

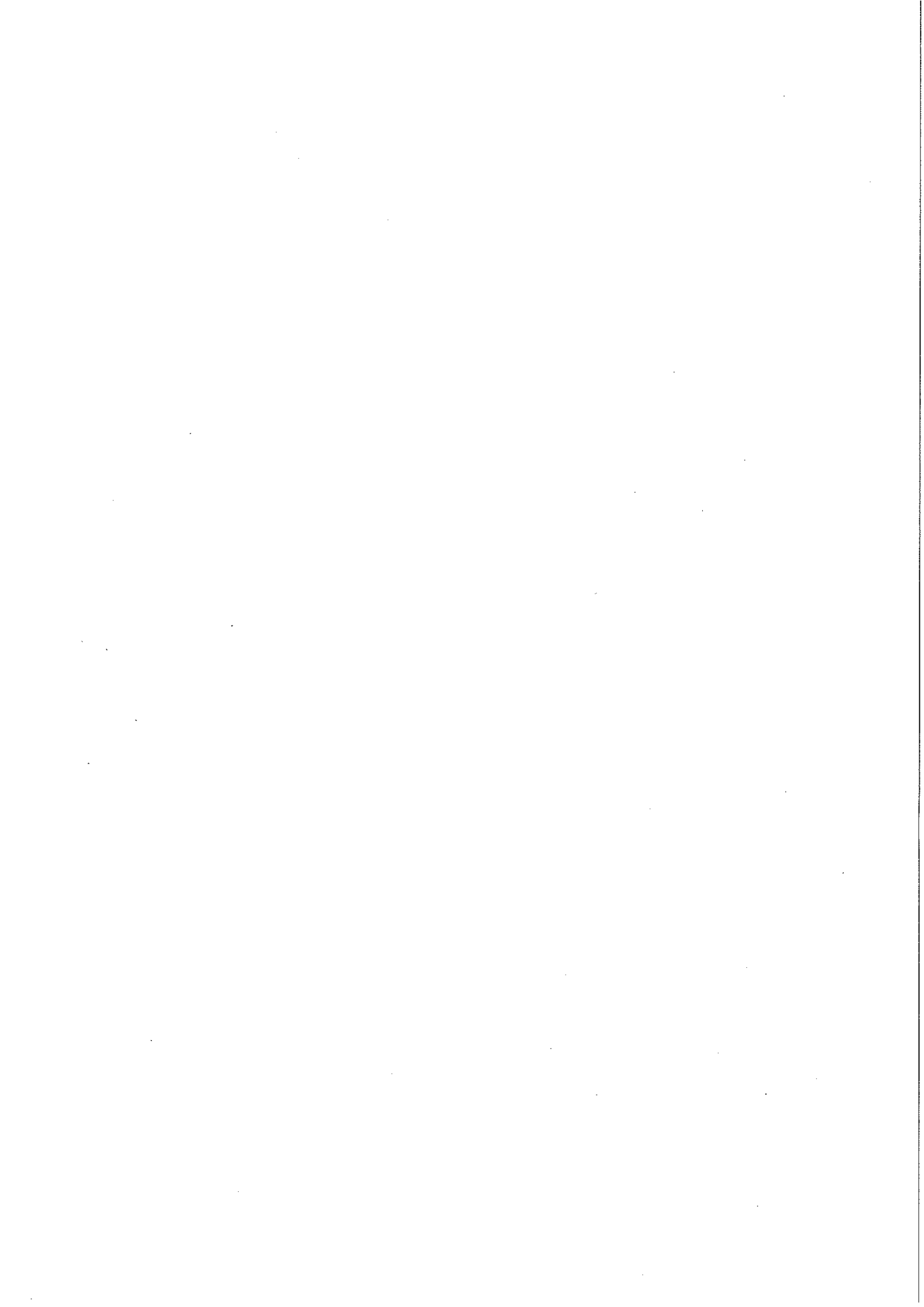
Racism in the Modern World

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Chapter 15

Race and Indigeneity in Contemporary Australia

A. Dirk Moses

Race and Ethnicity in Australia

Race remains a term of public discourse in twenty-first-century Australia long after natural science and anthropology abandoned their belief in the existence of biologically distinct human species. Ideals of “whiteness,” culminating in the “White Australia Policy” between 1901 and the early 1970s, were designed to keep out non-whites, especially Asians, and keep down Indigenous blacks who, it was hoped, would ultimately be “absorbed” or assimilated into the broader population.¹ But whiteness has been difficult to maintain in a globalizing world. As a classical country of immigration, Australia’s population of some 21 million now comprises people from around the world. For decades, about 22 percent of its population has been born overseas, increasingly in non-European countries. Whereas British and Irish migrants constituted 58 percent and 22 percent respectively of all overseas-born Australians in 1901, those figures had declined to 27 percent and 1 percent by 1996. After a postwar immigration surge from Britain and non-British Europe, it has been migration from Asian countries that has increased considerably since the 1980s.

These changes are often understood in racial terms. Asian-Australians, who now comprise about 8.5 percent of the population, were sometimes feared to be “taking over.”² The violent attack on Australians of so-called “middle-eastern appearance” by hundreds of Anglo-Australians on a Sydney beach in December 2005 was immediately dubbed a “race riot,” as are the occasional clashes between Indigenous and Anglo-Australians in rural towns and inner-city Sydney.³ Race remains a marker of difference for a public that regards “people,” “ethnicity,” and “race,” and sometimes even “nation,” as rough synonyms.

Even during the years of the "White Australia Policy," the population was never exclusively British and Celtic. Indigenous people(s), who have lived on the continent for tens of thousands of years, grew in number after their catastrophic decline during the nineteenth century.⁴ Their enduring presence has been a feature of the Australian racial imagination, which fantasized the total disappearance of Aborigines until the 1940s, if not longer. They now constitute 2.5 percent of the population.⁵ The colored and colorful language of racial distinction remains common, especially in rural areas. "Blackfellas" live alongside "whitefellas," referring to one another with these group designates, while other terms are loaded with disdain, and often used, though not in "polite society." They are widely regarded as "racist."⁶

Some language is deemed racist by Australian law. The relevant government agency, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, describes the law thus: "The *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* protects individuals across Australia from discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin." In 1995, the national parliament passed the *Racial Hatred Act*, which covers "racially offensive or abusive behaviour" that is "done, in whole or in part, because of the race, colour, or national or ethnic origin of a person or group": it must also be "reasonably likely in all the circumstances to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate that person or group."⁷

Arab and Muslim Australians felt offended, insulted, humiliated, and intimidated when they became the objects of intense media scrutiny as potential security threats after the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001 and in Bali a year later.⁸ The public spotlight was already on Muslim Arabs after the gang rape of Anglo-Australian women by Lebanese-Australian youths in Sydney in 2000. The rapists highlighted their Lebanese identity during the crime, leading to media observation that the rapes were "racist."⁹

Ubiquitous as racialized language is in popular and legal discourses in Australia, many historians would deny that race is actually at stake in these controversies. Racism implies biological distinction and domination. As George Fredrickson defines it, "[r]acism exists when one ethnic group or historical collectivity dominates, excludes, or seeks to eliminate another on the basis of differences that it believes are hereditary and unalterable."¹⁰ Since almost no one any longer believes in unalterable, hereditary traits, we are usually confronted with xenophobia, they say, an unremarkable form of prejudice that characterizes virtually every society.¹¹ Alternatively, some commentators have preferred to regard these kinds of discrimination as

manifestations of a "new racism," which marks difference by culture rather than genetic inheritance. Cultural incompatibility, not biological contamination, is the perceived social threat according to this constructivist methodology.¹²

