7. Australian Strategic Policy Institute [ASPI], *Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of the Solomon Islands* (Sydney: ASPI, 2001).

8. See Amy Kaplan, "Homeland Insecurities: Reflections on Language and Space," *Radical History Review* 85 (2003): 82–93.

9. Martin Regg Cohn, "Australia, America's 'Deputy Sheriff,' Punches above Its Weight and Criticizes Canada for Not Doing the Same," *Embassy: Canada's Foreign Policy Newsweekly* 67, August 17, 2005, 5.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Sherene H. Razack, *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 67–69.

13. Ibid., 67.

14. Ibid., 36.

15. Cohn, "Australia, America's 'Deputy Sheriff.'"

16. United States Department of State, "Secretary Condoleezza Rice Remarks with Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer after Their Meeting," January 16, 2006, http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/45632.htm

17. Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Indigenous Sovereignty and the Politics of Race: A Possessive Investment in Patriarchal White Sovereignty," Plenary Keynote, The Body Politic, University of Queensland, November 25, 2004.

18. Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, *Sovereign Bodies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3.

19. Ibid.

20. Greg Fry, "The 'War against Terror' and Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific," (Canberra: SSGM [State, Society and Governance in Melanesia] Conference Papers, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005), 3.

21. Ibid.

22. "Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon. John Howard MP Interview with Kerry O'Brien 7.30 Report ABC," June 23, 2003, http://www.pm.gov.au/news/interviews/Interview194.html

23. Greg Sheridan, "Neighbour Trouble," *Australian*, April 22, 2006.

24. "The White Man's Burden," subtitled "The United States and the Philippine Islands" was first published in 1899 in *McClure's Magazine.*

25. Cited in Harry Magdoff and John Bellamy Foster, "Kipling, the 'White Man's Burden' and US Imperialism," *Monthly Review*, 55, no. 6 (2003), 7.

26. Ibid., 9.

27. Ibid.

28. Helen Irving, ed., *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 352.

29. Goldie Osuri and Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, "White Diasporas: Media Representations of September 11 and the Unbearable Whiteness of Being in Australia," *Social Semiotics* 14, no. 2 (2004): 167.

30. Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, "'Failed State' and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands," *Analysis from the East-West Center* 72 (2004): 7, www.eastwestcenter.org/stored/pdfs/api072.pdf

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 6–7.

33. Sinclair Dinnen, "Dilemmas of Intervention and the Building of State and Nation," in *Politics and State Building in Solomon Islands,* ed. Sinclair Dinnen and Stuart Firth (Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, Australian National University, 2008), 3.

34. Sinclair Dinnen, "Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Southwest Pacific," (Canberra: SSGM Conference Papers, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2004/05), 3. See also Dinnen and Firth, *Politics and State Building in Solomon Islands.*

35. ABC Radio National, Saturday Extra, "The Solomons Crisis," April 21, 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/saturday/stories/s1621147.htm

36. Ibid.

37. Oxfam, "Bridging the Gap between State and Society: New DirectIons for the Solomons," Sydney: Oxfam, 2006, 7, http://www.oxfam.org .au/campaigns/submissions/OxfamPeacekeepingSubmissionMar07.pdf

38. ABC Radio National, Saturday Extra, "The Solomons Crisis."

39. ASPI, "Our Failing Neighbour," 19.

40. Rajaram, "Locating Political Space," 277.

41. On white interests see John Gabriel, *Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 97.

42. For a contrary view to Doogue's, see David Welchman Gegeo and Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo, "Whose Knowledge? Epistemological Collisions in Solomon Islands Community Development," *The Contemporary Pacific* 14, no. 2 (2002): 377–409.

43. Moreton-Robinson, "Indigenous Sovereignty and the Politics of Race."

44. Said, *Orientalism*, 55.

45. Robert Kaplan, *Imperial Grunts* (New York: Random House, 2004), 5.

46. Ibid., 4.

47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 9
50. Cohn, "Australia, America's 'Deputy Sheriff.'"
51. Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "'Racial Suicide': The Relicensing of Racism in Australia," *Race & Class* 39, no. 2 (1997), 11.
52. Irene Watson, "Aboriginal Sovereignties: Past Present and Future (Im) Possibilities," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 31.
53. Watson, "Aboriginal Sovereignties." On the shutdown of "unviable" Aboriginal communities, see "Vanstone Accused of Paternalistic Approach to Indigenous Communities," ABC Local Radio, The World Today, December 9, 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2005/s1527535.htm
54. Helen Hughes, "Can Papua New Guinea Come Back from the Brink?" Centre for Independent Studies, *Issue Analysis*, 49, July 13, 2004, http://www.cis.org.au/IssueAnalysis/ia49/IA49.pdf
55. Susan Windybank, "This Mission Had Moral Hazard Written All Over It," *Australian*, April 20, 2006.
56. Nicholas Rothwell, "Cry of the Innocent," *Weekend Australian*, May 20–21, 2006.
57. Goldie Osuri, "War in the Language of Peace, and an Australian Geo/Politics of White Possession," *ACRAWSA e-journal* 4, no. 1 (2008): 8, http://www.acrawsa.org.au/journal/acrawsa%205-5.pdf
58. Ibid., 1–13.
59. Desert Knowledge Australia, "Prospectus: Remote Focus Revitalising Remote Australia," 3 (2008): 9, http://www.desertknowledge.com.au
60. Ibid., 9–10.
61. Ibid., 11.
62. See also Suvendrini Perera, "The Good Neighbour: Conspicuous Compassion and the Politics of Proximity," *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 2 (2004), http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no3_2004/perera_good.htm
63. ABC News Online, "Migration Changes Consider Indonesia's Concerns: Vanstone," June 14, 2006, http://www.abc.net.au/news/news-items/200606/s1663210.htm
64. Balthasar Kehi, "Australia's Relations with East Timor: People's Loyalty, Government's Betrayal," *Borderlands e-journal*, 3, no. 2 (2004), http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no3_2004/kehi_timor.htm
65. "Bush Telegraph," ABC Radio National, November 21, 2005. On the competing sovereignties in ocean fishing, see Bruce C. Campbell and Bu V. E. Wilson, *The Politics of Exclusion: Indonesian Fishing in the Australian Fishing Zone* (Perth: Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies, 1993).

