People's Diplomacy: Australian travel, tourism and relations with Asia, 1941-2009

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Declaration of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or institute of higher learning.

I affirm that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work. I certify to the best of my knowledge that all sources of reference have been acknowledged.

Agnieszka Sobocinska

Abstract

This thesis examines the role of travel and personal experience in Australian relations with Asia, from the Pacific War to the present day. Taking a broad range of travel experiences as its subject, it traces the way in which 'being there' has impacted on Australian views of Asian societies. It examines the rumours that have informed conceptions of Asia before travellers' departures, the complex negotiations between rumour and experience while in Asia, and the way in which travellers have represented Asia to a broader audience upon return. In doing so, it argues that personal travel experiences have influenced broader conceptual shifts. Whilst a national archive of personal experience of Asia has served to demystify the 'Other,' the structural inequalities inherent to the majority of Australian experiences of Asia have also led to the perpetuation of neocolonial meanings. By probing at the ways in which travel and personal experiences have influenced broader understandings of Asia, and how these have gone on to shape the sphere of diplomatic and official relations, this thesis traces the social and political ramifications of travel experiences. In doing so, it positions travel as an overtly political action, underpinning social attitudes as well as official relations.

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Contents

Abbreviations used in this thesis

ABC   Australian Broadcasting Commission (Corporation from 1983)
ABS   Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACFOA   Australian Council for Overseas Aid
AIF   Australian Imperial Force
ANGAU   Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit
ANZAC   Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
APEC   Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARVN   Army of the Republic of Vietnam
ASIO   Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ASU   Australian Seamen's Union
AusAID   Australian Agency for International Development
AVI   Australian Volunteers International
AYAD   Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development
BOAC   British Overseas Airways Corporation (British Airways from 1974)
BCOF   British Commonwealth Occupation Forces
CAAC   Civil Aviation Administration of China
CENKIM   Central Committee for Indonesian Independence
CPA   Communist Party of Australia
DFAT   Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
IRG   Immigration Reform Group
KLM   Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij (Dutch shipping and airline firm)
LNF   Liberation National Front
JBR   Just Back Report (Bali Travel Forum)
NGO   Non-Government Organisation
POW   Prisoner of War
PRC   People's Republic of China
QEA   Qantas Empire Airways (Qantas Airways from 1967)
R & R   Rest and Recreation Leave
RAAF   Royal Australian Air Force
RAF   Royal Air Force (British)
SARS   Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SEATO   South East Asian Treaty Organisation
VC   Viet Cong
VFR   Visiting Friends and Relatives
VGS   Volunteer Graduate Scheme
WTO   World Tourism Organization

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Introduction

People's Diplomacy: Australian travel, tourism and relations with Asia, 1941-2009

In 1962, middle-aged Sydneysider William Wade set out on his first overseas trip, to Hong Kong and Tokyo. The owner of a successful engineering business and doting father to three young daughters, Wade had not given a great deal of thought to Australia's relations with Asia. He could no doubt remember a time when Australians worried about invading hordes from the north, and speculated about what Australia would look like if overrun by the racially inferior though cunning Chinese or Japanese. More recently, Asia had also featured in news reports of the instability plaguing South and Southeast Asia following decolonisation, or in alarming rumours about how soon the region's falling dominoes would bring communism to Australia's very doorstep. Yet, Wade also knew that even if Communist China loomed threateningly, Hong Kong remained firmly under Britain's able colonial control. Politics aside, the popular Hollywood film, *The World of Suzie Wong*, had recently portrayed Hong Kong as exotic and alluring, a place of titillating sexual possibility where even the prostitutes had a heart of gold. Overall, Hong Kong was an exciting prospect.