Whether the old and new racisms can be distinguished so neatly has been questioned by British sociologists who point out that difference continues to be indicated by skin color: groups still possess a "racialized ethnicity" even though very few believe in inheritable and unalterable traits of character or culture.¹³ For instance, a Jew or Muslim is racialized to the extent that his/her culture is marked by physical appearance. On these terms, to refer to people as of "middle-eastern appearance" (which excludes Jews in Australia) is to racialize them. But that would depend, Kwame Anthony Appiah might contend, on whether inferiority is ascribed to signs of physical difference; otherwise we are dealing with "racialism"—a mode of categorization that links culture to bodily inscription of individual and group otherness—rather than racism, which is necessarily discriminatory.¹⁴

The evidence is that many Australians think in racist terms, and often in racist ones.¹⁵ But if race is a social rather than biological fact, why the persistence of this category of difference at all? A global perspective is necessary to answer this question according to Immanuel Wallerstein, because the rapidly expanding and integrating world capitalist system has so undermined the ability of nation-states to deliver their promise of economic security that citizens resort to compensatory racial modes of identification. Identity politics and multiculturalism are the consequence of this transition.¹⁶

For critical race theorists, even liberal multiculturalism is suspect, because it suits the transcultural composition of the new global managerial class that insists on cosmopolitanism and interesting ethnic restaurants in their habitats while ignoring, or even contributing to, the international, racialized division of labor.¹⁷ This reading of the relationship between globalization and racism is consistent with the neo-liberal opposition to the "old racism," because high levels of skilled, often non-white immigration are needed for economic growth. Thus *The Australian* newspaper's editors declined to follow the controversial argument of the Sydney-based legal academic, Andrew Fraser, who complained that "white Australians now face a life-or-death struggle to preserve their homeland" against "the Third World colonisation of Australia."¹⁸ Hardcore racists such as Fraser are easy pickings for practitioners of "white studies," but few escape unscathed in this discipline which defines even multicultural liberals as purveyors of

"benign whiteness."¹⁹ Whites are invited by those in the know to become "race traitors" or "new Abolitionists" so they can relinquish their colonialist selves. Or they are condemned to be forever white, despite their anti-racist commitment, at best self-conscious of their inherited privilege.²⁰

Indigenous Crisis?

These debates may appear like intellectual parlor games in light of the intensifying public discussion about the state and future of remote Indigenous communities.²¹ Sharing headlines with stories about local Muslim "terror" suspects in the lead-up to the 2007 federal election, the reported problems in these communities—sexual violence against children, substance abuse, mismanagement, and economic stagnation—were highlighted by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous leaders and intellectuals. As usual, polarized positions characterized the field. Was the dire situation the consequence of colonialism's genocidal trauma or the Indigenous failure to fully embrace modernity? Had governments since the 1970s rashly encouraged the attempt of Aborigines to live apart from settler Australians while accelerating the erosion of essential social mores by providing excessive welfare benefits? Or were these remote communities in fact the victims of government neglect, a chronic underfunding of health and education services ascribable to a racist undervaluing of these particular citizens?

Most commentators, including a few progressive white and Indigenous leaders, supported the conservative federal government's military and bureaucratic "intervention" into the communities of the North Territory, which was announced in June 2007. As might be expected, most Indigenous leaders and others on the left opposed it, raising the spectre of neo-assimilation, neo-paternalism, and even genocide. They pointed out that the media's obsessive focus on "Aboriginal dysfunction" obscures white Australia's own identity anxieties, its hegemonic project of domination, and its denial of unrelinquished Indigenous sovereignty.²²

And yet, the dysfunction is real, insist the minority of Indigenous leaders. To reject paternalist government measures, even if they are politically opportunistic, will affect Indigenous survival in parts of the country.²³ Inverting the usual compatibility between Indigenous and leftist political fronts, these intellectuals and leaders have accused white progressives of infantilizing Indigenous people by casting them as agentless victims of colonialism and rendering them dependent on welfare and white liberal beneficence, much to the delight of conservatives who claim that their positions have been vin-

dicated.²⁴ These new fronts signal a major shift in the terms of debate about “the Indigenous question” in Australia. If the old progressive and Indigenous hope posited land rights, self-determination (or self-management), and civic equality as the high road to Aboriginal modernity, its apparent failure has not yet given birth to a new answer. In this chapter, we will see that the question of racial identity—framed in terms of “indigeneity”—is a central trope through which this crisis is framed by Aboriginal intellectuals. The survival of racial identity against the governmentality of the Australian state that seeks to aid Indigenous people can trump the imperative for “bare life”—but not for all Indigenous intellectuals.

The Question of Indigeneity

The settler colonial structure of Australian society results in an intense attachment to Indigeneity and the historical perspective that underwrites it, because this colonial modality seeks to replace them with a settler presence rather than exploit their labor, as in other colonial forms.²⁵ In such circumstances, one of the few strategies available to Aboriginal intellectuals is making moral claims to survival and, perhaps, some autonomy. The degree to which notions of Indigeneity persist as a discourse of self-identification mirrors the extent to which the labor of self-creation and self-preservation is necessary for a tiny population in the face of a white settler colony determined to assimilate the “native” other. Cultural survival is, then, a pressing issue for Indigenous leaders and intellectuals.²⁶ “Aboriginal culture and identity continue to be under increasing pressure,” observed Indigenous academic Eleanor Bourke.²⁷

It is not surprising that a large section of the Indigenous intelligentsia is preoccupied with articulating an emphatic sense of Indigeneity, particularly in the university environment where Aboriginal or Indigenous studies centers have been established only since the 1980s. Indeed, the Indigenous intelligentsia, comprising an impressive number of women,²⁸ is overwhelmingly situated in the academy, a social location that has led to reflection on Indigenous standpoints in relation to western knowledge. This novel situation is not always easy to negotiate. Confronted with often overtly racist white students, having to meet the expectations of the others who desire “postmodern primitivity where an *educated black* speaks ‘their’ English,” and needing to rely on western scholarship to teach their subject while balancing the competing imperatives of objectivity and an Indigenous standpoint, Aboriginal academics have reported teaching and

research to be a "sometimes traumatic experience" that can entail "outrage, pain, anger, humiliation, guilt, anxiety and depression."²⁹

What is more, the academy's norms and imperatives function to accelerate assimilation and can thereby be a technique of "internal colonialism."³⁰ The challenge has been expressed by Bourke in the following terms:

Appropriate education is critical in the survival of Aboriginal Australia but only if it is in harmony with Aboriginal aspirations and cultural contexts. The alternative is to lose Aboriginal values and lifestyles and to become Europeanised. Aboriginal people have to find the balance between gaining the necessary degree of expertise from western education and the enhancement of Aboriginality at the same time.³¹

Defining this balance has been anything but straightforward. This section identifies a number of answers to the question of Indigenous knowledge and identity, ranging from assertive challenges to "white" epistemology and calls for resistance in the name of unyielded sovereignty, to equally assertive questionings of stark polarities in the name of non-sovereign "peoplehood." As might be expected, both approaches differ markedly in their assessment of the federal government "intervention" into remote Indigenous communities, and in their comportment to history.

