6. TAMPA IN JAPAN

EAST ASIAN RESPONSES TO AUSTRALIA'S REFUGEE POLICY

Tessa Morris-Suzuki

In the past few years Australia has experienced the slow death of a long-cherished myth: the myth that the vicissitudes of domestic political debate have little impact on Australia's image in the Asian region and the wider world. When the debate about Hansonism was at its height, we were repeatedly reassured by political leaders that Pauline Hanson's unfortunate public statements created no more than passing ripples in the calm seas of our relations with Asia. More recently, government ministers have insisted that Australia's firm line on asylum-seekers is doing no lasting harm to the country's international reputation. Indeed, Philip Ruddock has informed us that Australia's migration procedures are recognised world-wide as best practice, and that other countries are eagerly following Australia's lead.¹ On this occasion, though, sceptics in the media and opposition parties have repeatedly voiced their concerns about the direction in which Australia is heading, and the damage current policy is causing to Australia's image as a tolerant and multicultural society.

Here I shall consider responses in Japan to Australia's asylum-seeker policy, focusing particularly on Japanese media reports on the 2001 *Tampa* crisis'. This extends work by others who have looked at reporting of the incident in South-East Asia and elsewhere. From a survey of three English-language newspapers in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, for example, Denise Woods has suggested that the incident reinforced, rather than negatively altered, Australia's image in South-East Asia.² My argument here is that the incident did indeed have a negative effect on the way in which a considerable number of people in Japan view Australia. But I shall also suggest that it is worth paying attention to Japanese media accounts of the *Tampa* incident, not simply because they cast light on the way in which 'they' see 'us', but for more profound and complex reasons. Among other things, they raise questions about the boundaries of 'domestic affairs', and indeed about the very boundaries between 'us' and 'them', in the 21st-century world.

This paper does not attempt to survey the whole gamut of Japanese reporting on the *Tampa* incident, but instead focuses on the print media. I begin by looking at newspaper reports of the incident and then go on to look in rather more detail at one particularly interesting magazine article on the issue.

Boatpeople, illegal migrants, refugees: Japanese newspapers and the *Tampa* crisis

The comfortable hypothesis that Australia's asylum policy is likely to make little impact on our image in Asia seems to rest on three propositions. The first is that (at least as far as China and Japan are concerned) Australia attracts very little media attention, and few reporters are likely to have paid much attention to such remote issues as *Tampa* and the so-called 'Pacific Solution'. The second is that other countries in the region, including Japan, have poor records in relation to refugees and therefore (to put it smugly) 'they' have no grounds for criticising 'us'. Thirdly, by extension, most governments in the region today are much more concerned with developing

methods to keep out 'illegal immigrants' than with protecting the rights of asylum-seekers, and are therefore more likely to respond with sympathy than with disapproval to Australia's stance.

All of these propositions contain at least a grain of truth. The *Tampa* crisis was never headline news in Japan (as it was in some European countries). Most Japanese people are unlikely to have heard of the *Tampa*, and most of those who have some hazy memory of the incident are unlikely to remember the details. The Japanese Government has shown itself extraordinarily unresponsive to recent refugee crises, detaining and refusing refugee status to the only nine Afghans to seek asylum in Japan to escape persecution by the Taliban. In November 2001 the Tokyo District Court ruled that five of these asylum-seekers were to be released on the grounds that detaining potential refugees simply on suspicion that they were illegal immigrants contravened the Convention on Refugees, but the Justice Ministry promptly appealed the decision, which was reversed the next month. Thereupon the asylum-seekers were immediately re-arrested and returned to incarceration in the Eastern Japan detention centre in Ushiku City.³ In the circumstances, it is not surprising that, at the summit meeting between Prime Ministers Howard and Koizumi in the first half of 2002, one of the key items on the agenda was cooperation to deal with the 'transnational crime' of people smuggling. In this sense, Philip Ruddock may well be right to highlight the 'general acknowledgment overseas' of Australia's 'expertise' in keeping out the unwanted.

