

# DECOLONIAL IMAGINARIES, COLONIAL ANXIETIES

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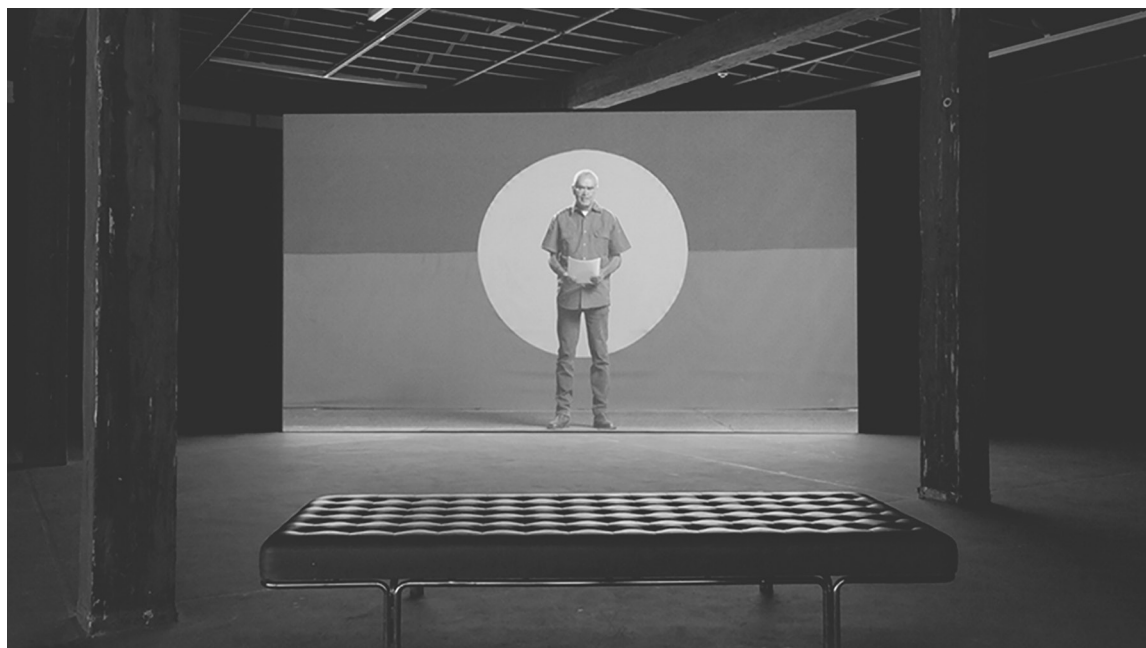
Since the British invasion in 1788, the prosperity of ‘Australia,’ understood here as a complex system of political ideologies as well as a nation-state, has depended upon the elimination of sovereign First Nation peoples. Its eliminatory structure is inextricable from its existence and acknowledging Aboriginal sovereignty would destabilize the illegal claim of *terra nullius* (land belonging to nobody) that was used in the founding of the nation. Hence decolonization — as a theoretical framework and practice — faces a series of counter-limitations in the settler nation. By the settler nation, I mean those systems of legal, social, political, and cultural administration used by nation states that are the legacy of settler colonies in their present-day occupation of lands belonging to and appropriated from First Nation peoples.<sup>1</sup> How, and in what form, is decolonization possible, how much are settlers willing to give up and give over for justice, and what is the role of inter/trans-national solidarity as a practice within this process?

The role that art has in imagining alternative futures should not be underestimated or overlooked in discourses on decolonization. When national priorities serve to uphold the grand narratives of the state and its prosperity, art can obstruct these triumphalist histories by producing counter-hegemonic imaginaries of decolonial liberation. Not without issue, the work of artist and activist Richard Bell, rotates anti-colonial sentiment, parodies the colonizer, and experiments with alternative models of Aboriginal liberation. His eighteen-minute film, *The Dinner Party* (2013) imagines a post-empire Peoples Republic of Australia, with Gary Foley as the first president, who collaborated with Bell in the script (fig.1).

