

Transcript Critical Public Conversation, 7 August 2024

Settler Colonialism: A scattered itinerary

JULIA HURST– Welcome to the fifth instalment in the Australian Center's Critical Public Conversation lecture series for 2024. My name is Julia Hurst and I'm the Deputy Director of the Australian Centre. Before we go any further, it's my great pleasure to introduce Auntie Georgina Nicholson, who has recorded today's Welcome to Country. Thank you, Auntie Georgina, for that warm Welcome to Country. Our theme this year is Sovereignty and Solidarity Redefining Belonging in So-called Australia, exploring questions of belonging borders in place. The series investigates how Australia's founding as a settler colony constraints capacities to welcome refugees to these shores. We platform work that counters settler colonialism's paranoid insistence on binaries, boundaries, and borders to uncover them as arbitrary and violent technologies of state power. This series intends to go beyond settler borders and explore the ways more humane international, domestic, and indeed interpersonal relations are bound to justice for First Nations. I'd like to introduce to you now our esteemed presenters. Suvendrini Perera is the John Curtin distinguished Professor Emerita at Curtin University. Joseph Pugliese is Professor of cultural studies at Macquarie University. They are editors, most recently, of Mapping Deathscapes Digital Geographies of Racial and Border Violence. Their talk today is titled Settler Colonialism A Scattered Itinerary. The Deathscapes Project identifies how the governance apparatuses of the settler state, including its systems of law, criminal justice, and the prison industrial detention complex, operate to produce death for its racially targeted subjects as a systems outcome of its everyday operations. In their talk, they offer a scattered itinerary of settler colonialism. its long duration, wide reach, and transnational deathscapes along alongside excavations of adjacent terms. I'm delighted to welcome Joseph and Suvendrini thank you for being with us today.

SUVENDRINI PERERA– Thank you, Julia. And thank you to Auntie Georgina for the beautiful Welcome to Wurundjeri Country. We also acknowledge and pay our respects to the Elders and Custodians of Wurundjeri Land. I'm speaking to you from Whadjuk Nyoongar Land in the city of Walyalup , and I also wanna pay my respects to the Custodians of this Country.

JOSEPH PUGLIESE– Yeah, thank you, Suvendrini, and thank you, Julia, for your warm welcome. I'm speaking from Dharug Country, the Wallumattagal clan of the Dharug Nation, and I, I pay my respects to the Elders past, future and present and their ongoing nurturing of this land. Thank you.

SP – So before we begin, we want to actually acknowledge that while this is an academic forum, we are far, we are very, very aware that this is far from a bloodless topic. For those of you in the audience whose loved ones are caught up in the snare of secular colonial violence and genocide today, we want to acknowledge at the outset the life and death stakes of this discussion and the unrelenting toll that you are living with. Some of you



may have heard of the case of Professor Raz Segal, who is an Israeli-Jewish Professor of Holocaust Studies in the US after he was offered a role at the University of Minnesota some weeks ago, the university rescinded the offer because he had applied his scholarly, his scholarly expertise on genocide and the Holocaust to the current war in Gaza. So we want to begin with a comment by Raz Segal. He says, "if we finally recognize Israel for what it is, which is a white supremacist settler state, then the problem is that it's not just confined to that, we have to recognize the whole system behind it. It's support, its allies including white supremacy and settler colonialism in the US" and we might add here in Australia. So today we wanna put forward a scattered itinerary of the settler state. Its long duration, wide reach, and transnational deathscapes. In doing so, we follow a course traced by Rafael Lemkin, the Polish Jewish legal theorist and formulator of the term genocide. He wrote in the opening lines of his chapter on genocide, "new conceptions require new terms". Yet, as Lemkin would realize over the remaining years of his career, genocide was not a new or singular event, and he would go on to map its co-constituents across a range of places and times, including the place that we now know as Tasmania. We too are going to move across a range of times and places today, and we supplement this with a collage of documentary images, quotations, and artworks, a visual commentary on the scattered itineraries of secular colonialism that flesh out the propositions that we put forward and Eleanor is gonna play for you this visual commentary.