On the other hand, the *Tampa* incident perhaps attracted more media attention than any other recent event in Australia after the Olympics. Between 28 August, 2001, when the first reports appeared, and 11 September, when *Tampa* was driven off the pages of the newspapers by other more momentous events, Japan's national and major regional daily newspapers ran 50 articles on the issue (see Table 1).⁴ By comparison, the rise of Pauline Hanson (which was also widely reported in Japan) generated just 17 articles in the whole of 1996, and, from

28 August to 11 October, 2001, when the final analysis of the results appeared, there were just seven reports on the 2001 Australian Federal Election.

Table 1. Japanese newspaper reports on the *Tampa* crisis, 28 August–11 September, 2001

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>No. of Reports</i>
<i>Asahi</i>	10
<i>Yomiuri</i>	8
<i>Mainichi</i>	7
<i>Nikkei</i>	5
<i>Sankei</i>	3
Regional Papers	17
Total	50

Like most Japanese news reports, the articles on the *Tampa* crisis were relatively bland in tone and seldom included overt expressions of opinion. Many were also very short. Yet at the same time they offer some interesting glimpses of the concerns which the issue raised in various sections of Japanese opinion. When the first reports appeared in the major dailies on 28 and 29 August, journalists and editors seemed uncertain about how to frame this story. Several newspapers described the people picked up by the Norwegian cargo ship *Tampa* as 'boatpeople' (*bōtopīpuru*), and most seemed to rely mainly on Australian official sources for their information. For example, the *Asahi* newspaper, in a short article published on 28 August, reported that survivors from a sinking boat had been picked up two days earlier by a Norwegian freighter, the *Tampa*, between Java and Christmas Island, and that the rescued 'boatpeople' had forcibly insisted that the captain head for Australian waters. 'However, on the same day, the Australian government refused the *Tampa* entry into its territorial waters on the grounds that "under international law this problem should be resolved between Indonesia and Norway" [Prime Minister Howard].⁵ Other papers also reported Howard's words, although the *Mainichi* also quoted a statement by the

Norwegian Foreign Minister to the effect that, as the nearest country, Australia had a duty to allow the rescued asylum-seekers to come on shore.⁶

As the crisis unfolded, however, coverage of the issue in the various newspapers began to take on subtly different nuances. One indicator of difference was the use of words. After the initial reports, three of the major dailies (the *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri*) generally adopted the practice of referring to the *Tampa* asylum-seekers as 'refugees' (*nanmin*), while the right-of-centre *Sankei* newspaper and the business-oriented *Nihon Keizai* newspaper, commonly abbreviated to *Nikkei*, usually referred to them as 'illegal migrants' (*mikkōsha*).

Indeed, the *Sankei* and *Nikkei* appeared relatively sympathetic to the Australian Government's position. In its initial account of the crisis, the *Sankei* reported that 'the freighter [*Tampa*] endeavoured to take the boatpeople to the nearest Indonesian port, but several of them seem to have become agitated and burst on to the bridge, forcing the ship to steer towards the Australian territory of Christmas Island. The Australian government insists that "it is the international rule that people who are rescued at sea should be taken to the nearest port". The authorities have already faced problems, since more than 1,300 refugees have arrived at Christmas Island in the past two weeks'.⁷ The *Nikkei* similarly concluded its first brief report of the incident with the words, 'The number of illegal migrants trying to reach Australia via Indonesia and other countries has grown suddenly in recent years. This year alone 3,800 illegal migrants have been found'.⁸

In fuller reports, which appeared three days later, the *Sankei* and *Nikkei* gave prominence to José Ramos Horta's suggestion that East Timor might be willing to provide refuge to some of the asylum-seekers — the *Sankei* interpreting this as an act of 'gratitude' (*ongaeshi*) for Australia's past assistance to East Timorese refugees — though both papers also noted the 'rising international criticism' of Australia over the crisis.⁹

In the other daily papers, by contrast, implicit criticism of Australia's stance was much more apparent. The right-of-

centre *Yomiuri*, also reporting Ramos Horta's proposal, preceded this by outlining the proposal from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) that Australia should allow the *Tampa* asylum-seekers to disembark on Christmas Island for processing, and that Indonesia, Australia and Norway should be jointly responsible for accepting those found to have a legitimate claim to be refugees.¹⁰ This UNHCR proposal was particularly widely reported in Japan, appearing not just in articles in the national *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi* newspapers, but in regional papers.¹¹