Freedom fighter and activist Gary Foley, is a key figure in the emergence and development of the Black Power movement (which was self-defined as the ‘Black Caucus’) in Australia, and also central to the establishment of some of the most powerful Pan-Aboriginal moments of political action against occupation in the twentieth century: namely with his co-establishment of the Aboriginal Legal Service; Aboriginal Medical Service; survival programs; the establishment of the Tent Embassy in 1972; the establishment of the London Aboriginal Information Centre from 1979–1986; the Northland Secondary College campaign in 1992; the campaign against the uranium mine in Jabiluka in 1998 (the campaign was led by campaigner, educator, researcher, editor, writer Jacqui Katona, who continues to work closely with Foley at Victoria University, and Senior Traditional Owner and environmentalist Yvonne Margarula); and his ongoing work as an educator and historian. Bell and Foley have collaborated on several occasions, notably in the *Imagining Victory* series (2008–2013) and *Embassy* (2013–ongoing) — their work

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<sup>1</sup>  
For further reading on Settler Colonial Theory (SCT), refer to work of Tracey Banivanua Mar; Patrick Wolfe; Lorenzo Veracini, and Penelope Edmonds.



↑ fig. 1 Richard Bell, *The Dinner Party*, 2013, installation view, Artspace, Sydney. Courtesy the artist and Artspace, Sydney.

being testament to art, activism, and resistance being a collaborative *practice*. Richard Bell's imagined new national order, where Aboriginal peoples are promised a new-found liberty through Foley's socialist commitments, has been aided through the support of China, with whom the pre-Republic White Australia has had an historically antagonistic relationship. The anxieties that arise for White Australia in the immediate aftermath of Bell's imagined Peoples Republic of Australia highlights the perversities of the settler colonial cultural imaginary in the decline of White Australia. Similarly, Bell's imagined Republic provokes an inquiry about whether modern-nation statehood is indeed a liberating model consistent with decolonization or a new hegemony that serves an international capitalist order and its beneficiaries.

Richard Bell, member of the Kamilaroi, Kooma, Jiman, and Gurang Gurang communities, rejects the label 'Aboriginal artist.' Bell's 2002 manifesto, *Bell's Theorem*, argued that 'Aboriginal Art' does not exist — but rather that "Aboriginal Art is a White Thing," a phrase he repeats in his paintings following its first appearance in *Scientia E Metaphysica (Bell's Theorem)* (2003).<sup>2</sup> His *Theorem* details how through the rotation of Aboriginal imagery, the Aboriginal Art industrial complex suggests that there has been a conciliation process in Australia and is "suggestive of an equitable agreement" between the artists and consumer.<sup>3</sup> However, relationships between First Nations peoples and settler-Australians (that is, non-Indigenous peoples) continue to be exploitative and lacking consent.<sup>4</sup> The much-debated treaty between the Victorian

<sup>2</sup> Richard Bell, "Bell's Theorem," accessed: May 29, 2019. <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/great/art/bell.html>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo Veracini's contribution to deconstruction of players within the settler state, specifically in Australia and Palestine, is significant to countering the homogenizing binaries of the European settler and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Rather, Veracini acknowledges settler-migrant and refugee identities within the populace of a settler nation. A settler carries their sovereignty with them, a migrant, however, does not. Hence, 'Indigenous' and 'non-Indigenous' are intrinsically and internally heterogeneous categories of a single binary.