So when he set off for his business trip, Wade felt mentally prepared. Although he had never set foot in the 'East,' the rumours he had heard had crystallised into a good number of preconceptions about Asia. Upon arrival, he initially found that Hong Kong fitted into preconceived frames. As a thoroughly modern man with a lifelong interest in electronics, Wade purchased a tape recorder in Hong Kong's bustling shopping precinct. Recording his impressions in long audio-letters to his wife and daughters, Wade assured them that all was well. His hotel was plush, and his every need was met by attentive servants; outside the hotel, the Chinese teemed on the streets, but the British were doing a good job maintaining order. After a few days, however, his audio-letters began to betray a less confident tone. Wade began to see things which unsettled him, and forced him to reflect on his preconceptions. He found his senses overpowered by the strange smells which permeated the streets, and the strange foods he saw being eaten at all hours. He had got lost several times, and was confused by the rhythms and tones of the Chinese language. He had had run-ins with several rickshaw 'boys,' who demanded two dollars even though he had heard, somewhere, that you're not supposed to give them more than one, and public arguments had ensued. The boys' defiance made him reflect that, even though Hong Kong was a colony, there was absolutely no trace of servility – 'not even among the coolies.' Perhaps most unsettling of all was his realisation that, in many ways, Hong Kong was more modern and even *cleaner* than Australia.

As he prepared to leave several days later, he found that the experience of being in Hong Kong had profoundly affected him. The politically conservative Wade even found himself questioning elements of Australian foreign and domestic policy, including the nation's longest lasting law limiting Asian immigration. Having seen the energy and intelligence of the Chinese in Hong Kong, Wade began to wonder if Australia wasn't 'acting very foolishly' in refusing to allow them into the country. Needless to say, Wade returned to Australia with an entirely different idea of what Asia was like, which he now summed up most often in one word conveying both the strangeness and promise of Asia: marvellous.[1]

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[1] Audio Recordings 'William Wade, Tokyo 1962,' and 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2.' Copies in author's possession.

Reinvestigating the 'Australia-Asia relationship'

Over the past seventy years, Australians have embarked on many millions of journeys to Asia. This was a period which saw massive military movements, the business trip, and leisure travel and tourism in all its guises. It was also a period in which Australian ideas about Asia were renegotiated both in the spheres of politics and diplomacy and in broader society. As Wade's example shows, travel can be instrumental in forming personal views about foreign affairs. This thesis traces the way in which personal experiences of travel underpinned broader conceptual shifts about Asia in the period from the Pacific War to 2009. During this time, Australians travelled to Asia for a multiplicity of purposes. They went there to fight in several wars – hot and cold – and were members of an occupying power; but others travelled to Asia to demonstrate their opposition to Australian military involvement in the region. They travelled north both as colonisers and as volunteers working to end colonialism; as academics, journalists and travel writers on research trips and as company directors and managers on business trips; as left-wing enthusiasts hoping to glimpse the workings of Communist societies and as right-wing demagogues promoting Australian military intervention against those societies. Some went to Asia to view the latest technological and political innovations in a region which seemed to promise the future, others went there to provide aid to a people they considered part of a backward 'Third World.' Finally, increasing numbers went as tourists. Some hoped to see something of different societies and cultures; others to gain a better understanding of world affairs, or to bridge the gap between Australia and Asia. Others still went to find 'authenticity' in a rapidly modernising world, to find themselves, or simply to unwind and forget all about the 'real' world.

These journeys took them all over Asia: but where is Asia, anyway? In a thesis about physical movement over geographical space and social place, the location and limits of 'Asia' become problematic. The geographical space of the Asian continent stretches from the furthermost reaches of Asian Russia in the East to Turkey in the West. However, Asia as place is conceived of differently, and this social conception is dynamic. The shorthand term 'Asia' conjures different images in the United Kingdom from those conjured in the United States, and both images are very different again from the India's 'Asia.' Australians have held different conceptions of 'Asia' still. Europe's 'Orient', as described by Edward Said and Rana Kabbani, has played little role in Australia's conception of Asia: when Australians spoke of Asian invasion in the early twentieth century, or of Asia as an 'arc of instability' in the early twenty-first, they

were not thinking of Turkey, Syria, or Iran.[2] Moreover, the space conjured up by the colloquial term 'Asia' has changed over time. In the early twentieth century, 'Asia,' 'the East' or the 'Orient' were used interchangeably, and referred primarily to Japan and China. The colonised regions of Southeast Asia played little role in Australian ideas about Asia. Yet, from the middle of the twentieth century, Southeast Asia occupied an increasingly dominant place in Australian conceptions of Asia. Similarly, the role played by India and the South Asian subcontinent in Australia's 'Asia' has undergone several shifts since colonial times.[3]