On 5 September, when it was clear that Australia was not going to accept this proposal, the *Yomiuri* returned to the topic with a note of sharper criticism, emphasising the 'unconcealed disappointment' of Erika Feller, head of the UNHCR's International Protection Bureau (and an Australian former diplomat), that Australia had opted to pursue the 'Pacific Solution' instead of adopting the UNHCR plan, which in Feller's words was 'humane and in accordance with the Refugee Convention'. (It should be noted in passing that the term 'Pacific Solution' is never used in the Japanese newspaper accounts, which refer, less euphemistically, to 'the proposal to move the refugees to New Zealand and Nauru'.) The paper reported Feller's concerns that Australia's refusal to allow the asylum-seekers ashore had created a 'bad precedent' and that the refugees faced an uncertain fate in Nauru, which had a population of just 11,000 and no clearly defined policy on asylum.

At the same time, the newspaper placed the *Tampa* crisis in the context of the global problem of defining refugee status. In particular, it emphasised the growing phenomenon of 'economic refugees' who left their home countries for reasons of poverty rather than for fear of persecution, and noted the need to develop new international norms for classifying and recognising refugees.¹²

The transformation of 'tolerant' Australia

The most detailed coverage of the *Tampa* incident appeared in the middle-of-the-road *Mainichi* newspaper and in the *Asahi*,

generally regarded as the most left-leaning of Japan's national dailies. By 31 August, the *Mainichi* was not only reporting the facts of the unfolding crisis, but beginning to offer some perspective on its context: 'In the past two weeks, some 1,500 boatpeople have arrived in Australia, evoking a strong negative reaction from the Australian people. The [Government's] hardening stance appears to be closely connected to the domestic issue of the forthcoming general election in the latter part of this year'.¹³

Though the *Mainichi* carried just seven articles on the issue, these included relatively lengthy and analytical pieces, not just from the paper's reporters in Australia, but from its European and Central Asian bureaux. On 2 September, for example, the *Mainichi*'s London correspondent reported the refusal of the *Tampa*'s captain to cooperate with the proposed 'Pacific Solution', on the grounds that Australia had not explained how it proposed to move the asylum-seekers to New Zealand and Nauru, and that the *Tampa* lacked the means to transfer them safely from one vessel to another at sea. The reporter also quoted Associated Press reports of the Norwegian embassy's efforts to lodge a claim for refugee status on behalf of the *Tampa* asylum-seekers.¹⁴

Meanwhile, in a long article made up of reports from correspondents in Islamabad, London and Geneva, the newspaper reflected on the Afghan refugee problem in its wider international context. The outflow of refugees from Afghanistan, it noted, went back to the time of the Soviet invasion. Since then, some two million refugees had fled from Afghanistan to Iran and Pakistan, and recent droughts had further swelled the influx into Pakistan. The article goes on, 'The Afghans and others who were recently rescued by a Norwegian freighter after an Indonesian people-smuggling boat sank were on their way to Australia, which was a popular destination for refugees. It is highly likely that the question of accepting Afghan refugees, who seek to escape their home country by many routes, will become a major problem for the international community'.¹⁵

The *Asahi* carried the largest number of reports on the crisis and, although many of its articles were quite brief, it picked up aspects of the story overlooked by the other national dailies. On 3 September it noted efforts by a group of Melbourne lawyers to obtain a ruling preventing the 'boatpeople' from being removed from Australian territory.¹⁶ On September 11 it reported that Nauru had agreed to 'accept for refugee processing the 237 boatpeople detained by the Australian navy on 8 [September]. This is in addition to the 280 whom it has already agreed to accept. In repayment, Australia will provide aid to the substantial amount of 2 million Australian dollars [about 12.5 billion yen] in the form of guarantees of diesel fuel, writing off Nauru's debts to Australia for medical programs, etc.'¹⁷ The paper even cited John Howard among its 'quotes of the day' for expressing his anger that people from 'countries which do not accept refugees' had the temerity to criticise his government's inhumanity.¹⁸