Government and First Nations that is currently being developed is one of many examples that underscores the coercive methodologies employed by White institutions to advocate assimilation in lieu of decolonial action. Legal scholar Paul McHugh has called efforts such as treaties and the Native Title act of 1993 simultaneously colonizing/decolonizing approaches in their attempt to regulate Indigenous-Settler relations.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun, settler colonial and critical Indigenous and Whiteness studies scholars, have argued further that these efforts “mobilize timelines of colonial completion,” again dictated by the colonizer.<sup>6</sup> This critique of settler-controlled reconciliation processes is dealt with in the work of Indigenous-Settler relations and settler colonial scholar Sarah Maddison, who argues that when White Australia purports that they can solve Black problems, they are refusing to acknowledge that “*White Australia is the problem.*”<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Australian and Pacific-region colonial and transnational historian Penelope Edmonds argues that efforts for reconciliation in Australia are mere affective performances that are designed to produce the sentiment of solidarity without relinquishing any control.<sup>8</sup>

Short-circuiting the oft-perverse lens through which non-Aboriginal peoples consume ‘Aboriginal art,’ written across Bell’s cartographic collages and paint splatters are statements such as: “AUSTRALIAN ART DOES NOT EXIST,” “PAY THE RENT,” “I AM NOT A NOBLE SAVAGE,” “WE WERE HERE FIRST,” and “GOD SAID TO GIVE US BACK OUR LAND.” Yet, in *The Dinner Party* (2013), the final instalment of his *Imagining Victory* series that includes *Scratch an Aussie* (2009) and *Broken English* (2008), Bell further complexifies the motivations and sentiments of some White art buyers by casting the clientele of his work as the central protagonist to address the paternalistic underpinnings and performative solidarity of the self-fashioned *lefties* of the artworld (fig.2).

The film begins with Bell discussing his recently sold painting *I’m an Ass Man* to its buyer, known as ‘The Host’ and his friends, who ask him if he is there as an activist or artist. Bell explains that he wanted to make a dot-painting — a format of painting that is typically rotated as authentic ‘Aboriginal artwork’ — but as it is too time consuming, he used house paint and brush to achieve the same effect.

Dinner party guest 1: Now that Black art is mainstream, not exotic anymore, you’ll be playing on a level playing field with the White artist, yeah?

Richard Bell: Yeah, so? Richie is still the champ. I’ll just come in, do my art or maybe pay some young White kids to do my art for me and I’ll sign it.

Bell parodies White consumers who commodify Aboriginal imagery as a consumable product, purchased with narcissistic motivations for self-fashioning as a liberal supporter of ‘Aboriginals.’ Bell argues that it makes no difference if a young White person produces something that is sold under his name when it is for

<sup>5</sup> Paul McHugh, “Crown–Tribe Relations: Contractualism and Coexistence in an Intercultural Context,” in *The New Contractualism?*, eds. G. Davis, B. Sullivan, and A. Yeatman, (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun, “The Vanishing Endpoint of Settler Colonialism,” *Arena Journal*, no. 37/38 (2012): 62.

<sup>7</sup> Sarah Maddison, *The Colonial Fantasy: Why white Australia can’t solve black problems* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2019). Emphasis added.

<sup>8</sup> Penelope Edmonds, *Settler Colonialism and (Re)conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (London; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).



↑fig. 2 Richard Bell, *The Dinner Party*, 2013, installation view, Artspace, Sydney. Courtesy the artist and Artspace, Sydney.

the unknowing White consumer to feel better about themselves, or if he replicates the dot-paintings of the Central and Western Desert as aesthetic objects. Simply, he is exploiting the exploitive greed of White-run Aboriginal Art industrial complex.

The Host: What's going to happen to Black painting, will it go up in value?

Richard Bell: Mine is going up!

The Host: What about White Art now that your mob is in charge, will it decrease in value?

Richard Bell: White Art will assume its rightful place. They're in 10% of the world's population, they'll be in the bottom 10%.

The Host: I don't like your answers. It's going to affect the value of my paintings.

Richard Bell: They'll go up.

The Host: No, only one will go up according to you, the rest will go down.

Concerned with the changing market now there is an Aboriginal president and having only one Richard Bell painting, the buyer nervously laughs off Bell's assertion that things are going to change. After Bell leaves the mansion with his two White assistants dutifully walking behind him and arrives at an outdoor barbeque celebration of the Republic, the dinner guests start discussing Bell's visit (fig. 3):

Dinner Party Guest 1: I'd splash some paint over these ones here ['White' paintings] while you can.