JP – Yeah, sorry. Ready, Suvendi? Yeah, yeah. To offer a quick overview of our transnational research project, Deathscapes mapping racial violence in settler colonial societies, the project maps racialized deaths in custody and technologies of state violence across several states and their points of origin in the European metropolis, and we'll return to this later in our paper. The research is distinctive in its grounding of present day anti-refugee and anti-immigrant violence in the ongoing logics of the settler colonial state and its foundational denial of Indigenous sovereignty. While the deaths of Indigenous, Black and other People Of Color at the hands of the state have become newly visible in the last decade as have the deaths of refugees and asylum seekers, the borders of the global north, the Deathscapes project connects these two forms of state violence through the framework of settler sovereignty's violent racial practices and its making, unmaking and remaking of borders and we identify as constitutive of the settler sovereignty, the formations that underpin what Marina Gržinič and Jovita Pristovšek term necro democracies of Europe. Historically as well as in the present, the exclusionary racial violence of settler colonialism is reconstituted and refracted in the necro democracies of Europe. For example, the proposal by the former UK government to establish offshore processing in Rwanda for those who arrived by boat mirrors the policies of offshore detention put in place by the Australian government. And in fact, if anyone saw the BBC news this morning, you would see interviews by some of the refugees fleeing the Civil War in Sri Lanka, now located in camps in Rwanda outlining the sexual violence, especially that women and children have experienced, and the Deathscapes site mapped precisely that use of sexual sexual violence in both Manus



and Nauru. So, mirror images of each other. Italy's Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni's proposal to implement a naval blockade across the North African maritime region to defer asylum seekers finds its precedent in the Australian government's use of the Navy to intercept and push back asylum seekers arriving by boat.

SP – In both these instances, colonial Metropoles adopted the murderous policies put in place by settler societies directing them primarily against people from their own former colonies. In the case of Italy, the sites from which contemporary regular migrants embark from North Africa are exactly those places that were once the destination sites for Italian settler colonies to Libya and Ethiopia. And if time permits, we would really like to return to the question of Italian settler colonialism. At the end of this talk.

JP – The technologies of dehumanisation, ethnic cleansing, segregation in concentration camps and genocide return to be enacted in new forms on the ground of Europe itself. This, this is what Aimé Césaire terms, the boomerang effect whereby "the white man applied to Europe", and I'm quoting here, "colonial procedures, which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of of Algeria, the Coolies of India and the Blacks of Africa", end of quote. Settler colonialism extends across diverse geographies and temporalities including post-colonial ones. It is not a singular event, but a process that is continually reworked and restaged. Today, we address the larger transnational iterations of the settler state that are geographically outside the Anglophone group of Canada, the US and Australia but are politically grounded in similar relations of colonial and racial power. We take two cases in point, France and Germany.

JP – In a series of lectures that we gave in Vienna a few months ago, we were surprised at the level of denial or repudiation of the bad terms, settler, colonialism and genocide. These are terms from which continental Europe seemingly disassociate itself and what we really wanna fill out in our discussion are the disavowed or obscured relations between Europe and settler colonialism and between genocide and settler colonialism historically and in the present. What is at stake in these refusals and disavowals? What do they reveal both about the past and the present?

SP – The characteristic forms of settler colonial violence include the continuing erasure of Indigenous people, what Patrick Wolfe names the logic of elimination and the genocidal practices that flow from that, including the conceptualization of the Land as empty terra nullius, the dehumanization of Indigenous populations that enables this conceptualisation of the land as empty and their subsequent killing with impunity or forced removal and dispersal from the land, their relegation to enclaves such as reservations, camps, ghettos, also called native towns. Even as settlers themselves assume new identities that obscure their own colonising status and that aim to supplant and replace the indigene, the erections of borders and fences, as well as forms of weaponisation of the environment that render it lethal to certain groups. The deployment of eco genocidal strategies of environmental racism and environmental injustice that work together to destroy Indigenous ecologies and their more than human relations, including water, plants, trees and animals, and that in turn through the



unmaking of viable Indigenous lifeworlds. Further, the settler aims of Indigenous elimination and replacement with toxic mining sites, monocultures and vast pastoral estates, and the authorisation of all these practices through the recourse to racial, religious, or civilizational mythologies. These mythologies are enshrined in foundational texts such as the Bible in semi-religious ideologies such as manifest destiny or in settler constitutions.