But the paper's most extended reflections on the issue appeared several months after the event, in an article published in January 2002 to mark the 50th anniversary of the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. The article consists of an overview of the state of refugee policy in various parts of the world, beginning with a section entitled 'The Transformation of "Tolerant" Australia'. This notes that events in Afghanistan had generated some 3.6 million refugees, including 'people fleeing persecution, who are protected by the [Geneva] Convention' and 'those "refugees" in the broad sense who are fleeing the disasters of war, etc., but are outside the framework of the Convention'. The article then continues:

On 26 August last year, in the sea near Australia's Christmas Island, the Norwegian ship Tampa rescued more than 400 Afghan asylum-seekers from a sinking boat and tried to take them to the island. The Australian government refused to let it enter port.

Since abandoning the 'White Australia' policy in the early '70s, Australia had been tolerant of refugees. It accepted almost 200,000 refugees from Indo-China.

Even now it receives roughly 10,000 refugees per year.

This country took a step which, however you look at it, cannot be regarded as humanitarian.

Why has this transformation taken place? The article goes on to outline some of the reasons: Australia, it says, saw itself as being in danger of being swamped by refugees. Many came via South-East Asia after paying large sums of money to ‘people smugglers’. ‘Last year, in the months to August, 3,694 people had tried to enter the country illegally, and there were repeated arrests and forcible deportations. The government and the people were sick and tired of it. The *Tampa* incident was the outcome of all this. Expecting a tough fight in the up-coming elections, the ruling conservatives took a hard line to win the support of the populace’.¹⁹

After surveying evidence of hardening attitudes to refugees in other countries, including Britain, France and Germany, the article concludes by arguing the need for new international efforts to address the problems of defining refugees and responding to refugee crises in a changing world. In particular, it returns to the question of so-called ‘economic refugees’, pointing out that the original notion of asylum built into the Geneva Convention is inadequate to deal with the large numbers of people who seek refuge from genuine suffering — caused, for example, by famine or war — but who do not face a ‘threat of persecution’ as defined by the convention: ‘The time has come when a system created to protect people from oppression must face up to the task of responding to people who seek to flee famine and poverty, as well as war and conflict. Determining how to define “refugees in need of protection” in a humanitarian spirit which maintains fundamental principles is a task that requires the imagination and effort of the international community’.²⁰

Viewing the world from the *Tampa*

The *Tampa* crisis, then, attracted considerable attention from the Japanese print media. News reporting of the issue reveals,

predictably enough, that there was not one 'Japanese perspective' on the issue, rather various groups within Japan responded in different ways. Beneath the bland and descriptive style which characterises most Japanese newspaper reportage, contesting concerns are evident. For some, the issue was primarily a matter of border controls — the Australian Government was struggling to deal with the problem of 'illegal migrants'. Since Japan also faced similar problems, they were able to express a degree of implicit sympathy for the Howard Government's determination to 'draw the line'.

For others, by contrast, the issue at stake was the humanitarian treatment of refugees, and the refusal of the Australian Government to accept the solution proposed by the UNHCR. The 'transformation of "tolerant" Australia' was an issue of concern to some people in Japan because this image of 'tolerance' had given hope to those who aspired to make their own society more open to migrants and more accepting of its existing diversity. 'Tolerant Australia' could be used as a yardstick with which to measure and criticise existing realities in Japan, and to press for domestic reform. Even after *Tampa*, this use of the Australian 'other' did not entirely disappear, but the language used to evoke the 'other' underwent a telling change. For example, in a searing critique of Japan's refugee policy published in the left-of-centre monthly magazine *Sekai* (*The World*) in July 2002, journalist Isozaki Yumi observed that 'even Australia, which like Japan has attracted criticism from the international community for its detention and exclusion of refugees' had accepted far more Afghan refugees than Japan (emphasis added).²¹