The Host: Put a few dots all over it. That's all there is to it.

Dinner Party Guest 2: If he was a bit *cleaverer*, it might be a cause for concern but I'm not all that convinced.



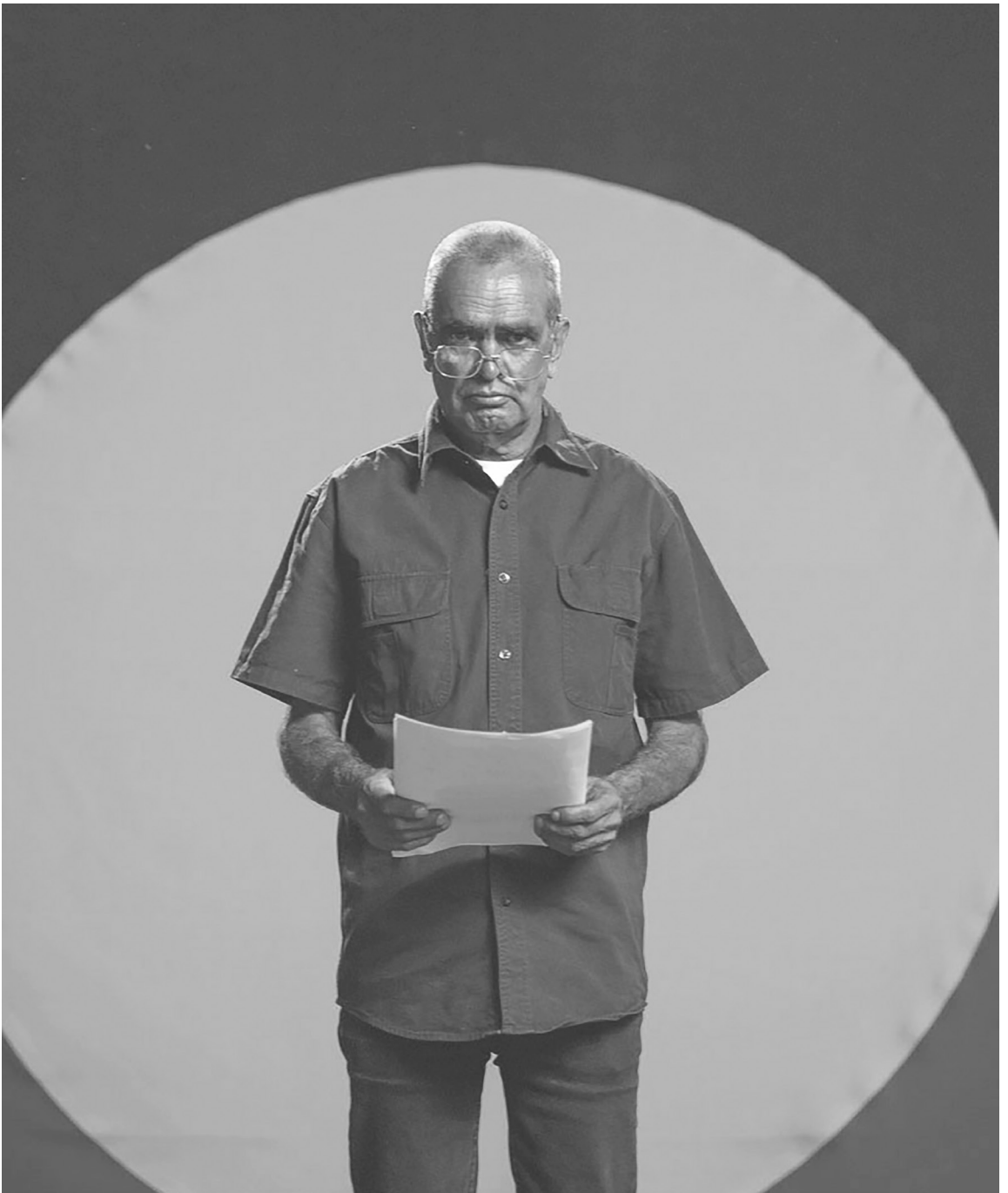
↑ fig. 3 Richard Bell, *The Dinner Party*, 2013, installation view, Artspace, Sydney. Courtesy the artist and Artspace, Sydney.