SP – Some of the features that we identify as characteristic of settler colonialism also derive from and are shared with other forms of colonialism such as plantation colonialism or extraction colonialism. But the drive to eliminate and replace is what distinguishes settler colonialism. The delineation of the border is central to the project of the settler colonial state as it overrides the borders of preexisting nations and assumes the right to determine who may or may not enter the new territorial entity. Redrawing Indigenous Nation's borders, secure settler colonial ownership of the new in space and overrides prior temporalities. For example, in the case of Australia, we might think about the imagining of Australia as an island and the way that that cut us off from other geographies that connected this landmass to the region of Asia or the Pacific, or in the case of the Israel, we might think about the temporal recasting of the land in the framework of a Zionist teleology.

JP – Once new borders are established, the settler state assumes the power to confer or withhold citizen status within it. Indigenous peoples displaced, dispossessed and stripped of national status themselves become refugees on their own land, confined on missions, reservations, and special enclaves that at the same time also permanently alter geographies within state borders. Externally, border walls, fences, electronic borders, as well as weaponized sea borders all proliferate, acquiring new lethal potential. In terms of imposing new colonial borders and remaking geographies, we can think about the violent response about the supporters of the Zionist state, including here in Australia to the phrase between the river and the sea, a space that settler ideology claims as its exclusive sovereign zone.

SP – These features cannot be simply relegated to settle nations such as Australia, the us, Canada, New Zealand. We turned to the case of Germany and the foundational writings that we referred to earlier of Rafael Lemkin formulator of the term genocide. As Germany occupied Poland in 1939, Lemkin was doubly at risk as a Polish Jewish intellectual. He fled Europe in 1941, carrying with him a carefully assembled set of Nazi ordinances and legal decrees that as he would put it in the volume he published three years later, present a picture of the coordinated German techniques of occupation, and we want to really emphasize the phrase techniques of occupation, this decrees that Lemkin took with him. They provided the basis for the eventual inclusion of the new crime of genocide at the Nuremberg Tribunal and later the establishment of the UN Convention against Genocide, in 1948.

JP – The coordinated techniques of occupation documented in Lakin's book axis rule in occupied Europe lay bare the steps through, which was put in place what he called "a



gigantic scheme to change in favor of Germany, the balance of biological forces between it and the captive nations for many years to come and to destroy or cripple the subjugated people in their development". End of quote. This program was differentially implemented across the conquered territories of Europe by the Nazi state and its public governments. The techniques included the renaming and partitioning of occupied lands and the redrawing of existing borders. For example, between Poland and Germany, the preferential treatment of inhabitants associated with German ancestry, the confiscation of land and property belonging to other inhabitants to make way for German settlers, the introduction of a starvation rationing system for non-Germans that codified the precise quantities of carbohydrates and proteins to be allocated to each group. The prohibition of existing languages and cultural activities, the disrupting of social cohesion of the nation that involved the killing or removing of elements such as the intelligentsia, which provided spiritual leadership, the corralling of non-German populations as slave labor, and finally, mass executions.

SP – So the legal scholar Philip Sands writes that the Nazi decrees that Lemkin documented in such detail implemented ideas shared in *Mein Kampf* on *Lebensraum* the creation of a new living space to be inhabited by Germans. In a recent commentary in the *London Review of Books*, Eyal Weizman of the Forensic Architecture Project, I think you would all know his work connects *Lebensraum* this term living space, living room, to Germany's Darwinian quest to establish living space for itself in South Africa. Drawing in turn on the ideology of manifest destiny in the United States. Manifest destiny provided the animating force for the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the consequent dispossession of Native American people from the southeast along the infamous Trail of Tears through the concept of *Lebensraum* German settler colonialism in southwestern Africa can expose to the US settlers, dispossession of Native Americans, and to German occupation techniques in Europe.