66. Greg Sheridan, "Melanesia Is a Huge Disaster," *Australian*, April 20, 2006.
67. Ibid.
68. Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present* (Maldon: Blackwell, 2004).
69. Sinclair Dinnen, "The Trouble with Melanesia" in *Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security,* ed. Ivan Molloy (Sippy Downs, Queensland: Pacific Islands Political Studies Association, 2004), 74.
70. Dinnen, "The Trouble with Melanesia," 74–75.
71. Epeli Hau'ofa, "The Ocean in Us," *The Contemporary Pacific* 10, no. 2 (1998): 391.
72. Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands,* ed. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1993), 7.
73. ABC Radio, PM, "Joyce in Hot Water over Antarctic Mining Plan," May 1, 2006.
74. Peter Hanks, Patrick Keyzer, and Jennifer Clarke, *Race and the Law of Territories: Australian Constitutional Law: Materials and Commentary* (Chatswood, NSW: LexisNexis, 2004), 1057.
75. Henry Reynolds, "The Macassans and the History of Northern Australia," Keynote Address, Middle Passages, Maritime Museum, Fremantle, Australia, July 12, 2005.
76. Campbell and Wilson, *The Politics of Exclusion*, 55–56, 59.
77. Ruth Balint, "Mare Nullius and the Making of a White Ocean Policy," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 87–104.
78. Steve Pennells and Regina Titelius, "Terrorism and Drugs Linked to Poachers," *West Australian*, October 29, 2005.
79. See also Ruth Balint, *Troubled Waters* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).
80. See Wilson and Campbell, *The Politics of Exclusion*, and Balint, "Mare Nullius."
81. "Bush Telegraph."

Chapter 7

1. Published in *Quadrant*, November 1994, and reprinted in Leone Huntsman, *Sand in Our Souls* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 180.
2. Huntsman, *Sand in Our Souls*, 180.
3. See Scott Poynting, "What Caused the Cronulla Riot?" *Race & Class* 48, no. 1 (2006): 85–92; Suvendrini Perera, "Race Terror, Sydney 2005," *Borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol5no1_2006/perera_raceterror.htm; Clifton Evers, "The Cronulla Race Riots: Safety Maps on an Australian Beach," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 2 (2008): 411–29; Angela Mitropoulos, "Under the Beach, the

Barbed Wire," *Mute*, February 2006, http://www.metamute.org/en/Under-the-Beach-the-Barbed-Wire

4. Sebastian Smee, "Artist Aims to Bust Beach Myths," *Australian*, September 29, 2007.

5. See Michael Taussig, "The Beach (A Fantasy)," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 249–77.

6. See Jon Stratton, "Dying to Come to Australia," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 168–72.

7. Andrew Taylor, "Hydrotherapy," *Sandstone* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1995), 42.

8. Meaghan Morris, "On the Beach," in *Cultural Studies,* ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992), 453.

9. Stratton, "Dying to Come to Australia," 171.

10. Morris, "On the Beach," 461.

11. See Neal Funnell, "Non-Lethal Intelligence: Strike Force Coburn and the Police Response to the Redfern Riot," *Indigenous Law Bulletin* 17 (2005), http://beta.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/ILB/2005/17.html

12. Ray Minnecon, "Despair the Reality for a Race Lost in the Alien Space of Redfern," *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 17, 2004.

13. Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," trans. Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003), 26.

14. Ibid., 25–26.

15. William E Connolly, *The Ethos of Pluralization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xxii.

16. See Leonie Sandercock, "When Strangers Become Neighbours: Managing Cities of Difference," *Planning Theory and Practice* 1, no. 1 (2000): 13–30.

17. The Law Report, ABC Radio National, May 24, 2001.

18. Joseph Pugliese, "Compulsory Visibility and the Infralegality of Racial Phantasmata," *Social Semiotics* (forthcoming); Suvendrini Perera, "Invested with Violence: Security, Values and Embodied Citizenship," in *Beyond the Hijab Debates: New Conversations on Gender, Race and Religion*, ed. Tanja Dreher and Christina Ho (Newcastle-on-Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars, forthcoming).

19. Caroline Overington and David Warne-Smith, "Countdown to Conflict," *Weekend Australian*, December 17, 2005.

20. Sutherland Shire Council, "Birthplace of Modern Australia," http://www.sutherland.nsw.gov.au/ssc/home.nsf/AllDocs/RWP968960D9346BADD3CA256D56001BAC2A

21. Rob Welsh, "Sydney Aboriginal People Reburied at Botany Bay," May 30, 2005, http://www.abc.net.au/message/news/stories/s1374941.htm