The members of the Aboriginal Art industrial complex continue to nervously parody how Aboriginal control could possibly impact White affairs, thus challenging the assumptions that merely transforming power-dynamics within the modern state framework is capable of seeing through justice for Indigenous peoples in the continent now known as Australia. Here, it is underscored that if there can be initial forms of decolonial actions within the settler state — remembering that *decolonization is a verb* — they need to be actioned from the basis of transformed and consensual Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships. However, this process of *decolonizing Indigenous-Settler relationships* cannot become substitute for radical structural change — an important argument that is made clear in the film.

The anxieties become serious while the guests watch President Gary Foley make his first speech to the new nation (fig. 4).

President Foley: Men and women of Australia, out of the experience of the extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud. Our dream was that our children would one day live in a nation where they would not be judged by the colour of their skin, or of their ethnicity, but by the content of their character. That era begins today. In the words of Hugo Chávez: “Yesterday the devil was here, and it still smells of Sulphur today.” But our task now is to remove the smell of the devil. But first, we must thank our Chinese liberators, who were the first in the world to establish diplomatic relations with Aboriginal Australia in 1972, when Uncle Chicka Dixon met with Zhou Enlai...

During this time, a dinner party guest starts insulting a Chinese waiter (fig. 2), uttering: You come here, you take our country, you take our jobs, why don’t you piss off where to you come from!



↑ fig. 4 Richard Bell, *The Dinner Party*, 2013, video still. Courtesy the artist and Milani Gallery, Brisbane.

President Foley: Whilst the ownership of all parts of Australia has now been returned to Aboriginal peoples, we want it known that ours will be a humane administration. This is not to say that White people will be excused from paying market rate rent to the Aboriginal owners of the land that they had previously acquired as the receivers of stolen property. However, their suffering will be mitigated by the re-distribution of wealth policies of my new government. All assets and cash in excess of one million dollars will be appropriated by our government. We will then be able to provide a one-off grant of one million dollars to every Australian. However, some of us in my government suspect that the individualist, materialistic, ethnocentric, nuclear family culture of Anglo-Australians might be a bit too difficult to modify for many. Of course, not all Australians will be happy with this new policy of wealth distribution, thus we will introduce an aggressive new assimilation policy and for those who might object, we have another policy that might be suitable for you, it is called: Immigration. Our new assisted passage immigration policy will ensure that undesirables can be expeditiously and humanely transported to somewhere more conducive to their unfortunate acquisitive inclinations, namely, the United States of Corporatization.

Now on the second course of their meal, the dinner party guests start expressing shock at the new state of affairs claiming that it is impossible to live on a million dollars, arguing that Aboriginal peoples have made it a case of “us and them,” and that White Australia has “treated them well, the whole way through.” The dinner party guests start showing their true colour(s), so to speak, and it is distinctly White. The Host argues that ‘they’ (Aboriginal peoples) did nothing in the fifty thousand years prior to invasion and that Whites built the nation that ‘they’ (Aboriginal peoples) will now appropriate and exploit to the disadvantage to the White population. At this point, a woman who has remained silent throughout the dinner party (who is played by artist Hannah Brontë) ardently rejects their claims and reveals to the unknowing dinner guests that she is Aboriginal.