JP – During World War II, Germany established a settler colony in what is present day Namibia in 1883. It is now established that this was the site of the first death camp, the Shark Island concentration camp in the South Atlantic, to which the Ovaherero and Nama prisoners were shipped to be killed. The camp's main focus from September, 1906 onwards was the extermination of Nama prisoners. It has only recently been recognized that Germany would later deploy the model of the Shark Island concentration camp in its occupied territories in Europe, where it carried out the industrial scale elimination of Jews, Roma, people with disabilities and LGBTQ+ people. After South Africa brought the charge of genocide against Israel at the IJC. The leaders of the Nama and the Ovaherero peoples, descendants of the survivors of Germany's African genocide issued a statement of solidarity and affinity with the people of Gaza. At an event in Berlin in January, 2024 that presented new material on the Shark Island death camp that had been uncovered in collaboration with Wiseman's Forensic Architecture group they wrote, when we spoke about one, we remembered the other, presenting an event about the Namibian genocide while the Gaza genocide was unfolding, brought into focus a complex set of entangled historical relations and multiple lines of affinity.



SP – This statement emphasized that for the Nama and Ovaherero peoples, these lines of affinity extend to both the Jewish victims of the Holocaust and the Palestinian people. The statement then continued. We, the Nama and Ovaherero people are all too familiar with the relation between settler colonialism and genocide with the way genocide emerges as a direct consequence and culmination of violent settler colonialism. We know that Zionist movement intends to turn Palestine into the land without people it originally imagined it to be in order to make a living space. Similarly to the German Lebensraum for settler Jews. The Ovaherero and Nama leaders here draw lines of connection between the Namibian genocide, the genocide in Europe, and the genocide underway currently in Gaza, these connections are almost completely absent in European consciousness today. Yet the European history of genocide is inextricably connected to these other acts, calculated to change the balance of biological forces through their shared techniques of occupation.

JP – In insisting that the World War II genocide in Europe was a singular and unprecedented event, institutional memory in Europe refuses a body of conceptual, structural and material links that look both backwards to prior colonial genocides and forward to the program of Zionism. The complex set of entangled historical relations and multiple lines of affinity that Ovaherero and the Nama so movingly identify are precisely the entanglements and affinities that this institutional memory repudiates through its acts of censorship and cancellation. Before returning to the Palestinian case, let us briefly mention France has set the colonial power in the larger version of this paper. We also discuss Italy as a key European settler colonial power. France colonized Algeria in 1830 and following its incorporation in 1848 attempted to impose a settler colonial model on the country, which saw the export from Europe of hundreds of thousands of European immigrants, including French Italians and Maltese, and the consequent consolidation of a racialized system of governance facilitated by campaigns of colonial warfare that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Algerians.

SP – There's less public awareness of the last remaining French settler colony of Kanaky, which of course they renamed New Caledonia in 1953. In a sequence that will be familiar to us in Australia, the French stole Kanak land and introduced cattle which ravaged Kanak farmland enslaved many Kanaks to work for them without pay and built mines to extract metals. The Kanak population were devastated by European diseases and were exiled to reservations. In 1863, France established a penal colony to which both common criminals and political exiles were banished. And two decades later, it opened up the land to civilian settlers in a formulation that resounds across settler colonies from Australia to Palestine. It was decreed, quote, "that the native is not the owner of the land, and when the French government appropriates the land, it just takes back its own land". In 1920, in 2021, just prior to the present uprisings in both these colonies, Joseph Massad, many of you'll know Professor Modern Arab Politics at Columbia University drew a series of parallels between Kanaky and Palestine. And he concluded, just as Palestine is the only European settler colony which remains intact in the Arab world, Kanaky remains the only major countries subject to French settler colonialism. France is violent history in this, in,



in these colonial territories. Also saw so-called French Polynesia become the test for its nuclear program destroying the process whole islands and leading toxic nuclear radiation legacies that are still impacting on contemporary Polynesians.