Indigeneity as Resistance to Colonial "Whiteness"

A defiant gesture of resilience is the emotional entailment of the project to invest Aboriginal difference with ontological status. Anita Heiss's poem, "We Have Survived," captures the sensibility in stark yet elegant terms.

You may have tried to
eliminate us
assimilate us
reconciliate us
But you only managed to alienate us.
And as Indigenous peoples united
You will never totally
eradicate us
For our spirit has survived
And we will remain, now and forever.³²

Ensuring this survival is the task at hand rather than building a non-racial polity. The legal scholar Irene Watson speaks for many when she asks: "How do we, the minority, ensure Aboriginality? If we are cannibalised and utilised to Aboriginalise the majority, how do we as individuals and communities sustain our own vulnerable Aboriginality?"³³ A common strategy is to insist that the sovereignty of the Australian continent remains Aboriginal, and that Aborigines have not been defeated. It links Aboriginality to the international Indigenous movement that has emerged since the 1960s. Characterized by a shared sense of victimization by settlers, such movements now engage in "resistance to the hegemony of nations-states," unlike, say, the African postcolonies, which *are* nation-states.³⁴ This movement supplies a vocabulary and method for asserting Aboriginality as indigeneity, as evidenced in the many citations of Native American, Canadian First Nation, African-American, and Maori writers. Prominent among them is the Maori academic, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, whose book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999) has been hugely influential in Australia and North America.³⁵ Its purpose has been to provide the intellectual tools to challenge the normative status of western knowledge so as to overcome the "fragmentation" of Indigenous culture: "the greater project is about recentering Indigenous identities on a larger scale" after the dislocation wrought by colonialism.³⁶

We are witnessing not merely a defense or rescue of extant Indigenous culture, then. This is a project of regeneration, revitalization, and rehabilitation. "For us," writes the Torres Strait Islander academic Martin Nakata, "the field of Indigenous Studies is part of a broader landscape that includes not just Indigenous Studies, but ... the rebuilding of Indigenous communities and future."³⁷ These are common sentiments in Indigenous circles. "Indigenist research is research which gives voice to Indigenous people," writes Lester-Irabinna Rigney.³⁸ For Native American scholars Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel even their own identity is a process of self-creation: "*being Indigenous* means thinking, speaking and acting with the conscious intent of regenerating one's indigeneity."³⁹

Indigenous scholarship is therefore necessarily activist, and as such runs into western academic protocols of objectivity or neutrality. But that is not all. Western scholarship is experienced as a tool of colonial domination. The scholarly depiction of Aborigines over the centuries has been not only degrading in its arrogant assumption of white superiority; it defines Aboriginality as the negation of whiteness and colonizes knowledge about Aborigines, constraining the imaginaries of Aborigines themselves. The

Aborigine has to understand him/herself with the language of the colonizer in the manner of Du Bois's "double consciousness" and Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*.⁴⁰ This consciousness is a burden that non-Indigenous and non-black people can barely appreciate. Reading about "hybrid" Aborigines as bereft of history and as belonging to neither race, a teenage Ian Anderson experienced "something like grieving; but a grieving over a tremendous loss which is in itself then denied as being yours."⁴¹ As might be expected, these Indigenous academics are suspicious of an institutional and cultural formation—the academy and modern science—that has been so complicit in the subjugation of their people.

Such suspicion extends to white academics who all too often have taken it upon themselves to "speak for" Aborigines, thereby compromising Indigenous agency while soothing their consciences. The struggle to claim a voice has extended to feminist circles, where Indigenous women have set clear boundaries about the priorities of race and gender.⁴² Above all, white academics, however well-intentioned, could never relate the lived experience of Indigenous people, and this distance told in their historical reconstructions. Wendy Brady echoed a common complaint when she said that she was "tired of reading about us by people who are concerned about creating a new picture of Australia's past, yet are unable to make the connection with those of us who have experienced it."⁴³ Jackie Huggins was making the same point when she wrote that "Whites must not ignore this [distance between black and white positions] by taking advantage of their privileged speaking positions to construct an external version of 'us' which may pass for our 'reality'. There must be limits to the ways our worlds are re-written or placed in conceptual frameworks which are not our own."⁴⁴ Such "imposed labels and structures," writes Michael Dodson, have "[n]early suffocated" Indigenous people.⁴⁵ Not for nothing does Linda Tuhiwai Smith begin her book by noting that "[r]esearch' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary."⁴⁶

If these Indigenous scholars sometimes differ in the extent of their hostility to Western science, they do agree that they should no longer interpolate them as hybrid subjects, part Aboriginal, part non-Aboriginal—but not as emphatically *Indigenous*. It is not surprising, then, that they are hostile to the postcolonial and postmodern trend in the humanities, with its simultaneous celebration of cultural difference—which lends itself all too well to an immigrant settler society—and rejection of essentialisms of any kind, including, by implication, Indigeneity.⁴⁷ They want to control knowledge production about Aborigines so that Indigeneity can be (re)con-

structed. As Dodson puts it, "Self-representations of Aboriginality are always also acts of freedom."⁴⁸

One strategy of Indigenous intellectuals has been to place intellectual authority in the hands of particular Aboriginal peoples in the interests of authentic and responsible cultural transmission and survival. Karen L. Martin-Booran Mirraboopa, for example, advocates an Indigenist research program that reflects a distinct Aboriginal ontology of natural and human parity and connectedness. A full-blown re-enchantment of the world, this program is designed for "protection and preservation of our country and its Entities and the protection and preservation of our Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing." Research requires a listening countenance towards organic totalities rather than their forensic dissection. Messages "may occur as dreams" or in the quotidian warp and woof of everyday life. Research "has less to do with capturing 'truth' or drawing general conclusions, than the reconnecting of self, family, community and Entities that can be claimed and celebrated."⁴⁹

To decolonize higher education means that Aborigines become the authors rather than the object of research. The academy becomes a vehicle for Indigenous recovery. Lester-Irabinna Rigney uses the term "intellectual sovereignty," while Victor Hart refers to "knowledge governance" and "Indigenous standpoint pedagogy."⁵⁰ An explicitly philosophical defense of this position has been mounted by Aileen Moreton-Robinson. Against the utopian fantasies of Australian multiculturalism, she claims that Aborigines possess "ontological belonging," a prior rootedness to the land that subsequent migrant-settlers cannot cancel. She rejects the postcolonial literature that, as she accurately observes, focuses on countries like India and Algeria that have cast out the settler and become sovereign. Aborigines are still asserting their sovereignty against the settler, after all, and they remain Indigenous despite any seeming hybridity and loss of tradition. "Indigenous people may have been incorporated in and seduced by the cultural forms of the colonizer but this has not diminished the ontological relationship to land. Rather, it has produced a doubleness whereby Indigenous subjects can 'perform' whiteness while being Indigenous."⁵¹

This ontologically distinct Indigenousness consists in "relationship to country, derived from the Dreaming," the "original form of social living created by ancestral beings." Like Martin-Booran Mirraboopa, Moreton-Robinson emphasizes the unity of creation, and asserts that Aborigines today believe that they reincarnate "these ancestral beings," via which they "derive their sense of belonging to country through and from them."