Again, ignoring the history of colonization, namely the bio-frontier homicide through violent miscegenation policies in efforts to *whiten the nation*, the White dinner party guests state that she “does not look Black,” and certainly not Black enough to be Aboriginal. They conclude that she is Italian and assert that she is “too pretty” to be Aboriginal — one of the many condescendingly racist statements that are commonly rotated in Australia that Bell writes into the script, including an Aboriginal man claiming that the reason for invasion was that Aboriginal peoples are a “passive race.” Finally, the guests’ content that Aboriginal peoples in an act of revenge will reap the benefits of the hard-working White Australians have put into the nation. Brontë states firmly: “*We have no choice.*”

President Foley: For those who chose to stay, I can only promise you blood, toil, tears and sweat. Other than that, life will be good under the new order.

The camera zooms out on President Foley and we see children gleefully run around, Black power salutes, cheers, and applause by a largely Aboriginal audience. Back at the dinner party, The Host, now in a state of extreme stress, starts crying “they took everything we had,” — immediately after returning from having followed the only Aboriginal dinner guest to the restroom, stating that he loves ‘Black velvet,’ — a derogatory term that emerged from military slang in the nineteenth century and which refers to Aboriginal women who are sexually desired by White men — and then after being asked if he wants it ‘with or without gel’ is penetrated by a black dildo, thus subverting the role of *giver* and *receiver* contained within the term Black velvet itself. The use of Black velvet similarly evokes a scene in the Phillip Noyce film *Backroads* (1977) in which the character played by Gary Foley asks Jack (played by actor Bill Hunter) if he has ever had sex with a ‘Black Sheila,’ to which Jack responds he has not — Gary laughs it off by stating, “I’ve never met a *whitefulla* who didn’t want a bit of Black velvet on the side.”<sup>9</sup> A dinner guest smears chocolate pudding on his face and another tells him he looks like the President. The film ends with Richard Bell dancing at the barbeque.

There are several issues addressed in *The Dinner Party*: racism, late-capitalism, and decolonization in the settler state, the latter of which I will now turn. Following the General Assembly’s adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960), the question of decolonization in the settler colonial state has been an ongoing debate. If justice is land rights and self-determination, how can the framework and set of practices that constitute the modern nation-state be an effective model for decolonization? Decolonization must step outside of the triumphalist formats of sovereignty that the ‘West’ has advocated and practiced.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, if justice is land rights, how does decolonization avoid subscribing or being beholden to the global neo-colonial hegemony of capitalism while simultaneously being recognized as new de-colonial player within the global community?

After the Second World War, the international community comprised of new nation-states and led by the West were focused on establishing a post-empire world through the United Nations, in which a priority was the decolonization of extractive, expansionist, and administrative colonies. While General Assembly asserted that all “peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,” Indigenous peoples who are considered ‘internal populations’ within nation-states and thus putative citizens were exempt from this.<sup>11</sup> Decolonization, in this sense, paved the way for both a new form of nationalism based on the premise of modern nation-statehood and was in the economic interest of the neo-colonial capitalist order that exploited early post-colonial states. The UN-backed conditions for the decolonization required that in order

<sup>9</sup>  
“Backroads,” directed by Phillip Noyce (1977; Australia: Backroads Productions, 1977).

<sup>10</sup>  
I have written about the non-lateral archipelago of Eastern and Western cosmologies in my chapter “Ecolonization, a Case Study: Looking to East and West as an Imagined Archipelago,” in *Shaping Desired Futures*, ed. Aria Spinelli (Rome: Nero Editions, 2018).

<sup>11</sup>  
UN General Assembly, Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 14 December 1960, A/RES/1514(XV), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f06e2f.html>.



to be *post-colonial*, the new state had to prove their economic viability and capacity to defend their sovereign borders and national interests. Resultantly, these new nations were comprised of territorial amalgamations of non-nation state peoples within new national borders.<sup>12</sup>