But it is another article, coincidentally published in the same journal, which offers the most interesting Japanese-language reflections on the *Tampa* crisis. The article takes the form of an interview conducted by the journal's editor-in-chief, Okamoto Atsushi, with Korean academic and writer Lee Chong-Hwa, who has lived and taught in Japan for more than a decade. Lee has published a number of works in Japanese and is best known for her book *Tsubuyaki no seiji shisô* (roughly

translatable as *Murmurings of Political Thought*), a work which explores questions of identity, the female body, diversity and political action in an oblique and aphoristic style which often seems as close to poetry as prose.²² The *Sekai* interview, too, contains wide-reaching reflections on the state of the post-11 September world, drawing on metaphor, memory and personal experience. It is entitled 'Viewing the World from the Refugee Ship *Tampa*'.²³

Okamoto opens the interview by recalling that Lee spent the year 2001 in London, and asking her about the perspective this had given her on the events of 11 September, the war in Afghanistan and the Palestinian *intifada*. Her response might come as something of a shock to many Australian readers. She replies that her stay in London 'had nothing in particular to do with 11 September, and I do not want to connect the two'. Rather, 'if I were to select one thing, it would be the *Tampa*. The freighter *Tampa* was within me all the time. In the spring of last year I went from Seikei University, where I now work, to London University to conduct overseas research, and in the summer I moved apartments. At just that time, my everyday life became laden with the *Tampa*. If my memory is correct it was a little after 20 August. It seemed that every day the story of the *Tampa* flowed from the radio, and from morning to evening I was together with the *Tampa*. In the midst of all this I felt as though I myself had somehow embarked on this ship *Tampa*'.²⁴

In the discussion that follows, the *Tampa* is evoked as a real place of human suffering and as a metaphor for the state of the world. The physical presence of the ship is conjured up with words whose lyricism highlights the ironies of the image. 'I still remember. I think it was 3 September. I opened the *Guardian* newspaper and there, right in front of my eyes, big enough to cover almost half the page, was the most beautiful photograph. It's beautiful, what a lovely photo, I thought. If it hadn't been for the explanation underneath, it would really have been a beautiful photo of the *Tampa*. The *Tampa* is the colour of earth, and is bathed in light, and behind you can see the Australian naval boat coming to attack it. The light is

sparkling on the sea and two white seagulls are flying in the sky. Without thinking about it, I cut out this photograph with scissors and stuck it on the white wall of the room into which I had just moved'.²⁵

The beauty of this distant scene, of course, conceals the misery of a situation where, as Lee notes, almost 500 people were crammed into a ship designed to accommodate 45, floating in limbo off Christmas Island as the Australian Government demonstrated its refusal to allow this human 'cargo' to touch Australian soil. The reasons for her own absorption in the *Tampa* crisis, Lee suggests, lie buried in part in her memories: 'I was born on an island. When I speak of boats I think of seasickness. Whatever else there may be, there is sickness, suffering: from first class to third class — it used to be my dream to travel in first class. Only a few boats had first class cabins. In the third class rooms, which were usually right at the bottom, underneath the bridge — in Korean called the "*kappan*" — I would clutch my stomach and try to endure the sickness, wondering how I could at least get to a place where I could breathe. I remember it vividly. Somehow the people on the *Tampa*, each of them one by one, came to be overlaid on that memory'.²⁶

This memory becomes a starting point for considering how we connect with the suffering of others. How, for example, can people in Japan or Europe begin to find a thread of connection that allows them to imagine the experiences of Afghans during the war that expelled the Taliban? The problem, Lee suggests, is not just one of physical distance or different 'cultures', for even South Koreans struggle to imagine and form bonds of empathy with the experience of North Koreans. Ultimately the issue is whether we can draw out, from our own lives, memories that link us to others. 'The reason why I found myself seeing the figures of the people on the *Tampa*, why I cannot forget them is, in a word, the memory of boats. I think the dreadful childhood memory of seasickness has somehow created a physiological connection'.²⁷