22. Maria Giannacopoulos, "*Terror Australis*: White Sovereignty and the Violence of Law," *Borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006), pt. 4, http://www
    .borderlands.net.au/vol5no1_2006/giannacopoulos_whitesov.htm
23. Yvonne Abraham, "On the Beach: Why the Recent Riots in Australia Should
    Surprise No One," *Boston Globe*, December 25, 2005, http://www.boston
    .com/news/globe/ideas/articles/2005/12/25/on_the_beach?mode=PF
24. Ibid.
25. Isobel Crombie, *Body Culture* (Mulgrave, Vic: Peleus Press, 2004), 9.
26. Ibid., 61.
27. Ibid., 85–87.
28. See Joseph Pugliese, "Demonstrable Evidence: A Genealogy of the
    Racial Iconography of Forensic Art and Illustration," *Law and Critique*
    15 (2006): 286–320; and "*In Silico* Race and the Heteronomy of Bio-
    metric Proxies: Biometrics in the Context of Civilian Life, Border Secu-
    rity and Counter-Terrorism Laws," *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 23
    (2005): 1–33.
29. Crombie, *Body Culture*, 166–67.
30. See Joseph Pugliese, "The Locus of the Non: The Racial Fault Line 'of
    Middle Eastern Appearance,'" *Borderlands e-journal* 2, no. 3 (2003),
    http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol2no3_2003/
    pugliese.htm
31. See Amy Kaplan, "Homeland Insecurities: Reflections on Language and
    Space," *Radical History Review* 85 (2003): 82–93.
32. Ibid., 85.
33. Ibid., 86–87.
34. Quoted in David Rood, "Academic Attacks Race Article Ban," *Age*, Sep-
    tember 21, 2005.
35. Andrew Fraser, "Rethinking the White Australia Policy," *On Line Opin-
    ion*, September 28, 2005, http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view
    .asp?article=128
36. Kaplan, "Homeland Insecurities," 87.
37. Evers, "The Cronulla Race Riots," 416, 418.
38. Marilyn Lake, "White Australia Rules," *Age*, December 12, 2005.
39. James Baldwin, *Going to Meet the Man* (1965; repr., London: Penguin,
    1991), 251.
40. Russell Banks, "John Brown's Body: James Baldwin and Frank Shatz in
    Conversation," *Transition* 81–2 (2000): 264.
41. Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers* (Durham, NC: Duke Univer-
    sity Press, 2006), 100.
42. Brian Galligan and John Chesterman, "Australia's Citizenship Void," in
    Globalization and Citizenship in the Asia-Pacific, ed. Alastair Davidson
    and Kathleen Weekley (Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1999), 73–74.
43. Henry Reynolds, "Part of a Continent for Something Less than a
    Nation? The Limits of Australian Sovereignty," in *Our Patch: Enacting*

Australian Sovereignty Post 2001, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 66.

44. Galligan and Chesterman, "Australia's Citizenship Void," 74.
45. Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs [DIMA], "Australia to Introduce Citizenship Test," Media Release, December 11, 2006, http://www.minister.immi.gov.au/parlsec/media/media-releases/medrel06/111206.htm
46. Reynolds, "Part of a Continent," 67.
47. DIMA, "Australia to Introduce Citizenship Test."
48. Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 4.
49. Andrew Jakubowicz, "A Stunned Silence: The Slow Death of Multiculturalism," *Australian Policy Online*, November 25, 2008.
50. Ibid.
51. See Perera, "Race Terror."
52. Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*, 13–14.
53. Elizabeth Gosch, "Game Glorifies Race Riot," *Australian*, October 17, 2006.
54. "Transcript of the Prime Minister, The Hon. John Howard MP Interview with Ellen Fanning, 'A Current Affair,' Channel [Nine]," December 12, 2005, http://www.pm.gov.au/news/interviews/Interview1724.html
55. "Muslim Garb 'Confronting': PM," *Age*, February 27, 2006, http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/muslim-garb-confronting-pm/2006/02/27/1140999493121.html; A. Moses, "Cronulla Game Falls between Legal Cracks," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 17, 2006.
56. Suvendrini Perera, "Fatal (Con)junctions," in *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities/Ethnicities/Nationalities,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian, 1995), 4–7.
57. The image can be viewed on the Art Gallery of New South Wales Web site at http://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/events/cal/gallerykids_gert
58. James Gibson, "Candidates Play White Australia Card," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 2, 2008, 8.
59. Georgina Robinson, "Manly 'Morons' Rampage Was Racist: Academic," *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 27, 2009; Justin Vallejo, "Manly Erupts in Violence on Australia Day," *Daily Telegraph*, January 26, 2009.
60. Paul Kent, "How Dare Fools Ruin Our National Day?" *Daily Telegraph*, January 28, 2009.
61. Jon Stratton, "Dying to Come to Australia" in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 169.
62. See Meaghan Morris, "White Panic or Mad Max and the Sublime," in *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* ed. Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1998), 247.

Conclusion

1. Michael Taussig, "The Beach (A Fantasy)," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000), 276.
2. Tom Nairn, "On the Modesty of Australia," *Arena Magazine* 62 (2002–2003), 5–6.
3. Ibid.
4. Helen Irving, ed., *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 352.
5. Henry Reynolds, "Part of a Continent for Something Less than a Nation? The Limits of Australian Sovereignty," in *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001,* ed. Suvendrini Perera (Perth: Network Books, 2007), 61–70.
6. Angela Mitropoulos, "Under the Beach, the Barbed Wire," *Mute* (2006), 1, http://www.metamute.org/en/Under-the-Beach-the-Barbed-Wire
7. Ibid.
8. Leone Huntsman, *Sand in Our Souls* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 5.
9. Nairn, "On the Modesty of Australia," 6.
10. Ibid.
11. See Amy Kaplan, "Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004), 10–11, on the need for comparative exceptionalisms.
12. Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21.
13. ABC Online, "Magistrate Brian Deegan celebrates Sammaki Release," ABC Online, November 6, 2003, www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2003/s984023.htm
14. David Newman, "Citizenship, Identity and Location: The Changing Discourse of Israeli Geopolitics," in *Geopolitical Traditions? Critical Histories of a Century of Geopolitical Thought,* ed. Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 1998), 302–31.
15. Thongchai Winichakul, "Writing at the Interstices: Southeast Asian Historians and Postnational Histories in Southeast Asia," in *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History,* ed. Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), 13; 9.
16. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 148, citing Sneja Gunew, "Denaturalizing Cultural Nationalisms: Multicultural Readings of Australia," in *Nation and Narration,* ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 99–100.
17. Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 148.
18. See Grant McCall, "Clearing Confusion in a Disembedded World: The Case for Nissology," *Geographische Zeitschrift* 84, no. 2 (1996): 74–85.
19. Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security* (2001; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6.

20. Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider, "Productive Anticipation," in *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation*, ed. David Held and Henrietta L. Moore (Oxford: One World, 2008), 349.

21. Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the Independence of East Timor* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2004), 86–114.

22. Rogoff and Schneider, "Productive Anticipation," 353–54; see also Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), and Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular-Plural*, trans. Robert Richardson and Anne O'Byrne (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

23. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 129.

This page intentionally left blank

Select Bibliography

Abbas, Asma. "Damages Inc.: Making the Sublime Matter." *Politics and Culture* 2 (2005), http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture

Abraham, Yvonne. "On the Beach: Why the Recent Riots in Australia Should Surprise No One." *Boston Globe*, December 25, 2005.

Agamben, Giorgio. "The Camp as *Nomos* of the Modern." Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. In *Violence, Identity and Self-Determination*, edited by Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber, 106–18. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

———. *The Coming Community.* Translated by Michael Hardt. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

———. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

———. *Means without End: Notes on Politics.* Translated by Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

———. "On Security and Terror." Translated by Soenke Zehle. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 20, 2001, http://www.egs.edu/faculty/agamben/agamben-on-security-and-terror.html

Agnew, James, and Stuart Coleridge. *Mastering Space.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Agnew, John. *Geopolitics: Revisioning World Politics.* London: Routledge, 2003.

Ahmad, Abu Talib, and Tan Liok Ee, eds. *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History.* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003.

Anderson, Ian. "Reclaiming Tru-ger-nan-ner, Decolonising the Symbol." *Art Monthly* 66 (1993–94): 10–14.

Anderson, Tim. "Fond Illusions: Some Reflections on Australian Dependence, Pacific Interventions and Indigenous Land." In *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, edited by Suvendrini Perera, 105–17. Perth: Network Books, 2007.

Anggraeni, Dewi. *Who Did This to Our Bali?* Melbourne: Indra Publishers, 2003.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Fear of Small Numbers.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Australian Strategic Policy Institute. *Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands.* Sydney: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2001.

Balasopoulos, Antonis. "Nesologies: Island Form and Postcolonial Geopoetics." *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 1 (2008): 9–26.

———. "'Suffer a Sea Change': Spatial Crisis, Maritime Modernity and the Politics of Utopia." *Cultural Critique* 63 (2006): 122–56.

Baldwin, James. *Going to Meet the Man.* 1965. Reprint, London: Penguin, 1991.

Balint, Ruth. "The Last Frontier: Australia's Maritime Territories and the Policing of Indonesian Fishermen." *Journal of Australian Studies* 63 (1999), http://www.api-netwqork.com/cgi-bin/page?archives/jas63_balint

———. *Troubled Waters.* Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005.

Bankoff, Gregory. "Rendering the World Unsafe: 'Vulnerability' As Western Discourse." *Disasters* 25, no. 1 (2002): 19–35.

Banks, Russell. "John Brown's Body: James Baldwin and Frank Shatz in Conversation." *Transition* 81–82 (2000): 250–66.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies.* Translated by Anne Lavers. London: Paladin, 1973.

Bashford, Alison. *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Basry, Amal. "I Am Still in the Water with the Dying of SIEV X." http://axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/Article_13192.shtml. Reprinted with permission in Suvendrini Perera, "They Give Evidence: Bodies Borders and the Disappeared." *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 639–42.

Battersby, Paul. *To the Islands: White Australians and the Malay Archipelago since 1788.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

Beer, Gillian. "The Island and the Aeroplane: The Case of Virginia Woolf." In *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi Bhabha, 265–90. London: Routledge, 1990.

Bhabha, Homi, ed. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

———. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism.* London: Sage Publications, 1995.

Birch, Tony. "The Last Refuge of the 'UnAustralian.'" *UTS Review* 7, no. 1 (2001): 17–22.

Booth, Douglas. *Australian Beach Cultures.* London: Frank Cass, 2001.

Briskman, Linda, Susie Latham, and Chris Goddard, eds. *Human Rights Overboard*. Melbourne: Scribe, 2008.

Broeze, Frank. *Island Nation, A History of Australians and the Sea.* St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998.

Buku-Larrnggay Mulka Centre. *Saltwater Yirrkala Bark Paintings of the Sea Country.* Neutral Bay, Australia: Buku-Larrnggay Mulka Centre, 1999.

Burke, Anthony. *Fear of Security.* 2001. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Burnett, Christina Duffy. "The Edges of Empire and the Limits of Sovereignty: American Guano Islands." *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 779–803.

Campbell, Bruce C., and Bu V. E. Wilson. *The Politics of Exclusion: Indonesian Fishing in the Australian Fishing Zone*. Perth: Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies, 1993.

Campbell, David. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. 1992. Reprint, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Capp, Fiona. *That Oceanic Feeling*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003.

Castro, Brian. "Dangerous Dancing: Autobiography and Disinheritance." *Australian Humanities Review* 12 (1998), http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-1998/castro.html

Cohn, Martin Regg. "Australia, America's 'Deputy Sheriff,' Punches above Its Weight and Criticizes Canada for Not Doing the Same." *Embassy: Canada's Foreign Policy Newsweekly* 67, August 17, 2005.

Comaroff, Joshua. "Terror and Territory: Guantánamo and the Space of Contradiction." *Public Culture* 19, no. 2 (2007): 391–405.

Connolly, William E. The Ethos of Pluralization. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1995.

Connery, Christopher L. "Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements." *Boundary 2* 28, no. 2 (2001): 173–201.