She dismisses the critique of essentialism by positing the radical incommensurability of the Indigenous self, which, as part of creation, is immune to charges of essentialism. Western knowledge cannot comprehend it and should not try. "Questioning the integrity and legitimacy of Indigenous ways of knowing and being has more to do with who has the power to be knower and whether their knowledge is commensurate with the West's 'rational' belief system." How seriously she takes this argument about the non-translatibility of Indigenous knowledge and culture-boundedness of Western rationality is unclear when she cites Western thinkers and qualifies her statements about the Dreaming by writing that "it is believed to have occurred."⁵² Such tensions are inherent in any attempt to rationally base a claim of "strategic essentialism" on ontologically grounded indigeneity.⁵³

Given the difficulty of defining Indigeneity in the international literature, some scholars have tried to distinguish it from the aspiration of peoples for autonomy and self-determination, goals that do not need to be grounded in Indigeneity *per se*.⁵⁴ Other researchers committed to an Indigenous research methodology implicitly accept this distinction by making less ambitious epistemological claims. Martin Nakata, for instance, sees an Indigenous standpoint not in privileged access to esoteric knowledge—as Martin and Moreton-Robinson aver—but in a "distinct form of analysis" that must be "rational and reasoned" and not "beyond the scrutiny of others." Such an analysis entails reflection on experience. The special Indigenous experience means that the Indigenous perspective lays bare that which is ignored by the powerful. In keeping with other Indigenous scholars, he prescribes lived experience as the starting point for investigation rather than abstract concepts and categories, although in his hands experience is a conduit for insight rather than an end in itself.⁵⁵

He is not alone. Lester-Irabinna Rigney agrees that Indigenism "cannot afford hegemonic and simplistic generalisations and conclusions." Indigenous intellectual sovereignty selectively adapts Western critical theory's rejection of positivism by embedding it in, recovering, and honoring Indigenous experience. "The struggle for Indigenous intellectual sovereignty is to move our humanness, our scholarship, our identities and our knowledge systems from invisible to visible."⁵⁶

As might be expected, scholars from this tradition tend to deplore the federal government's intervention into the remote communities of the Northern Territory. Like many anti-racist whites, they mock the proposition that these communities should join the "real economy" as a tawdry consolation for unjust dispossession. Land rights, the symbol of sovereignty and Indigeneity,

cannot be relinquished or compromised for the sake of social order. The construction of these communities' problems as a national emergency or crisis displaces the deeper problem of illegitimate British conquest.⁵⁷ If intra-Aboriginal violence is regrettable, they continue, it is ultimately the fault of the colonialists who undermined traditional law. Aboriginal culture is not pathological and should not be blamed. "Our living Aboriginal being is alive and awake causing a disruption to the colonial project," announced Irene Watson defiantly when confronted with depictions of communal disintegration. Such depictions are mischievous, these thinkers retort, because they merely confirm the worst racist stereotypes of whites and serve to distract attention away from government underfunding of Indigenous services. The government's rhetoric of Aboriginal "responsibility" neglects the root causes of Indigenous disadvantage—colonial dispossession and trauma—and plays into the hands of racists who resent government assistance to remote communities. The intervention is above all an exercise in neocolonialism and neo-assimilation.⁵⁸

This defensive perspective is indentured to a particular relationship to time. The traumatic past is the traumatic present. The colonialism that began in 1788 persists today. Indigenous people were victims then and they are now. Victor Hart's rejection of postcolonial studies is paradigmatic. The postcolonial gaze, he thinks, "implies history no longer has an effect on the present and that history is only relevant for *understanding* the present, rather than in transforming it."⁵⁹ The trauma was eloquently articulated by Kevin Gilbert in 1990:

In attempting to present the evidence we are furiously attacked by white Australians and white converts, whatever their colour, as "Going back two hundred years ... the past is finished ...!" Yet, cut off a man's leg, kill his mother, rape his land, psychologically attack him and keep him in a powerless position each day—does it not live on in the mind of the victim? Does it not continue to scar and affect his thinking? Deny it, but it still exists.⁶⁰

The persistence of this traumatic consciousness is a function, at least in part, of the denial of original Indigenous sovereignty and the genocidal effects of British settlement.⁶¹ But if Hart's contention that the past affects the present is undeniable, one could ask whether freedom is thereby compromised. Does not Gilbert's self-reflexive consciousness demonstrate the capacity not to be determined by this past? By recognizing the temporal space between past and present—identifying the trauma as trauma means

one has begun to overcome its spell—different questions can be asked of Aborigine-settler encounters. They would include the question, popular among historians, about “accommodation” between Aborigines and settlers, but also questions of the kind posed regarding the participation of some Aborigines in the extermination of others (like the Mounted Native Police in Queensland), and the origins of intra-black violence and exploitation.⁶² Answering such questions would interrupt the heteronymous flow of historical relations, question the status of victimhood, enable a different comportment to historical responsibility, and open up space for a different language of identity. These, at least, seem to be the hopes of a small number of Indigenous intellectuals, to whom I now turn.

Peoplehood and Responsibility

We have seen why the transcendence of Aboriginal liberation narratives is difficult in Australia: holding fast to Indigeneity is the inevitable response of a tiny minority in the face of a settler majority intent on integrating Aborigines on its own terms. As Indigenous historian John Maynard, observes, “Historically, the Aboriginal political voice was silenced and in the contemporary setting it continues to be.”⁶³ And yet, the much-discussed crisis of remote communities has led some Indigenous leaders to abandon the liberation narrative and to question the terms of conventional Aboriginal politics. They are, in the words of the African philosopher Achilles Mbembe, “revisiting this archive of abjection, no longer in the context of the call to murder the settler, but at a time when brother and enemy have become one, and in an age in which the sovereign right to ill is exercised against one’s own people first—the violence of brother towards brother.”⁶⁴

Perhaps the most publicly prominent figure is Noel Pearson, an Indigenous leader who, as a lawyer in the 1980s and 1990s, was at the forefront of the land rights debate, and has since led the Cape York Institute in far-north Queensland to advance the welfare of his people.⁶⁵ Equally significant is Marcia Langton, a pioneer of the university-based Aboriginal intelligentsia who has written extensively about Indigenous ontology, sovereignty, and treaties, as well as about representations of Aborigines and the limits of the white academy.⁶⁶ Both of them, in addition to political leaders like Warren Mundine, national president of the Australian Labor Party, are trying to reshape the Indigenous political imaginary, and to that end have been given considerable space in Australia’s public affairs journals and newspapers.