The problems of memory are made all the more urgent by the state of the world in which we live: a world where dreams are swamped by the obsessive demand for security. After outlining the course of the *Tampa* crisis, Lee observes that, as a result, Prime Minister Howard gained popularity and won the 2001 general election. 'The voices of those demanding safety, security became louder. Asian refugees were undesirable because no one knew what they might do. In circumstances like that, the ideals of diversity and multi-ethnicity, which Australia had held until then, had no power. If we think about it now, in the political moves in Australia surrounding the *Tampa* — the voices of people calling for security, the outcome of the election — we can see in miniature the image of everything that was to follow later'.²⁸

'Everything that was to follow later' includes the aftermath of 11 September, when the US intervened in Afghanistan and then turned its attention to Iraq and beyond in its ever-widening 'global war on terror'. Lee likens the US to a sinking ship — a ship carrying millions and generations of migrants and refugees from many countries all over the world. The ship is sinking, but not everything and everybody will sink with it: 'It was the same with the *Tampa* which took on the refugees: if the ship sinks, the nation may be destroyed, but the people still have to live somehow ... So, even if it sinks, how can we retrieve some things from it — however small and individual and diverse those things may be?'.²⁹

With the gradual sinking of this ship, which once symbolised freedom and democracy for so many people around the world, the task of 'retrieving something' becomes a task of memory. More precisely, Lee suggests, what is important is 're-memory', the retrieval of forgotten human connections which may enable us to 're-model' the societies in which we live. 'Re-memory' reveals not only faces and sensations from the past, but the repressed and forgotten faces of the present. For example, Lee notes that among the figures which metaphorically 'appear' on the deck of the *Tampa* are the figures of Korea's Muslims, about whom she had previously known

nothing. 'There are, it seems, about 100,000 Muslims on the Korean Peninsula. Of this 100,000, about 30,000 are said to be South Korean. Which means that among the remaining 70,000, many are foreign workers'.³⁰ The link of empathy with the frightened, seasick passengers on the *Tampa* becomes a starting point for a much wider journey of discovery. 'How can I, who am not a researcher of refugee issues, speak about the problem of the refugees beneath the bridge of the *Tampa*? The problem of the [Korean] Muslims, the problem of North Korea, and all sorts of issues appeared. They are all connected to the existence of "refugees"'.³¹

To bring these long-concealed presences 'on to the deck' — into the light of day — also requires a rethinking of time. One problem of the contemporary world, Lee suggests, is its emphasis on speed. Everything must be instantly labelled — as '11 September' or 'terrorism', for example; everything must be instantly responded to. Such speed makes impossible a proper recognition of refugees, whose lives operate in a different regime of time. 'The time of the refugee camp — the time of the refugee ship *Tampa* — greatly exceeds the time of the mainland. That is why, as this acceleration grows faster and faster, it becomes absolutely impossible to see refugees'.³² The issue of 'recognising refugees', while it is a matter of legal recognition under international conventions, is thus also inescapably a deeper problem of 'recognising' the living presence of the refugee as a human being. 'In relation to the *Tampa* I likened the people [on the ship] to "cargo". The establishment of standards for recognising refugees is a problem of how we recognise that "cargo" as people'.³³

Lee Chong-Hwa's reflections on the *Tampa* crisis cast a new light on the question of how 'they' (Japanese, Koreans, Chinese and so on) see 'us' (Australians). Indeed, her comments destabilise every aspect of that question. The notion of 'them' is no longer as simple as it seemed. 'Japanese images of Australia' are implicitly assumed to be perceptions expressed within the boundaries of the Japanese nation, usually in the Japanese language, by people who are Japanese by nationality and

ethnicity. But increasingly, the images that circulate in the Japanese language, within and across the boundaries of Japan, include images created by those who, like Lee Chong-Hwa, are not Japanese by birth, ancestry or nationality. The 'seeing' is also generally assumed to be done from within Japan, through the window of Japanese media. But Lee, of course, 'sees' the *Tampa* from her room in London, mainly through the medium of the BBC and British newspapers.

But lastly and most importantly, the 'view of the world from the *Tampa*' deeply complicates the notion of 'us' as objects of scrutiny by 'them'. At one level, to be sure, I cannot read Lee's words without feeling deeply ashamed of the Australian Government's policies, and deeply sad that so few Australians were able to sense the seasickness and suffocation and suffering of the *Tampa* asylum-seekers. But at the same time the issue here is no longer simply whether 'they' approve or disapprove of 'us', whether 'their' criticisms of 'us' are correct, or whether 'they' are more or less humanitarian than 'us'.