———. "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary." *In Global Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, edited by Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, 284–311. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

Corbin, Alain. *The Lure of the Sea*. Translated by Jocelyn Phelps. London: Penguin, 1994.

Cosic, Miriam. "The Saga of Life in Three Hollow Logs." *Australian*, August 14, 2006.

Crombie, Isobel. *Body Culture*. Mulgrave, Vic: Peleus Press, 2004.

Dawson, Ashley, and Malini Johar Schueller, eds. *Exceptional State: Contemporary US Culture and the New Imperialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Day, David. *Claiming a Continent*. Sydney: HarperCollins, 1996.

D'Cruz, J. V., and William Steele. *Australia's Ambivalence towards Asia*. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 2003.

Deakin, Alfred. *The Federal Story: The Inner History of the Federal Cause 1880–1900*. 1944. Reprint, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, vol. 1. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

———. *The Writing of History*. Translated by Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Deegan, Brian. *Remembering Josh: Bali, A Father's Story.* Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005.

Deloughrey, Elizabeth. "Routes and Roots: Tidalectics in Caribbean Literature." In *Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*, edited by Annie Paul, 163–75. Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2007.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, 2003, http://www.dfat .gov.au

Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness.* Translated by Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. London: Routledge, 2001.

———. *Of Hospitality.* Translated by Rachel Bowlby. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.

———. *Rogues.* Translated by Michael Naas. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.

de Vries, Hent, and Samuel Weber, eds. *Violence, Identity and Self-Determination*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Dinnen, Sinclair. "Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Southwest Pacific." Canberra: SSGM [State, Society and Governance in Melanesia] Conference Papers, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2004/05.

Dinnen, Sinclair, and Stuart Firth, eds. *Politics and State Building in Solomon Islands*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, Australian National University, 2008.

Douglas, Bronwen. "Slippery Word, Ambiguous Praxis: 'Race' and Late-18th-Century Voyagers in Oceania." *Journal of Pacific History* 41, no. 1 (2006): 1–29.

Doyle, Laura. "Sublime Barbarians in the Narrative of Empire; or, Longinus at Sea in *The Waves.*" *Modern Fiction Studies* 42, no. 2 (1996): 323–47.

Drew, Philip. *The Coast Dwellers: Australians Living on the Edge.* Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1994.

———. *Veranda: Embracing Place.* Pymble, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1992.

Edmund, Rod, and Vanessa Smith, eds. *Islands in History and Representation*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Eisler, William. *The Furthest Coast: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Evans, Michael. "Island Consciousness and Australian Strategic Culture." *Institute of Public Affairs Review,* 2006, http://www.ipa.org.au/publications/ 755/island-consciousness-and-australian-strategic-culture/pg/3

Everitt, Jacquie. *The Bitter Shore*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2008.

Evers, Clifton. "The Cronulla Race Riots: Safety Maps on an Australian Beach." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107, no. 2 (2008): 411–29.

Fekete, Liz. "Xeno-racism and the Demonisation of Refugees: A Gendered Perspective." In *Women, Crime and Social Harm: Towards a Criminology for the Global Age*, edited by Maureen Caine and Adrian Howe, 95–106. Oxford: Hart, 2008.

Fernandes, Clinton. *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the Independence of East Timor*. Melbourne: Scribe, 2004.

Fiske, John, Bob Hodge, and Graeme Turner. *Myths of Oz*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987

Fonteyne, John-Pierre. "'Illegal Refugees' or Illegal Policy?" In *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World*, by William Mayley et al., 16–31. Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, 2002.

Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27.

———. "*Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975–1976.* Translated by David Macey. New York: Picador, 2003.

Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Translated and edited by James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.

Fry, Greg. "The 'Pacific Solution'? Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Policies." In *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World*, by William Mayley et al., 23–31. Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, 2002.

———. "The 'War against Terror' and Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific." Canberra: SSGM [State, Society and Governance in Melanesia] Conference Papers, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005.

Fry, Greg, and Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, eds. *Intervention and State-Building in the Pacific*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Gabriel, John. *Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Galligan, Brian, and John Chesterman. "Australia's Citizenship Void." In *Globalization and Citizenship in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Alastair Davidson and Kathleen Weekley, 73–86. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1999.

Ganter, Regina. *Mixed Relations: Asian Aboriginal Contact in Northern Australia*. Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2006.

Gegeo, David Welchman, and Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo. "Whose Knowledge? Epistemological Collisions in Solomon Islands Community Development." *The Contemporary Pacific* 14, no. 2 (2002): 377–409.

Giannacopoulos, Maria. "*Terror Australis*: White Sovereignty and the Violence of Law." *Borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol5no1_2006/giannacopoulos_whitesov.htm

Gibson, Ross. *South of the West: Postcolonialism and the Narrative Construction of Australia*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Gillis, John. *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Greenwald, Jeff. "Tsunami Ground Zero." salon.com, 2005, http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2005/01/11/sri_lanka/index2.html

Gregory, Derek. *The Colonial Present*. Maldon, England: Blackwell, 2004.

Grossberg, Lawrence, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, eds. *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Haigh, Gideon. "Shute the Messenger." *The Monthly*, June 2007, 42–53.

Hall, Stuart. "The Narrative Construction of Reality." *Southern Review* 17 (1983): 188–202.

Hanks, Peter, Patrick Keyzer, and Jennifer Clarke. *Race and the Law of Territories: Australian Constitutional Law: Materials and Commentary*. Chatswood, NSW: LexisNexis, 2004.

Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Finn Stepputat. *Sovereign Bodies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Hau'ofa, Epeli. "The Ocean in Us." *The Contemporary Pacific* 10, no. 2 (1998): 391–410.

———. "Our Sea of Islands." In *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. Edited by Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa, 2–16. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1993.

Heidegger, Martin. *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. Translated by William Lovitt. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1977.

Hill, Ernestine. *The Territory*. 1951. Reprint, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1995.