They support the intervention despite its origins with the conservative coalition government of John Howard. In fact, their targets are its white—liberals and “the old left”—and black opponents and the ideology of victimhood, entitlements, and rights that unite them. These targets are, in the first place, white “romantic defenders of Aboriginal self-determination” who “need perpetual victims for [their] analysis to work.”⁶⁷ Although he acknowledges the support of white liberals for Indigenous rights over the decades, Pearson goes so far as to suggest that they present a greater threat to Aborigines than racist conservatives. The construction of Aborigines as perpetual victims of colonialism robs them of agency and renders them dependent on white liberal beneficence, resulting in a destructive co-dependency in which the white conscience is soothed.⁶⁸ Consequently, the biggest danger for Indigenous people now, Langton thinks, “is that the old-left thinking will again prevail.”⁶⁹

Fellow Aborigines are not spared either. Langton is scathing about “the ‘big men’ in Aboriginal communities who harvest votes for their Labor mates,” but also about women who oppose the intervention, because “they undermine attempts to prevent rape of Aboriginal children and other crimes against our most vulnerable citizens.”⁷⁰ Both Pearson and Langton reject the argument that colonialism can be blamed entirely for the Indigenous predicament:

Many of the strongest critics of the intervention have a sense of identity and dignity based on being in an oppressed ‘racial’ collective. As Aboriginal people, they feel they share the suffering of other Aboriginal people. I cannot quibble with this basic ontological characteristic of being a member of an oppressed group. The problem arises when there is a presumption of shared experience and willingness to overlook the moral, ethical or even rational view of particular behaviours. Solidarity for its own sake takes pre-eminence, and does not permit a clear-cut rejection of wrong doing.⁷¹

For the same reason, Pearson rejects the argument that structural disadvantages can account for Indigenous behavior in these communities. The “symptom theory” of destructive behavior, which refers, say, alcoholism or sexual abuse to historical trauma or structural disadvantage disempowers Aborigines by suggesting that they cannot take responsibility for their actions and therefore that nothing can be done. These problems, he argues, are the poisoned fruit of Indigenous traditions distorted by substance

abuse, which is also perpetuated in the name of those traditions, such as reciprocity among kin-members.⁷²

Aboriginal freedom to forge an autonomous destiny is his goal. Their history cannot ultimately condemn his people to perpetual victim status:

The disorder in our community is the symptom in the sense that it is a product of our history and marginalisation. It is a different question to what extent our history *maintains* the social chaos ... Inherited trauma is an issue, as we have seen in the Jewish experience. But the same experience shows us that trauma is not in itself enough to debilitate a people.⁷³

The regeneration of his people requires the ascription of personal responsibility. These remote communities (or postcolonies), he has pointed out on many occasions, have become anarchic "outback hellholes" and cannot be spaces of regeneration until passive welfare is ended and social order is re-established.⁷⁴ Challenging the "whiteness studies" paradigm, he is dismayed that so many Aborigines decry the virtues of thrift and education as "white," implying that dissolute behavior and dropping out of school are characteristically black. Himself an accomplished university student and then lawyer, he does not share the suspicion of the academy: "Indigenous children will be able to choose their own life path only after they have received the best education and have been protected from ill health and neglect."⁷⁵ To that end, he also urges that remote communities integrate into the "real economy" by developing partnerships with the private sector, a position directly at odds with the oppositional posture that regards such collaboration as craven capitulation to white-settler colonialism, neo-liberalism, and globalization.⁷⁶

Langton, too, rejects the avoidance of Indigenous responsibility that ascribes contemporary intra-Aboriginal violence to colonialism. "One of the sustained fantasies about traditional Aboriginal society," she notes, "is that, until colonisation, life for Aboriginal people was peaceful and idyllic."⁷⁷ She and Pearson extend the auto-critique of Kevin Gilbert who in 1978 punctured the Aboriginal myths about Indigeneity and communal and kinship solidarity by writing that "you only have to go to any Aboriginal mission or reserve to see the truth: the lack of community spirit, the neglect and abuse of tiny children, and all the rest of it."⁷⁸ This self-critical posture has led Pearson to question the metaphysics of Indigeneity proposed by Moreton-Robinson and others. Literate in the North American debates on race consciousness, he proposes "peoplehood" as an alternative to "nationhood"

or, by implication, Indigeneity for Aboriginal peoples in Australia. Nationhood implies state sovereignty, which is not an option for Aborigines in Australia, but peoplehood underlines the pan-Aboriginal sense of common identity and history. At the same time, it is sufficiently open a concept to admit of layered identities for Aborigines, an approach inspired by the philosopher Amartya Sen. Rather than the stark and rigid opposition of black and white and its "illusion of singular identity," Pearson urges a complex amalgam of layers based on cultural and linguistic groups, religion, place of birth, residence, professional group, and so forth. "A pluralist and united world is one which has strong bonding identities between those who know each other, and bridging identities with strangers."⁷⁹ Such a view would accord with Duncan Ivison's argument about the consistency of Aboriginal group rights and individual freedom.⁸⁰

Independent of this program, Yin Paradies, a Melbourne-based research scientist who identifies himself as "Aboriginal-Anglo-Asian Australian," has also mounted a trenchant critique of the Indigeneity case. Exploding "fantasies of indigeneity," he points out that he himself is "[d]escended from both Indigenous and Euro-Australian ancestors," and is therefore "both colonizer and colonized, both Black and consummately White." The discourse of Indigeneity results in constructed boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, policed by whites and blacks alike, one demanding performances of race, the other questioning whether one is sufficiently black.⁸¹ Such fantasies of alterity, in Paradies's view, ignore the fact that most Aborigines do not speak an Indigenous language, live on ancestral lands, or identify with them. Neither can they underwrite an illegitimate assumption of Indigenous superiority and access to truth that he perceives in claims by some Aboriginal intellectuals. Like Appiah, Paradies thinks such protocols of belonging, though understandably fashioned to ensure cultural survival, "end up replacing 'one form of tyranny with another.'" They have become maladaptive and outdated.⁸² And like Pearson, he wants to reconcile the persistence of Aboriginal peoplehood with a diversity of identities, and thereby relinquish romantic notions of singular Indigenous selfhood. Hybridity, defined in this way rather than as a synonym for deracination as Ian Anderson experienced as a teenager, ought to be permitted to describe Aborigines as well.⁸³

Conclusion

In many ways, these revisionist intellectuals are seeking to replace the language of authenticity with practices of sincerity that the African-American anthropologist John L. Jackson has theorized in his book *Real Black: Adventures of Black Sincerity*.⁸⁴ An opponent of strategic essentialism as well as anti-essentialist constructivism, he proposes a critical ontology of racial being in which performances of blackness negotiate, though never harmonize, the tension between black particularity and universal human subjectivity. The freedom of sincerity inheres in cracking open closed racial objectifications, in replacing the language of unchanging racial substance with that of becoming, and in rejecting the racially limited space of human meaningfulness prescribed by inherited regimes of power.