JP – As we move towards our conclusion, we want to return to the very term that we coined in order to name the landscapes of death generated by such settler states as Australia or the United States. We develop the term deathscapes as a way of identifying the way in which the governance apparatuses of the settler state, including its systems of law, criminal justice, the prison industrial surveillance complex and so on, operate to produce death for its racially targeted subjects as a system outcome of its everyday operations. A cursory glance at the foundational histories of different settler states evidences how the production of death as a system design operates at different scales, temporalities and across diverse spaces from the micro scale of everyday deaths in custody in police vans, cells, and prisons. to the macro scale of settler genocidal wars. In his book *Axis Rule*, Lemkin defined genocide in these terms and we quote, "Genocide has two phases. One destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group, the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor and the consequent colonisation of the area by the oppressor's own nationals". End of quote. Lemkin's juridical formulation of genocide, drawing on the German model, clearly anticipated Patrick Wolf's theorisation of settler colonialism in Australia as constituted by the practices of elimination and replacement. It is significant to remember that Lemkin's efforts to have the term genocide included at the Nuremberg trial tribunal were opposed in Britain and the United States by those who well recognised that it could be applied both to British colonialism and, quote, "the extinction of the Red Indian" in North America. RW Cooper in the *London Times* correspondent at the tribunal wrote bluntly that the analysis put forward by Lemkin posed an imperative warning to the white race. Placed in the historical light, the myriad deathscapes of settler states operate in two conjoined ways. On the one hand, they emerge as system effects that are crucial in enabling the process of elimination and replacement. And on the other hand, they are systematically airbrushed out of the settler self-representations and histories precisely in order to secure their civilizational claims as model democracies. Our use of the term deathscapes is driven to interrogate and overturn these self-congratulatory claims by exposing the necropolitical structures that continue to underpin the everyday operations of a settler state. In other words, the Deathscapes project seeks to expose how both past and contemporary operations of settler democracies are underpinned by genocidal practices.

SP – These genocidal practices are graphically evidenced in the contemporary context by the more than 40,000 deaths of Palestinian babies, children, women and men who have died in the course of the last settler colonial war in Gaza. In the context of the intolerable pain and grief caused by these mounting deaths, it is fitting to conclude our paper on the scattered itineraries, the long duration and wide reach of the settler state, and its transnational deathscapes with the words of the Gazan scholar Jihad Abusalim. Now, we were hoping to show you a video of these, of these words of Jihad Abusalim



but unfortunately, we've had some technical issues, so we are just going to try and paraphrase what he said at a recent seminar at George Mason University, Jihad Abusalim eloquently spelled out what is at stake in the genocide now underway in Gaza. Nothing less than a new politics of exclusion that holds repercussions across the globe. And he spoke about these voids of rightlessness, that a new kind of politics, a new politics of settler colonialist supremacy, is seeking to establish across the globe and the, and the zones of exclusion that it sets up. And he argues that combating this new politics that seeks to establish voids of rightlessness requires a rigorous understanding of its founding framework of settler colonial violence and its histories. The Deathscapes project is committed to naming and exposing the embodied voids of righteousness that are designated by past and present contemporary settler states as places where that threaten this, that where those who threaten the sovereign claims of the state can be either killed or left to die with the immunity impunity, transnational deathscapes, precisely as voids of rightlessness are located across different geographies and they ensnare different racialised subjects. We want to close our talk by paraphrasing the powerful words of Jihad Abusalim what's happening in Gaza, in the Mediterranean and in the necropolitical lands of settler states across the globe is a universal issue and a universal struggle with the universal repercussions. Thank you.

JH – Thank you. Thank you, Joseph and Suvendrini, so much for your words today. I invite, invite folks to ask questions via our Q&A button below on the Zoom tab, but maybe I can kick us off with a question. If that's okay. This is really heavy work and, and you, you name the spaces that, and the histories and experiences that's sometimes difficult for people to vocalise and speak to. I'm interested in your theorisations of the Deathscape and how people impacted by these can respond to this work and, and speak back to this work. Is their capacity and is there space? Or is this?