The critical corpus of post-colonial studies — namely the work of Frantz Fanon, Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Paul Gilroy — examined the psychological, cultural, social, and linguistic impact of colonialism after the withdrawal of colonial administrations and the establishment of a new-post-colonial sovereign state. Settler colonial theory emerged in part in response to the incompleteness of post-colonial theory to address a different form of occupation by settler governments in states such as Australia, Canada, the United States, Aotearoa, and Palestine. Settler colonial theory has been, and in some instances continues to be, an ineffectual conduit for imagining possible futures of radical change. While indeed critical theorists in settler colonial theory, and namely the work of the late Patrick Wolfe, have provided a theoretical framework for understanding the eliminatory nature of the settler nation state that is summarized in his oft-quoted axiom that “*settler colonialism is a structure and not an event*,” in its absolutism, it unconsciously resigns settlers from activism and responsibility.<sup>13</sup> This is most clearly articulated in the contradiction of the 2007 UN declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that affirms Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination, without the disruption to the sovereign settler state within which Indigenous peoples are considered putative citizens.<sup>14</sup> In this sense, self-determination is imagined as painless process without cost for settlers and without territorial decolonization.

When we stop our analysis at recognizing the settler state as a permanent and ongoing structure recognized by and as a member of the global community, we secure those who benefit from its genocidal design. In this sense, we must recognize the two-part process of decolonization: the first, the *dissolution* of the settler state as opposed to internal reform and the second, the role of the international community in committing to genuine Indigenous liberation, which, in turn, requires a return to first stage. Inter/trans-national solidarity as a *practice* is of importance here. By solidarity I do not mean the lending of support to an external struggle but the sharing of struggles. Here, I bring attention to the longstanding Aboriginal and Palestinian solidarity, which extends over five decades. Former Fatah member Ali Kazak, arrived in Australia in 1970 and was appointed by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) to represent Palestine in Australia, New Zealand, and the Oceania region in the early 1980s. In 1979, Kazak founded the newspaper *Free Palestine*, in which Foley regularly featured and which ran until 1990. On March 30th, 1981, Professor Foley opened the first exhibition of Palestinian posters, embroidery, and Palestinian handcrafts (wood and mother of pearl

12

A.J. Christopher, “Decolonisation Without Independence,” *GeoJournal* 56, no. 3, (2002): 216.

13

Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), 163.

14

Lorenzo Veracini “Telling the End of the Settler Colonial Story,” in *Studies in Settler Colonialism*, eds. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 204–218. UN General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly, October 2, 2007, A/RES/61/295, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/471355a82.html>.

engravings, ceramics, old Palestinian money, stamps, and jewellery) curated by Kazak, and sourced from his personal collection, at Storey Hall, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. This collection was donated by Kazak to the Palestinian Museum, Birzeit in May 2015.

Equally, settler colonial revisionists including Lynne Davis, Jeff Denis, and Raven Sinclair have argued there is “delegitimation process” of Indigenous resistance that occurs within logic of settler colonial theory that centres elimination rather than resistance.<sup>15</sup> Yet while Davis, Denis, and Sinclair acknowledge the shortcomings of the theoretical framework, they nonetheless advocate a settler decolonial practice. Contrarily, theorists Macoun and Strakosch have argued against this framework, contending that settler colonial theory partners within the settler colonial eliminatory machine in that activists engaging with it often recognize the limitation of its transformative power and, hence, acquit themselves from engaging in practical change that costs them their superiority within the complex system of race, class, and gender relations of the settler state.<sup>16</sup> Davis, Denis, and Sinclair similarly highlight the space that settler colonial theory takes in the academy, often overshadowing Indigenous voices.<sup>17</sup>

While settler colonial theory has not yet been able to put forward a set series of decolonial actions that can effectively imagine a decolonial settler state (indeed, a step-by-step guide might too be a neo-imperial effort to imagine a homogenized decolonial settler state), it has provided “theoretical language to understand colonialism as a continuing force in the present.”<sup>18</sup> The central issue with decolonial possibilities put forward tend to rely on reconciliation. It is to suggest that if settlers are to stay, there must be a transformed relationship with Indigenous peoples. This is an imbalanced demand that puts a great burden on Indigenous peoples to educate settlers and forgive them for centuries of genocide and state-sanctioned racial discrimination while accepting that they will never leave. Similarly, it depends on the willingness of settlers to engage with decolonial efforts.