Converging arguments are being made in other disciplines. The African-American political scientist Tommie Shelby, inspired by Appiah, distinguishes between black solidarity and black identity—existence and essence, if you like—by arguing that struggles for justice against racism need not entail an emphatic sense of racial being. If African-Americans are disadvantaged because they are racialized as black, they can develop a “pragmatic nationalist conception of political solidarity,” in other words, a political rather than racial identity committed “to eliminating unjust racial inequality.” Like Pearson and Jackson, then, he is not a radical constructivist: he wants *black* political mobilization and he defends black group differentiation. But such mobilization and differentiation is hard to base philosophically on racial—rather than political—difference. Shelby’s vision of black self-realization is “forthrightly anti-essentialist,” then, because it “subordinate[s] questions of who blacks are as a people to questions about the ways in which they have been and continue to be unfairly treated.”⁸⁵

An Australian rendition might separate Aboriginal solidarity and political mobilization from pseudo-philosophical claims to Indigenous ontological difference. Pearson and Langton seem to imply that reclaiming freedom is only possible by challenging heteronymous formations. In this case, reflexivity about one’s agency requires a new approach to both the self and to group membership. Moving beyond a view of the self based on “victimhood and mutilation” is as important, in the words of Mbembe, as “a revisiting of our own fables and the various grammars that, under the pretext of authenticity or radicalism, prosaically turn Africa into yet another deadly fiction.”⁸⁶ This critical task in Australia is being undertaken principally by a small number of insider intellectuals, as it is in other national

historiographies, such as Saul Friedländer's dismay at the lack of Jewish solidarity during the Holocaust, and Edward Said's call for a critical historical consciousness among Arabs "and Palestinians in particular," who "must also begin to explore our own histories, myths, and patriarchal ideas of the nation ... [a task that]... cannot either be left unanswered or postponed indefinitely under the guise of national defense and national unity."⁸⁷ As the Jewish and Palestinian cases show, such a self-critical comportment is particularly challenging when the group itself feels beleaguered and stigmatized.

Notes

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1. For background, see Raymond Evans, "Pigmentia: Racial Fears and White Australia," in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, edited by A. Dirk Moses (New York, 2004), 103–124.
2. Two-thirds of this population lives in Sydney and Melbourne: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006 Census Data. "20680–Ancestry (Region) by Country of Birth of Parents–Australia," <<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au>>, viewed 9 February 2008; Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, *Immigration: Federation to Century's End, 1901–2001* (Canberra, October 2001): <<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/federation.pdf>>, viewed 6 February 2008. An example of anxiety about Asian immigration is Geoffrey Blainey, *All for Australia* (Sydney, 1984).
3. For analyses of the Cronulla beach riot, see Gregory Noble, ed., *Lines in the Sand: The Cronulla Riots and the Limits of Australian Multiculturalism* (Sydney, 2009), and Scott Poynting, "What Caused the Cronulla Riot?," *Race & Class* 48, no. 1 (2006): 85–92. On Indigenous people and racial rhetoric, Joanna Atherfold, "Redfern: the 'Riot' and the Reporting," *Australian Studies in Journalism* 17 (2006): 41–53.
4. They declined in number from perhaps 750,000 to around 90,000 in the century after the British arrival/invasion in 1788. The complexity of defining, categorizing, and counting the Indigenous population is carefully set out in Tim Rowse, "Notes on the History of the Aboriginal Population of Australia," in Moses, *Genocide and Settler Society*, 312–325. Figures from this period need to be treated as rough estimates.
5. They are not evenly distributed throughout the country. For instance, 31.6 percent of Northern Territorians are Indigenous, while only 0.6 percent of Victorians. In-

- igenous Australians numbered 517,200 in the 2006 census: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Population Distribution, Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Australians*, Document 4705.0 (Canberra, 15 August 2007), <<http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au>>, viewed 9 January 2008.
6. Gillian K. Cowlshaw, "Censoring Race in 'Post-Colonial' Anthropology," *Critique of Anthropology* 20 (2000): 101–23; Faye V. Harrison, "The Persistent Power of 'Race' in the Cultural and Political Economy of Racism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 47–74.
 7. <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/racial_discrimination/about_race.html>, viewed 8 February 2008.
 8. Andrew Jakubowicz, "Political Islam and the Future of Australian Multiculturalism," *National Identities* 9, no. 3 (2007): 265–80.
 9. Miranda Devine, "Racist Rapes: Finally the Truth Comes Out," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 2002; Sarah Crichton and Andrew Stevenson, "When Race and Rape Collide," *The Age*, 17 September 2002.
 10. George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, 2002), 170. Still other historians concede that race/ism is a "moving and fuzzy target," and so take a broad definition for research purposes: Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge, UK, 2006), 2.
 11. This is the position of the conservative Australian broadsheet, *The Australian*. See its editorial, "Racism not Endemic," 14 December 2005.
 12. Michael Humphrey, "Culturalising the Object: Islam, Law and Moral Panic in the West," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 1 (2007): 9–25. The founding text of this distinction is Martin Barker, *The New Racism* (London, 1981); Barker, "Biology and the New Racism," in *Anatomy of Racism*, edited by David Theo Goldberg (Minneapolis, 1990), 18–37.
 13. Tariq Modood, Richard Berthoud, and James Nazroo, "'Race', Racism and Ethnicity: A Response to Ken Smith," *Sociology* 36, no. 2 (2002): 419–27.
 14. Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Racisms," in Goldberg, *Anatomy of Racism*, 3–18.
 15. James Forrest and Kevin Dunn, "Racism and Intolerance in Eastern Australia: a Geographic Perspective," *Australian Geographer* 37, no. 2 (2006): 167–86.
 16. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Comment" on Eric J. Wolfe, "Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People," *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 1 (1994): 9–10.
 17. Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for a Home in a Shrinking Society* (Sydney, 2002).
 18. Editorial, "The Racism Furphy," *The Australian*, 22 December 2005; Andrew Fraser, "Rethinking the White Australia Policy," *The Australian*, 21 September 2005. In the interests of "open debate," however, the newspaper was happy to publish Fraser's racist hysteria. Fraser was subject to disciplinary action from his employer, Macquarie University in Sydney, for suggesting that African immigrants were racially inclined to criminality.

19. The North American field is examined in Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (2002): 154–73. On Australia, see Suvendrini Perera, "Race Terror, Sydney, December 2005," *borderlands e-journal* 5, no. 1 (2006); Rachel Standfield, "A Remarkably Tolerant Nation?: Constructions of Benign Whiteness in Australian Political Discourse," *borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 2 (2004). For high-level theorization of multiculturalism in Australia, see Geoffrey Brahm Levey, ed., *Political Theory and Australian Multiculturalism* (New York, 2008).
20. Jane Haggis, "Beyond Race and Whiteness? Reflections on the New Abolitionists and an Australian Critical Whiteness Studies," *borderlands e-journal* 3, no. 2 (2004). See the excellent discussion in Emma Esther Kowal, "The Proximate Advocate: Improving Indigenous Health on the Postcolonial Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., University of Melbourne, 2006), 42–44.
21. E.g., Richard Trugden, *When Warriors Lie Down and Die: Towards an Understanding of Why the Aboriginal People of Arnhem Land Face the Greatest Crisis in Health and Education Since European Contact* (Darwin, NT, 2001); Rosemary Neill, *White Out: How Politics Is Killing Black Australia* (Sydney, 2002); Michael Gordon, "Sweeter Dreaming," *The Age*, 19 July 2003.
22. E.g., Jon C. Altman, "The Howard Government's Northern Territory Intervention: Are Neo-Paternalism and Indigenous Development Compatible?" Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Topical Issue No. 16/2007: <<http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/>>. Former Indigenous member of parliament in the Northern Territory, John Ah Kit, linked the federal intervention to genocide: see "Indigenous Intervention 'Genocide,'" *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 August 2007.
23. Noel Pearson, "Passive Welfare and the Destruction of Indigenous Society in Australia," in *Reforming the Australian Welfare State*, edited by Peter Saunders (Melbourne, 2000), 136–55; Pearson, "Vale Hope in Outback Hellhole," *The Australian*, 17 February 2007; Marcia Langton, "Stop the Abuse of Children," *The Australian*, 12 December 2007; Langton, "Real Change for Real People," *The Australian*, 26 January 2008.
24. The former prime minister John Howard's praise of Noel Pearson is typical of this phenomenon, as is the decision of the conservative newspaper, *The Australian*, to devote much column space for Pearson and Marcia Langton.
25. Patrick Wolfe, "Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide," in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, edited by A. Dirk Moses (New York and Oxford, 2008), 102–32.
26. For a brilliant discussion of how international organizations participate in the construction and persistence of Indigeneity, see Tim Rowse, "Indigenous Culture: The Politics of Vulnerability and Survival," in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, edited by Tony Bennett and John Frow (Los Angeles, 2008), 406–26.
27. Eleanor Bourke, "The First Australians: Kinship, Family and Identity," *Family Matters*, no. 25 (1993): 6.