SP – Thank you, Julia, for that question. That's this really important question, and it's one of the things that was very important to us when we, when we set up the Deathscapes site and when we worked on the Deathscapes project to name and amplify the sites of resistance and the sites of the, the seeds of places where we could, we could actually open out the way in which the targets of these deathscapes, the people who are ensnared in forms of colonial violence always write back, always speak back, and in on our site Deathscapes, which I don't know if people would've had a chance to go to the website of the Deathscapes project. We focus in particular on the way in which people mobilize art, forms of art, forms of visual resistance to the deathscapes. So that's one of the places that we always identified and I know Joseph will have more to add on this.

JP – Thank you Suvendi. Thank you, Julia. As Suvendi said a critical question and what we refused in our envisioning of the Deathscape site was a forensic legal statistical site that in a, in in effect not only produced the vision of the state in terms of the victims of racialized violence, but reproduced, if you like, another form of symbolic violence for the victims and the surviving communities and families. And as Suvendi said, we, we thought that precisely the creative responses and the multiple uses of different media, which



inhere in the site including song, poetry, fiction, and visual artwork from traditional paintings on canvas to protest banners by the communities held at coronial inquests, they became ways of speaking back to the state and reclaiming their status not only as survivors, but as people who can continue to contest the racialized violence of the, of, of the state. So the whole project really is underpinned by the voices of the communities who are impacted, whether they were a asylum seeker, refugees or Indigenous communities who have survived deaths in custody, incarceration, all of those traumatic processes and the way in which they continue to speak back through their creative practices.

JH – There's a few questions that are very similar to each other and I'll, and, and I might paraphrase folks if that's okay, but participants want to know how to engage in settler colonialism's theory and its outputs how to teach settler colonial theory and structures to students whilst being in a settler colonial institution itself and avoiding "wokeness". Do you have any strategies or devices or ways of doing that help you navigate through these structures?

SP – I think I think that questions that they're all kind of grappling with, and I think people are at, are different stages, different institutional, you know, locations and we, we kind of, we, we can't, I think romanticise the spaces that we are in and we are all aware of the kind of mechanisms that work against opening up certain kinds of questions. I I have to say that the strategy that I have, I have employed, and I think Joseph will have much more to say on this because he's, he's teaching at the moment, which I'm not doing. But I I actually think that the one thing we can do is not patronize our students and not try to sanitize material for our students but to actually present, present the material as we see it and be true, be true to the way that, you know, you see things to present them in that way. And I'm, I'm, I'm actually not quite sure what avoiding wokeness means. So I'd, I'd be interested to know more what that means, but I think it's really important to me as in my practice, to not to attempt to sanitize things and not to attempt to patronize my students.

JP – Yeah, I'll, I'll just elaborate on some of the key points that Suvendi made and I, and I know that I, I can speak for both of us 'cause we've been working in this shared space for over 30 years and that is that we refuse to see the institution as self-identical to itself and self-enclosed. You know, in that traditional Ivory tower way throughout the decades, we've insisted on creating community relationships that actually bring community knowledges into the space, and vice versa, take us into community settings. And I think that's a way of disrupting the settler colonial paradigm of the partitioning of knowledge and also the authorisation of knowledge when often the authority is not there. It's a usurped authority, and we know a lot of these institutions are part of the whole settler colonial heritage of consolidating settler rule. So a point of disruption is to create community linkages, community exchanges, but also the giving back to community with the sorts of knowledges that one has and the sorts of reciprocal exchanges and political building, activism. And so I know, Suvendi and I have always talked about each our work



as academic activists, and I know a lot of academics often view activism as a dirty word, which compromises neutrality, and so-called objectivity, but we actually see it as part of our political remit to transmute our academic knowledges into community activism for social justice change.

SP – Yes, thank you. That that was, that's that's precisely what we do and we, what we think needs to be done.

JH – Thank you. We have another question, which is could you speak to the mechanisms, processes whereby settler colonialism effectively accomplishes erasure of the Deathscapes of coloniality while presenting itself in the garb of modernity?

SP – Do you wanna go this?