Hodson, Michael. "Government Lies Again—Tiwi Islanders: 'We're All Non-Australians.'" *Green Left Weekly*, November 19, 2003.

Howitt, Richie. "Frontiers, Borders, Edges: Liminal Challenges to the Hegemony of Exclusion." *Australian Geographical Studies* 39, no. 2 (2001): 233–45.

Hulme, Peter. "Cast Away." In *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, edited by Bernard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, 187–97. London: Routledge, 2004.

———. "Beyond the Straits: Postcolonial Allegories of the Globe." In *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, edited by A. Loomba, S. Kaul, M. Bunzl, A. Burton, and J. Esty, 41–61. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

———. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797*. London: Methuen, 1986.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. *Isma—Listen: National Consultations on Eliminating Prejudice against Arab and Muslim Australians*. Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004.

Huntsman, Leone. *Sand in Our Souls*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2001.

Irving, Helen, ed. *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Jackson, S. E. "The Water Is Not Empty: Cross-Cultural Issues in Conceptualising Sea Space." *Australian Geographer* 26, no. 1 (1995): 87–96.

Jakubowicz, Andrew. "A Stunned Silence: The Slow Death of Multiculturalism." *Australian Policy Online*, November 25, 2008, http://www.apo.org.au/webboard/comment_results.chtml?filename_num=240418.

Jameson, Julietta. *Christmas Island, Indian Ocean*. Sydney: ABC Books, 2003.

Jenson, Lars. *Unsettling Australia*. New Delhi: Atlantic, 2005.

Kabutaulaka, Tarcisius Tara. "'Failed State' and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands." *Analysis from the East-West Center* 72 (2004): 1–8.

Kaplan, Amy. "Homeland Insecurities: Reflections on Language and Space." *Radical History Review* 85 (2003): 82–93.

———. "Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today." *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.

———. "Where Is Guantánamo?" *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 831–58.

Kaplan, Robert. *Imperial Grunts*. New York: Random House, 2004.

Kehi, Balthasar. "Australia's Relations with East Timor: People's Loyalty, Government's Betrayal." *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 2 (2004), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no3_2004/kehi_timor.htm

Kevin, Tony. *A Certain Maritime Incident: The Sinking of SIEV X*. Melbourne: Scribe, 2004.

Klein, Bernhard, and Gesa Mackenthun, eds. *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine*. Camberwell, Vic: Allen Lane, 2007.

Kong, Foong Ling. "Postcards from a Yellow Lady." In *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities/Ethnicities/Nationalities*, edited by Suvendrini Perera, 83–97. Melbourne: Meridian, 1995.

Lake, Marilyn. "The Howard History of Australia." *Age*, August 20, 2005.

Law, Alex. "Of Navies and Navels: Britain as a Mental Island." *Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (2005): 267–77.

Lawrence, Patricia. "Violence, Suffering, Amman: The Work of Oracles in Sri Lanka's Eastern War Zone." In *Violence and Subjectivity*, edited by Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Patricia Reynolds, 171–204. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Lewis, Martin, and Karen Wigen. *The Myth of Continents*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Lindsay, Patrick. *Back from the Dead*. Sydney: Random House, 2003.

Loxley, Diana. *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

MacCallum, Mungo. "Girt by Sea: Australia, the Refugees and the Politics of Fear." *Quarterly Essay* 5 (2002): 5–73.

Macknight, C. C., ed. *The Farthest Coast: A Selection of Writings Related to the History of the Northern Coast of Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969.

———. *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976.

Maclellan, Nic. "Helping Friends or Helping Yourself?" *Spinach7* 2 (2003/04).

Maley, William, Alan Dupont, Jean-Pierre Fonteyne, Greg Fry, James Jupp, and Thuy Do. *Refugees and the Myth of the Borderless World*. Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, 2002.

Malouf, David. "The Island." The Boyer Lectures, No. 1, ABC Radio National, November 15, 1998, http://www.abc.net.au/rn/boyers/stories/s988457.htm

Marr, David, and Marian Wilkinson. *Dark Victory.* Crows Nest, NSW : Allen & Unwin, 2003.

Marzec, Robert P. "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context." *Boundary 2* 29, no. 2 (2002): 129–56.

Mbembe, Achille. "Necropolitics." Translated by Libby Meintjes. P*ublic Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40.

McCall, Grant. "Clearing Confusion in a Disembedded World: The Case for Nissology." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 84, no. 2 (1996): 74–85.

McDonald, Hamish. "We Took a Lot and Now We Have a Lot to Give." *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 25, 2009.

Meaney, Neville, ed. *Australia and the World*: *A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1980s.* Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1985.

Molloy, Ivan, ed. *Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security.* Sippy Downs, Queensland: Pacific Islands Political Studies Association, 2004.

Mitropoulos, Angela. "Under the Beach, the Barbed Wire." *Mute* (2006): 1–6, http://www.metamute.org/en/Under-the-Beach-the-Barbed-Wire

Morris, Meaghan. "On the Beach." In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, 450–78. New York: Routledge, 1992.

———. "White Panic or Mad Max and the Sublime." In *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, edited by Kuan-Hsing Chen, 239–62. London: Routledge, 1998.

Muldoon, James. "Who Owns the Sea?" In *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in British Literature and Culture*, edited by Bernhard Klein, 13–27. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2002.

Nairn, Tom. "On the Modesty of Australia." *Arena Magazine* 62 (2002–03): 5–6.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. *Being Singular-Plural*. Translated by Robert Richardson and Anne O'Byrne. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Natali, Maurizia. "The Course of Empire: Sublime Landscapes in the American Cinema." In *Landscape and Cinema*, edited by Martin Lefebvre, 91–123. New York: Routledge, 2006.

National Oceans Office. *Living on Saltwater Country: Southern Gulf of Carpenteria Sea Country Management Needs and Issues.* Canberra: National Oceans Office, 2004.