28. Mary Ann Bin-Salik, ed., *Aboriginal Women by Degrees: Their Stories of the Journey Towards Academic Achievement* (Brisbane, 2000).
29. Victor Hart, "Teaching Black and Teaching Back," *Social Alternatives* 22, no. 3 (2003): 13; Martin Nakata, "Anthropological Texts and Indigenous Standpoints," *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 3, no. 1 (1998): 4.
30. Tracey Intoual Bunda, "Why Indigenous Programs Cannot Succeed Without a Critically Reflective Teaching Practice," *Professional Voice* (Institute of Koorie Education, Deakin University), 4, no. 3 (2007): 19–22.
31. Eleanor Bourke, "Aboriginal Australia," *Kaurna Higher Education Journal*, no. 2 (1992): 17. For similar fears about primary schools, see Lester-Irabinna Rigney, "Indigenous Education and Treaty: Building Indigenous Management Capacity," *Balayi: Culture, Law and Colonialism* 4 (2002): 73–82.
32. Antia Heiss, *Token Koori* (Sydney, 1998), 13.
33. Irene Watson, "Legitimising White Supremacy," *Online Opinion*, 28 August 2007, viewed on 13 April 2008, <www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=6277>.
34. Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism* (Berkeley, 2003), 207.
35. E.g., S. Masturah Ismail and Courtney B. Cazden, "Struggles for Indigenous Education and Self-Determination: Culture, Context, and Collaboration," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 36, no.1 (2005): 88–92.
36. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London, 1999), 97–98.
37. Martin Nakata cited in Jean Phillips, Sue Whatman, Victor Hart, and Greg Winslett, "Decolonising University Curricula – Reforming the Colonised Spaces Within Which We Operate," in *Proceedings The Indigenous Knowledges Conference – Reconciling Academic Priorities with Indigenous Realities*, Victoria University, Wellington, 2005; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Introduction: Resistance, Recovery, and Revitalisation," in *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, edited by Michelle Grossman (Melbourne, 2003), 127–31.
38. Lester-Irabinna Rigney, "Internationalisation of an Indigenous Anti-Colonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A Guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and its Principles," *The Journal for Native American Studies* 14, no. 2 (1997): 109–21.
39. Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgence Against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (September 2005): 614. Emphasis in original.
40. Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Whiteness, Epistemology, and Indigenous Representation," in *Whitening Race: Essay in Social and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Canberra, 2004), 75–88; Martin Nakata, "Commonsense, Colonialism and Government," in *Woven Histories, Dancing Lives: Torres Strait Islander Identity, Culture and History*, edited by Richard Davis (Canberra, 2004), 154–73; Michael Dodson refers to such images as "the enemy within": "The End in the Beginning: Re(de)finding Aboriginality" in Grossman, *Blacklines*, 33, 38;

- W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; New York, 1996), 3. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles M. Larkmann (New York, 1967).
41. Ian Anderson, "Black Bit, White Bit," in Grossman, *Blacklines*, 46–47.
 42. Jackie Huggins, "Black Women and Women's Liberation," *Hecate* 13, no. 1 (1987): 77; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism* (Brisbane, 2000).
 43. Wendy Brady, "Indigenous Insurgency Against the Speaking for Others," *UTS Review* 7, no. 1 (2001): 28.
 44. Jackie Huggins, Rita Huggins, and Jane M. Jacobs, "Kooramindanjie: Place and the Postcolonial," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39 (1995): 167.
 45. Dodson, "The End in the Beginning," 28.
 46. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1.
 47. Hart, "Teaching Black and Teaching Back," 14; Ian Anderson, "Re-Claiming TRUGER-NAN-NER: Decolonising the Symbol," in *Speaking Positions. Aboriginality, Gender and Ethnicity in Australian Cultural Studies*, edited by Penny van Toorn and David English (Melbourne, 1995), 38.
 48. Dodson, "The End in the Beginning," 39.
 49. Karen L. Martin-Booran Mirraboopa, "Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing: A Theoretical Framework and Methods for Indigenous Research and Indigenist Research," *Journal of Australian Studies* 76 (2003): 203–14. For reflections on the distinction between time and place in Indigenous philosophy, see Stephen Muecke: *Ancient & Modern: Time, Culture, and Indigenous Philosophy* (Sydney, 2004).
 50. Lester-Irabinna Rigney, "A First Perspective of Indigenous Australian Participation in Science: Framing Indigenous Research Towards Indigenous Australian Intellectual Sovereignty," *Kaurna Higher Education Journal*, no. 7 (2001): 1–13. He borrows the term from Osage First Nations scholar Robert Warrior. Victor Hart, "Mapping Aboriginality," in *Investigating Queensland's Cultural Landscapes. Report 1: Setting the Theoretical Scene*, edited by Helen Armstrong (Brisbane, 2001), 49–50.
 51. Ailene Moreton-Robinson, "I Still Call Australia Home': Indigenous Belonging and Place in a White Postcolonizing Society," in *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, edited by Sara Ahmed, Claudia Cantaneda, Anne-Marie Fortier, and Mimi Sheller (Oxford and New York, 2003), 31; Irene Watson, "Aboriginal Law and the Sovereignty of *Terra Nullius*," *borderlands e-journal* 1, no. 2 (2002); Ian Anderson, "I, the 'Hybrid' Aborigine: Film and Representation," *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (1997): 4–14.
 52. Moreton-Robinson, "I Still Call Australia Home," 31–32; Moreton-Robinson, "Towards a New Research Agenda? Foucault, Whiteness and Indigenous Sovereignty," *Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 4 (2006): 383–95. Somewhat inconsistently, she also rejects what she calls the "racialized binary" of the white female researcher and Indigenous women: Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Tiddas Talkin' Up to the White Woman: When Huggins et al. Took on Bell," in Grossman, *Blacklines*, 76. Michael