In this thesis, I follow the conceptual, and not geographic, definitions of Asia. This means that the exact borders of Australia's 'Asia' are left somewhat hazy and unsketched. Asian Russia to the north has received relatively little attention both in Australian conceptions of Asia and in this thesis. The Western border between 'Asia' and the 'Middle East' is also poorly defined, and plays a relatively minor role here. For the sake of clarity, I have drawn the borders at Afghanistan and at China's western border; the former because, as Chapter 6 argues, the overland travellers of the 1960s and 1970s integrated Afghanistan into their Orientalist fantasies, and the latter because very few Australians travelled to the Central Asian republics until the recent re-opening of the 'silk road' route. Perhaps the most contentious of Asia's borders is that dividing archipelagic Southeast Asia from the Pacific Islands. The Wallace Line placed the cleavage between Bali and Lombok, but both now comfortably co-exist within the a single nation, Indonesia. Popular Australian understandings of Asia have typically excluded Papua New Guinea, which is usually considered a part of the Pacific region. Yet, politically, the island of New Guinea is shared by the 'Pacific' nation of Papua New Guinea and the 'Asian' nation of Indonesia. The recent creation of an 'Asia-Pacific' region has served only to blur, rather than clarify, these categories. Further, Papua New Guinea has played an important role in shaping Australia's attitudes to Asia. As Australia's largest formal colony, Papua New Guinea served as a training ground in colonial culture, and guided early attitudes towards the rest of Asia throughout the middle years of the twentieth century. However, the formal nature of Australian colonialism in Papua New Guinea set it apart from the rest of Asia, where Australians' colonial attitudes had no basis in a formal relationship. It is Australia's ambivalence about its role in Asia that forced travellers to adopt a range of responses. Thus, like its regional borders, Papua New Guinea remains liminal to this thesis, excluded from in-depth analysis, but underpinning the Australian relationship with Asia at several key points.

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[2] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed. (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

[3] For an examination of the shape of Australia's Asia in the period to 1939, see David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850 - 1939* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), esp. pp. 1-12.

Like the idea of 'Asia,' the concept and utility of the category of 'Australia' and 'Australians' is increasingly problematic. By tracing a vast range of responses to Asia, this thesis challenges Annette Hamilton's theorisation of a unique and clearly Australian 'national' imaginary, which developed in response to internal and external Others.[4] At any point in Australian history, individuals and groups have held wildly varying ideas about Asia, and how to behave in relation to Asia. Rather than delineating a coherent national attitude, I trace the range of discursive responses which Asia evoked from visiting Australians through the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Australian attitudes towards Asia were never simple, and this thesis seeks to explore, rather than elide, this complexity.

This complex view of 'Australian' attitudes becomes especially pertinent considering the transnational and increasingly globalised nature of cross-cultural contact during this period. Australians fought in Asian wars alongside soldiers from New Zealand, the United States, Britain, India and Thailand, among others. None of the forms of travel described here were uniquely Australian, and, as later chapters show, the culture of travel and tourism is a distinctly transnational one. Nonetheless, the dominance of nationalism as a primary category during this period meant that discourses functioned (and continue to function) in a broadly national cultural space. Indeed, Australia's attitudes to Asia have been considered so distinct that scholars have conceived of them as a frame through which Australian national identity could be understood.[5] Further, although globalisation has eroded many of the barriers between nations and cultures, the national basis of Australian politics, and in particular the continued national focus of much of its media, tends to structure discourses within national lines. This was as evident during the Pacific War, when Australian fears of Japanese invasion rendered Australian experiences of war unique, as it is today, when Australians developed particular understandings of and reactions to a string of crises across its 'region.'