Neilson, Brett. "Bodies of Protest: Performing Citizenship at the 2000 Olympic Games." *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 13–25.

Newman, David. "Citizenship, Identity and Location: The Changing Discourse of Israeli Geopolitics." In *Geopolitical Traditions? Critical Histories of a Century of Geopolitical Thought*, edited by Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson, 302–31. London: Routledge, 1998.

Nieman, Susan. *Evil in Modern Thought*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Olds, Kris, James Sidaway, and Matthew Sparke. "White Death." *Environment and Planning D* 23 (2005): 475–79.

Ong, Aihwa. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Osuri, Goldie. "War in the Language of Peace, and an Australian Geo/ Politics of White Possession." *ACRAWSA* [Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association] *e-journal* 4, no. 1 (2008): 1–13, http:// www.acrawsa.org.au/journal/acrawsa%205-5.pdf

Osuri, Goldie, and Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee. "White Diasporas: Media Representations of September 11 and the Unbearable Whiteness of Being in Australia." *Social Semiotics* 14, no. 2 (2004): 151–71.

Paul, Annie, ed. *Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2007.

Pearson, Michael. *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Perera, Suvendrini, ed. *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities/Ethnicities/ Nationalities*. Melbourne: Meridian, 1995.

———. "Futures Imperfect." In *Alter/Asians*, edited by Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law, and Mandy Thomas, 3–24. Sydney: Pluto Press, 2000.

———. "The Good Neighbour: Conspicuous Compassion and the Politics of Proximity." *Borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 3 (2005), http://www.borderlands .net.au/vol3no3_2004/perera_good.htm

———. "A Line in the Sea." *Race & Class* 44, no. 2 (2002): 23–39.

———, ed. *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*. Perth: Network Books, 2007.

———. "Race Terror, Sydney 2005." *Borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol5no1_2006/perera_raceterror.htm

———. "Representation Wars: *Embassy*, Malaysia and Australia's *Corps Diplomatique*." In *Australian Cultural Studies: A Reader*, edited by Meaghan Morris and John Frow, 15–30. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993.

———. "They Give Evidence: Bodies Borders and the Disappeared." *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 637–56.

———. "What is a camp . . . ?" *Borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), http:// www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera_camp.html

Perera, Suvendrini, and Joseph Pugliese. "Parks, Mines and Tidy Towns: 'Post' Colonialism, Enviro-Panopticism and the Politics of Heritage in Australia." *Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (1998): 69–100.

———. "'Racial Suicide': The Relicensing of Racism in Australia." *Race & Class* 39, no. 2 (1997): 1–20.

———. "Wogface, Anglo-Drag, Contested Aboriginalities: Making and Unmaking Identities in Australia." *Social Identities* 4, no. 1 (1998): 39–72.

Philpott, Simon. "Fear of the Dark: Indonesia and the Australian National Imagination." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 55, no. 3 (2001): 371–88.

Pilger, John. *Tell Me No Lies: Investigative Journalism and Its Triumphs.* London: Jonathan Cape, 2004.

Poynting, Scott. "What Caused the Cronulla Riot?" *Race & Class* 48, no. 1 (2006): 85–92.

Pugliese, Joseph. "Bodies of Water." *HEAT* 12 (2006): 13–20.

———. "Compulsory Visibility and the Infralegality of Racial Phantasmata." *Social Semiotics* (forthcoming).

———. "Demonstrable Evidence: A Genealogy of the Racial Iconography of Forensic Art and Illustration." *Law and Critique* 15 (2006): 286–320.

———. "The Incommensurability of Law to Justice: Refugees and Australia's Temporary Protection Visa." *Law and Literature* 16, no. 3 (2005): 285–311.

———. "Indigeneity and the Racial Topography of Kant's 'Analytic of the Sublime.'" In *Indigeneity: Construction and Re/Presentation*, edited by James N. Brown and Patricia M. Sant, 15–33. Commack, NY: Nova Science, 1999.

———. "*In Silico* Race and the Heteronomy of Biometric Proxies: Biometrics in the Context of Civilian Life, Border Security and Counter-Terrorism Laws." *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 23 (2005): 1–33.

———. "The Locus of the Non: The Racial Fault Line 'of Middle Eastern Appearance.'" *Borderlands e-journal* 2, no. 3 (2003), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol2no3_2003/pugliese_non.htm

———. "Penal Asylum: Refugees, Ethnics, Hospitality." *Borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 1 (2002), http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/pugliese.html

———. "Subcutaneous Law: Embodying the *Migration Amendment Act 1992*." *Australian Feminist Law Journal* 21 (2004): 23–34.

Raban, Jonathan, ed. *The Oxford Book of the Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Rajaram, Prem Kumar. "Locating Political Space: Asylum and Excision in Australia." In *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge*, edited by Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr, 263–82. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

———. "Making Place: The 'Pacific Solution' and Australian Emplacement in the Pacific and on Refugee Bodies." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, no. 3 (2003): 290–306.

Rajaram, Prem Kumar, and Carl Grundy-Warr, eds. *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Ratuva, Steven. "Australia's New Assertiveness in the Pacific: The View from the 'Backyard.'" In *Intervention and State-Building in the Pacific*, edited by Greg Fry and Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, 87–101. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Ray, Gene. "Reading the Lisbon Earthquake: Adorno, Lyotard, and the Contemporary Sublime." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 17, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.

Razack, Sherene. *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping Violence and the New Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Reilly, Alexander. "Cartography and Native Title." *Journal of Australian Studies* 79 (2003): 3–14.

Reynolds, Henry. *North of Capricorn, The Untold Story of Australia's North*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003.

———. *Nowhere People*. Camberwell, Vic: Viking, 2005.