JP – Yeah, I'm, I'm happy to take that. Yeah. In the garb of modernity, but more specifically we would say in, in the civilizational garb. And I think that's being pivotal to the operation of the settler state right from the moment, say, speaking from our location of British colonial invasion in 1788. Everything was predicated from that point and ever afterwards, including the relocation to missions, the stolen generation, the whole Aboriginal Protection Board policies that were nationwide, everything was predicated on the civilizational uplift of the backward, the native, the primitive, all of that. So I think we need to begin to interrogate the way in which the settler state abrogates its notion of civilizational superiority, while in fact what it's perpetrating are genocidal strategies of assimilation, cultural genocide, and, you know, genocide, in fact and ecocide, the destruction of the worlds, the living worlds that constitute Indigenous nations. So I think a point of entry there is to begin to unmask the civilizational lie that settler states continually reproduce and consolidate right into the contemporary context across different domains in different registers and across different discourse. And so I think that's a key point to begin to intervene. Endi, did you wanna add something?

SP – I was just thinking about also the post-colonial and the way in which, you know, the, the kind of profession that we are in a post-colonial mode, the way in which, for example, the, the police commissioner, the, the Northern Territory at the Gamma Festival apologised for the treatment of, you know, for, for treatment of Aboriginal people by the police force in the same moment that the police in, in the Northern Territory continue to perpetrate racist violence against the populations of the territory. And I think this is another way in which the guise of modernity, the guise of, you know, having moved beyond the terrible violence of the settler colonial phase actually disguises the way in which that violence continues to be reproduced un under the, under the sort of pretence that things are improving things, things are becoming ever better. And I, I do think about juxtaposing that, that moment of the, the Northern Territory Police commissioner's apology with the, the disclosures that are coming out in the trial of Zachary Rolfe and the way in which the most atrocious racist behaviour was continent and also covered up by the Northern Territory police. So I think that's, that's one of the, that also speaks to the, that question.



JH – Thank you. And just a one more question before we bid farewell to both of you, because we have to finish just slightly earlier today. There's a question here, can you make parallels between settler colonialism and white feminism?

SP – It's, it's, I don't know. Do do you wanna say anything about that, Joseph? I mean, white feminism certainly works in settler colonial environments as we know. It's one of the guises in which settler colonialism and colonialism have advanced historically. And in the present, if we think of, for example, places like Afghanistan is one that comes to mind. So yes, white feminism does operate as a form of settle or, or operates in tandem with settler colonialism. So I don't know whether it's, the question is, is there, are there parallels between them, but do they operate in tandem? Yes, they do.

JP– Yeah. The work, of course, of Jackie Huggins and Aileen Moreton-Robinson come to mind. And, you know, there's a wonderful piece by Jackie Huggins where she says the feminist call for, you know, separated communities between men and women to us speaks of segregation and the history of segregation. The calls for, you know, wholesale abortion speaks to the elimination and destruction and sterilisation of Indigenous babies. So I, I think Huggins and Moreton-Robinson marked the ways in which, so seemingly progressive feminist values are actually underpinned by a colonial agenda that refuses to acknowledge cultural difference and in and Indigenous values basically. And, of course, it's representing itself again as a civilizational, as we talked about a moment ago, but also progressive. And as Suvendi was saying, the progressive moves to apologies when the infrastructure of the settler state is actually left intact in terms of the police, the racialised policing system. So I think we can interrogate the way in which these seemingly universal values are actually overlaying themselves and consolidating, again, the infrastructures of elimination in under the guise that they're being progressive, say, progressive white feminists agendas.

SP – And if, if I can just come back to the, to the way that question was phrased, which I, I think maybe threw me a bit, but I would say that they're each constitutive of the other rather than that they work in parallel, that white feminism as in the form that we know is actually a productive, a colonial mode of operation rather than something that develops in, in parallel with it that they, they're constituted by each other. That's another way to think about it.

JH – Okay. Well, thank you, everyone so much for your time and your generosity today. Please join me in thanking Joseph and Suvendrini for your time. This is deep work and thank you for your energy today. We'll see you soon. Bye.

SP – Thank you. Thank you very much.

JP – Thank you everyone. Bye-Bye

JH – Bye. Bye everyone.

SP – Bye.