The issue is how you and I can discover the threads of imagination and memory that create new forms of 'us', across as well as within national boundaries; how that re-imagining of 'us' can become (as it must be) also a process of unmaking the injustice and violence that reduce people to unwanted cargo — to flotsam and jetsam, discarded on the tide — to make our own journey though the storm more secure.

Lee's reflections, in other words, invite us not so much to consider how 'East Asians' see 'us' Australians, but how people in Australia and East Asia can begin to imagine and create together an 'us' capable of addressing problems of refugee recognition and human rights from which no one is unconnected. To do this requires an ability to wonder what has become of each of the 433 asylum-seekers rescued by the *Tampa*: where are they now? How do they remember the long days and nights on the ship, in the naval vessels, in the camps in Nauru and elsewhere? Are they haunted, as Lee is, by the memories of seasickness, heat, the struggle for air? What will become of them in the future?

Beyond that, her words invite you and me to attempt to create an 'us' which might also include the people on the *Tampa*, those who came after them, and those yet to come.

To quote the closing words of the *Sekai* interview: 'How do we make the people on the *Tampa* into people? How do we make into people those who are people and yet have not become people? We must put this into words, or else ... This, I think, is where the meaning of speech lies. We must give speech such meaning. I am a person, and you are a person too, and we are also people. In this, surely, lies the meaning of the law of nations and of international law'.³⁴

Footnotes

- ¹ Australia a World Leader in Managing Migration. Department of Immigration and Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs. Media release, 2002, MPS095/2002.
- ² Woods, Denise. 2002. *Tampa Tantrums: Charting the Media's response*. Paper presented at the conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Hobart, 1–3 July, 2002.
- ³ Isozaki, Yumi. 2002. Towareru 'Nanmin sakoku' Nihon. pp.143-50. *Sekai* 703. July, 2002. (An English translation entitled 'Questioning Japan's "Closed Country" Policy on Refugees' is available on *Sekai's* English-language web site, *Japan in the World*, <http://www.iwanami.co.jp/jpworld/text/ClosedCountry01.html>)
- ⁴ The national newspapers included here are the daily broadsheets, but exclude the evening tabloids, which focus mainly on sports and entertainment. Except where otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the papers' morning editions.
Asahi Shimbun, 28 August, 2001.
- ⁵ *Mainichi Shimbun*, evening edition, 29 August, 2001.
- ⁶ *Sankei Shimbun*, 28 August, 2001.
- ⁷ *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 29 August, 2001.
- ⁸ *Sankei Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001; *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001.
- ⁹ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001.
- ¹⁰ *Chunichi Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001; *Kobe Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001.
- ¹¹ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 5 September, 2001.
- ¹² *Mainichi Shimbun*, 31 August, 2001.
- ¹³ *Mainichi Shimbun*, 2 September, 2001.
- ¹⁴ *Mainichi Shimbun*, 1 September, 2001.
- ¹⁵ *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 September, 2001.
- ¹⁶ *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 September, 2001.
- ¹⁷ *Asahi Shimbun*, 7 September, 2001.
- ¹⁸ *Asahi Shimbun*, evening edition, 17 January, 2002.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Isozaki, Towareru 'Nanmin sakoku' Nihon, p.146.
- ²¹ Lee, Chong-Hwa. 1998. *Tsubuyaki no seiji shiso*. Tokyo: Seidosha.
- ²² Lee, Chong-Hwa. 2002. Nanmin-sen *Tampa* kara mitsumeru sekai. pp.168–81. *Sekai* 703. July, 2002.
- ²³ Ibid., pp.168–169.
- ²⁴ Ibid., pp.169–170.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p.169.
- ²⁶

- 27 Ibid., p.171.
- 28 Ibid., p.170.
- 29 Ibid., p.172.
- 30 Ibid., p.177.
- 31 Ibid., p.179.
- 32 Ibid., p.174.
- 33 Ibid., p.180.
- 34 Ibid., p.181.