———. "Part of a Continent for Something Less Than a Nation? The Limits of Australian Sovereignty." In *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, edited by Suvendrini Perera, 61–70. Perth: Network Books, 2007.

Robertson, Jack. "Eddie Mabo Proclaims Great Southern Rainbow Republic." *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 14, 2003.

Rogoff, Irit. *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Rogoff, Irit, and Florian Schneider. "Productive Anticipation." In *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation*, edited by David Held and Henrietta L. Moore, 346–57. Oxford: One World, 2008.

Romano, Renee. *Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Rose, Deborah Bird. *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*. Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, 1996.

Rose, Jacqueline. *States of Fantasy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Roy, Ananya. "To What End?" *Politics and Culture* 2 (2005), http://aspen.conncoll.edu/politicsandculture/page.cfm?key=378

Rudd, Kevin. "Arc of Instability—Arc of Insecurity." *The Sydney Papers* 14, no. 4 (2002): 104–19.

Rumley, Dennis, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffen, eds. *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer 2006.

Ryan, Simon. *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1993.

———. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1978.

Sandercock, Leonie. "When Strangers Become Neighbours: Managing Cities of Difference." *Planning Theory and Practice* 1, no. 1 (2000): 13–30.

Schmitt, Carl. *Land and Sea*. Translated by Simona Draghici. Washington, DC: Plutarch Press, 1997.

Schueller, Malini Johar. "Techno-Dominance and Torturegate: The Making of US Imperialism." In *Exceptional State: Contemporary US Culture and the New Imperialism*, edited by Ashley Dawson and Malini Johar Schueller, 162–88. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Schram, Sanford E., and Philip T. Neisser. *Tales of the State: Narrative in Contemporary US Politics and Public Policy*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997.

Schultz, Julianne. "Beyond the Brisbane Line." *Griffith Review* (2005): 7–10.

Shakespeare, William. *Richard II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Shapiro, Michael, and Hayward R. Alker, eds. *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

Sharp, Nonie. *Saltwater People*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002.

Sheridan, Greg. "There When Asia Needs Us." *Australian*, January 6, 2005.

Shnukal, Anna, Guy Ramsay, and Yuriko Nagata. *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in the Torres Strait*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004.

Simon, Jonathan. "Refugees in a Carceral Age: The Rebirth of Immigration Prisons in the United States." *Public Culture* 10, no. 3 (1998): 577–607.

Smee, Sebastian. "Artist Aims to Bust Beach Myths." *Australian*, September 29, 2007.

Sobecki, Sebastian. *The Sea and Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008.

Soguk, Nevzat. "Transnational/Transborder Bodies: Resistance, Accommodation, and Exile in Refugee and Migration Movements on the U.S.–Mexican Border." In *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*, edited by Michael J. Shapiro and Hayward R. Alker, 285–325. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Spearitt, Peter, and Michele Helmrich. "An Enduring Furphy." *Griffith Review* (2003): 25–31.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Stacey, Natasha. *Boats to Burn: Bajo Fishing Activity in the Australian Fishing Zone*. Canberra: ANU Epress, 2007.

Stanley, Peter. *Invading Australia: Japan and the Battle for Australia, 1942*. Camberwell, Vic: Viking, 2008.

———. "Threat Made Manifest." *Griffith Review* (2003): 13–24.

Steinberg, Philip. "Insularity, Sovereignty and Statehood: The Representation of Islands on Portolan Charts and the Construction of the Territorial State." *Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (2005): 253–65.

———. *The Social Construction of the Ocean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Stratton, Jon. "Deconstructing the Territory." *Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (1993): 38–39.

———. "Dying to Come to Australia." In *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, edited by Suvendrini Perera, 167–96. Perth: Network Books, 2007.

———. *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Taylor, Andrew. *Sandstone*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1995.

Taussig, Michael. "The Beach (A Fantasy)." *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 249–77.

Tomar, Ravi. "Australia's $1 Billion Tsunami-related Aid Package to Indonesia: Progress on the Eve of the March Ministerial Meetings." Research Note no. 36 2004–05. Department of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, March 7, 2005, http://www.aph.gov.au/library/Pubs/RN/2004-05/05rn36.htm

Torres-Saillant, Silvio. "The Trials of Authenticity in Kamau Brathwaite." *World Literature Today* 68, no. 4 (1994): 697–707.

Ullman, Harlan K., and James P. Wade. *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996.

Vickers, Adrian. "A Paradise Bombed." *Griffith Review* (2003): 105–13.

Walker, David. *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1999.

Watson, Don. *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*. Sydney: Vintage Books, 2002.

Watson, Irene. "Aboriginal Sovereignties: Past Present and Future (Im) Possibilities," In *Our Patch: Enacting Australian Sovereignty Post-2001*, edited by Suvendrini Perera, 23–43. Perth: Network Books, 2007.

Wilson, Rob, and Wimal Dissanayake, eds. *Global Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

Winchester, Simon. *Outposts*. 1985. Reprint, New York: Perennial, 2003.

Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

———. "Writing at the Interstices: Southeast Asian Historians and Postnational Histories in Southeast Asia." In *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*, edited by Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee, 3–29. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003.

Winton, Tim. *Cloudstreet*. Ringwood, Vic: Penguin, 1992.

———. *Land's Edge*. Sydney: Picador, 1993.

Woolner, Derek. "Policing Our Ocean Domain: Establishing an Australian Coast Guard." *ASPI Strategic Insights* 41 (2008).

Zable, Arnold. "Amal Basry's Long Journey Finds Home." *Age*, March 21, 2006.

Zanotti, Laura. "Taming Chaos: A Foucauldian View of UN Peacekeeping, Democracy and Normalization." *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 2 (2006): 150–67.

Žižek, Slavoj. *Welcome to the Desert of the Real: Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates*. London: Verso, 2002.

This page intentionally left blank

Index