Richard Bell does not imagine decolonization as a choice for all settler populations — indeed, the films focus is the hostile White elite. The Peoples Republic of Australia appropriates the Commonwealth’s infrastructure, technology, and otherwise, because, as Brontë argued, “*there is no choice.*” Yet, he equally does not imagine an uprising of resistance without external interference. Bell’s new nation depends on Chinese involvement with the domestic affairs of the, albeit illegally claimed, Australian nation. Bell’s choice of China as the liberator of Aboriginal peoples is not random. Australian policy has been notoriously xenophobic and has historically targeted the ‘Asian Other’ after the mainly Chinese migration following the goldrush in 1851, which resulted in the Buckland (1857) and Lambing Flat (1860–1861) race riots. Similarly, in Australia today, White attitudes towards minority communities largely depends on what Masako Fukui calls “being a good, quiet and assimilated ‘model

<sup>15</sup>  
Lynne Davis, Jeff Denis, Raven Sinclair, “Pathways of settler decolonization,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 7, no. 4, (2016): 393.

<sup>16</sup>  
Elizabeth Strakosch and Alissa Macoun, “The Vanishing Endpoint of Settler Colonialism,” *Arena Journal*, no. 37/38, (2012): 62.

<sup>17</sup>  
Davis et al., “Pathways of settler decolonization,” 393.

<sup>18</sup>  
*Ibid.*

minority.”<sup>19</sup> Whether it is micro-aggression; racially-motivated murders such as the murder of seventeen-year-old Liep Gony in 2007, whose family had migrated from Sudan in 1998; the fear-campaign against the trumped up ‘African Gangs;’ the illegal incarceration of thousands of refugees in the Manus and Naru concentration camps and the continued violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights; and Aboriginal deaths in custody, Australia’s relationship with non-Anglo, non-White peoples is historically discriminatory and violent.

While The Dinner Party defaults to a nation-state format that sees through an imagined Aboriginal liberation, what precedes it is a radical international anti-colonial solidarity from Chinese sympathizers. Imagining a decolonial state through international solidarity is perhaps the most radical component of this film. This, I believe, is what is distinctly lacking in imagining decolonial futures in settler colonial theory. In attempts to mitigate the inextricable structuralism of settler colonial theory, theorists have debated decolonizing Indigenous-Settler relations; pedagogy; solidarity; and effectively deploying the word ‘decolonization’ as a stand in for any action that sees through intersectional equality. On various occasions when discussing social issues, I have heard people stating ‘we need to decolonize that.’ This is not problematic per se, but it obfuscates the fight for the right to return to land. Bell does not ignore the nuance of this issue. Bell’s film articulates that there will never be a pre-colony but possibly an Aboriginal-controlled liberated future.

To finish, in 2018 when speaking on Palestinian decolonization, human rights attorney and legal scholar Noura Erakat argued that in discourses of resistance we need move our energy towards empowering questions for liberated and decolonial futures.<sup>20</sup> Here, I replace ‘Palestinian state’ with an ‘Aboriginal state’ to demonstrate the shared issues for liberation, that have been central to Aboriginal and Palestinian solidarity: How will an Aboriginal state treat asylum seekers? Will an Aboriginal state be an ethnocentric one? Richard Bell experiments with these questions in his film by putting forward, via Gary Foley as President, a series of policies. Similarly, he underscores the role of inter/trans-national solidarity as necessary component in a new global decolonial agenda for Indigenous putative citizens of the colonial states who were ignored in the 1960 UN declaration. Colonisation started with the appropriation of land and must end with its reclamation.

19

Masako Fukui, “Being a good, quiet and assimilated ‘model minority’ is making me angry,” *The Guardian*, July 28, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/28/being-a-good-quiet-and-assimilated-model-minority-is-making-me-angry>.

20

Noura Erakat, public talk, ‘Human Rights and Palestine in the Age of Trump’ Thursday, July 19, 2018, State Library of Victoria.

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