- Dodson shares her belief about the untranslatability of Indigenous knowledge and consciousness. See his "The End in the Beginning," 39.
53. One might raise the issue of performative contradiction that cannot be wished away by claims that advancing and defending arguments is merely "performing whiteness." See Martin Jay, "The Debate Over The Performative Contradiction: Habermas Versus the Poststructuralists," in *Philosophical Interventions in the Unfinished Project of Enlightenment*, edited by Axel Honneth, Thomas McCarthy, Claus Offe, and Albrecht Wellmer (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 261–79.
 54. John Bowen, "Should We Have a Universal Concept of 'Indigenous Peoples' Rights? Ethnicity and Essentialism in the Twenty-First Century," *Anthropology Today* 16, no. 4 (2000): 12–16; Ian McIntosh, "Defining Oneself, and Being Defined as, Indigenous: A Comment," *Anthropology Today* 18, no. 3 (2002): 23–24.
 55. Martin Nakata, *Disciplining Savages—Savaging the Disciplines* (Canberra, 2004), 214. He has always rejected "intellectual separatism": Nakata, "Anthropological Texts and Indigenous Standpoints."
 56. Rigney, "A First Perspective of Indigenous Australian Participation in Science," 1–13.
 57. Aileen Moreton-Robinson and Fiona Nicoll, "We Shall Fight Them on the Beaches: Protesting Cultures of White Possession," *Journal of Australian Studies* 89 (2006): 160. Tracey Bunda rebuked Noel Pearson at the Adelaide Festival of Ideas on 8 July 2007 for counter-posing land rights and social order in certain circumstances. Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "The House that Jack Built: Britishness and White Possession," *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal* 1 (2005): 21–29.
 58. Irene Watson, "Response to Peter Sutton," *Macquarie Law Journal* 6 (2006): 184; Larissa Behrendt and Nicole Watson, "Good Intentions Are Not Good Enough," 2 May 2007, Australians for Native Title <www.antar.org.au/content/view/full/382/127/>, viewed 13 April 2008; Larissa Behrendt, Address to the Indigenous Labor Network, 13 July 2005, <www.jumbunna.uts.edu.au/research/alpilm_13_07_05.pdf>, viewed 18 April 2008. Rebecca Stringer, "A Nightmare of the Neocolonial Kind: Politics of Suffering in Howard's Northern Territory Intervention," *borderlands e-journal* 6, no. 2 (2007). See also <www.womenforwik.org>.
 59. Hart, "Teaching Black and Teaching Back," 14–15: "Postcolonial studies are becoming a celebratory cover-up of a dangerous period in Aboriginal peoples' lives and especially a cover-up on the 'hows' and 'whys' relating to the genocide of Aboriginal people past and present."
 60. Kevin Gilbert quoted in Philip Morrissey, "Dancing with Shadows: Erasing Aboriginal Self and Sovereignty," in *Sovereign Subjects: Indigenous Sovereignty Matters*, edited by Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Sydney, 2007), 73.
 61. On genocide in Australia, see A. Dirk Moses, "Moving the Genocide Debate Beyond the History Wars," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no. 2 (2008): 248–70.

62. Jonathan Richards, *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police* (Brisbane, 2008); Margaret Fels, *Good Men and True: The Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District, 1837–1853* (Melbourne, 1988).
63. John Maynard, "Australian History: Lifting Haze or Descending Fog?" *Aboriginal History* 27 (2003): 139.
64. Achille Mbembe, "On the Postcolony: A Brief Response to Critics," *African Identities* 4, no. 2 (2006): 153. The quotation would need to be amended from killing one's brother to sexually exploiting one's sister.
65. Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership: <www.cyi.org.au>. Pearson's commitment to the rights agenda and frustration with conservative government ministers led him once to call them "racist scum."
66. Marcia Langton, "An Aboriginal Ontology of Being and Place: The Performance of Aboriginal Property Relations in the Princess Charlotte Bay Area of Eastern Cape York Peninsula, Australia" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, 2005); Langton, "Dominion and Dishonour: A Treaty Between our Nations?" *Postcolonial Studies* 4, no. 1 (2001): 13–26.
67. Marcia Langton, "Real Change for Real People," *The Australian*, 26 January 2008. Mundine likewise opposes "this romantic bullshit about Aboriginal culture," quoted in Stuart Rintoul, "Chance to Cut PC Rubbish: Mundine," *The Australian*, 4 February 2008.
68. Noel Pearson, "White Guilt, Victimhood, and the Quest for the Radical Centre," *Griffith Review*, no. 16 (2007).
69. Marcia Langton, "Trapped in the Aboriginal Reality Show," *Griffith Review*, no. 19 (2008): 8.
70. *Ibid.*, 4, 8.
71. *Ibid.*, 10.
72. Noel Pearson, "Light on the Hill," Ben Chifley Memorial Lecture, 2000, <www.capeyorkpartnerships.com/team/noelpearson/lightonhill-12-8-00.htm>, viewed 8 April 2008; Pearson, "Land Rights and Progressive Wrongs," *Griffith Review* 2 (2003), available at <www.capeyorkpartnerships.com/team/noelpearson/pdf/NPlandRIGHTSandProgWrongs2003.pdf>, viewed 8 April 2008; Pearson, "Reciprocity Resurrected," *The Australian*, 12 May 2007.
73. Noel Pearson, "Underlying Principles of a New People for the Restoration of Indigenous Social Order," 23 July 2003, <www.capeyorkpartnerships.com/team/noelpearson/pdf/np-restore-social-order-23-7-03.pdf>, viewed 8 April 2008.
74. Noel Pearson, *Our Right to Take Responsibility* (Cape York, 2000); Pearson, "Vale Hope in Outback Hellhole."
75. Noel Pearson, "Choice is Not Enough," *The Australian*, 28 April 2007.
76. Noel Pearson, "Peace and Prosperity for Indigenous Australians," *Online Opinion*, 28 October 2005.
77. Langton, "Trapped in the Aboriginal Reality Show," 9.

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78. Kevin Gilbert, *Living Black: Blacks Talk to Kevin Gilbert* (London and Melbourne, 1978), 1.
79. Pearson, "White Guilt, Victimhood, and the Quest for the Radical Centre," 22–23. In this discussion, I do not treat Pearson's dismissal of social democratic philosophies of redistributive and historical justice, which he effectively equates—in terms of danger and damage to Aborigines—with conservative, often racist philosophies. In fact, at times he suggests that social democrats are *greater* threats to Aborigines because they pose as friends. Such arguments, which do not adequately understand the social democratic engagement in these areas, are doubtless driven by the desperate situation of the communities he is trying to rescue.
80. Duncan Ivison, "The Logic of Aboriginal Rights," *Ethnicities* 3, no. 3 (2003): 321–44.
81. Yin Paradies, "Beyond Black and White: Essentialism, Hybridity and Indigeneity," *Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 4 (2006): 357. This point is also made by Terry Moore, "Problematising Identity: Governance, Politics and the 'Making of the Aborigines,'" *Journal of Australian Studies* 80 (2005): 177–88.
82. Paradies, "Beyond Black and White," 361. He quotes Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction," in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ, 1994), 163.
83. On this point, see also Arlif Dirlik, "Rethinking Colonialism: Globalization, Post-colonialism, and the Nation," *Interventions* 4, no. 3 (2002): 428–48.
84. John L. Jackson, *Real Black: Adventures of Black Sincerity* (Chicago, 2005).
85. Tommie Shelby, *We Who Are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 3–4. Thanks to Duncan Ivison for drawing Shelby's work to my attention. Space limitations prevent me from elaborating his argument here.
86. Mbembe, "On the Postcolony: A Brief Response to Critics," 181–82.
87. Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Extermination, 1939–1945* (New York, 2007); Edward Said, "New History, Old Ideas," *Al-Ahram Weekly On-line*, 21–27 May 1998: <<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1998/378/pal2.htm>>, accessed 8 February 2005.