Finally, this study focuses exclusively on Australian perceptions of Asia, and does not presume to investigate reciprocal Asian views of Australian travellers, or indeed Asian views of Australia. This does not suggest that Asians were passive in the face of Australian discourse-making. Rather, it signals my inability to speak for the Other.[6] It also results from the lack of

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[4] Annette Hamilton, "Fear and Desire: Aborigines, Asians and the National Imaginary," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 14 - 35.

[5] Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Stokes, "Australia and Asia: Places, Determinism and National Identities," in *Politics of Identity in Australia*, ed. Geoffrey Stokes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981); Robin Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia: An Anthology of Australian Literary Travelling to 'the East'* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 1-22; James Curran, *The Power of Speech: Australian Prime Ministers Defining the National Image* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 115-35.

[6] A similar decision is detailed in John Hutnyk, *The Rumour of Calcutta: Tourism, Charity and the Poverty of Representation* (London: Zed Books, 1996), pp. 48-9.

contact between Australian conceptions of the Other and the way Asian politicians, writers and other cultural leaders have represented themselves. From the colonial era to today, Australian ideas about Asia have rarely been guided by Asian discourses, but have been imagined by outsiders looking in.

Fear to Engagement: Conceptions of Australia's relations with Asia

Australia's relations with Asia have been a central element in the study of Australian foreign relations and Australian history more broadly. The dominant intellectual tradition has traced these relations by following government policy along an axis from fear to engagement. This tradition was pioneered by Neville Meaney and W.J. Hudson, both of whom traced Australia's policies in Asia as part of a broader search for its rightful 'place in the world' over several decades.[7] In their wake, Richard Robison, James Cotton and John Ravenhill, Gary Smith, Dave Cox and Scott Burchill and David Lowe have all traced the shift from fear to engagement at the highest levels.[8] Anthony Burke's recent *Fear of Security* has posited that the central motivation in Australian foreign relations was not finding its rightful 'place in the world,' but rather ensuring its territorial security. Nonetheless, Burke has retained the 'fear to engagement' framework, and continues to ground his analysis in official policy.[9] The two-volume *Facing North*, published by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, is the largest and most definitive work on the diplomatic history of Australia's relations with Asia. It too focuses firmly on government policy, and so continues to trace Australian attitudes to Asia from initial fear and official neglect towards a broad engagement. With the exception of a notable chapter on 'Social and Cultural Engagement' by Mary Quilty and David Goldsworthy, this broad analysis focussed entirely on political decision making, positing this as the engine driving changes in Australian relations with Asia.[10]

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[7] Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Ltd., 1985); Neville Meaney, "Australia, the Great Powers and the Coming of the Cold War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 38, no. 3 (1992), pp. 316 - 33; Neville Meaney, *Australia's Changing Perception of Asia* (Sydney: The Japan Foundation, 1997); W.J. Hudson and Jill Daven, "Papua and New Guinea since 1945," in *Australia and Papua New Guinea*, ed. W.J. Hudson (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1971); W.J. Hudson, *Australia in World Affairs, 1971-1975* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin for the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1980).

[8] Richard Robison, ed., *Pathways to Asia: The Politics of Engagement* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996); James Cotton and John Ravenhill, eds., *Seeking Asian Engagement: Australia in World Affairs, 1991-1995* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press/Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1997); Gary Smith, Dave Cox, and Scott Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997); David Lowe, *Menzies and the 'Great World Struggle': Australia's Cold War 1948-54* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999).

[9] Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[10] David Goldsworthy, ed., *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1: 1901 to the 1970s* (Carlton South, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade with Melbourne University Press, 2001); Peter Edwards and David Goldsworthy, eds., *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 2: 1970s to 2000* (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign

During the past thirty years, historians of the Pacific War, the Malayan Emergency, the Korean War, Konfrontasi and the Vietnam War have investigated the way in which the Australian government and military have responded to regional crises.[11] This interest has been bolstered by a growing market interest in Australian military history, which has seen a substantial number of academic and popular texts probe soldiers' experiences, including as prisoners of war overseas.[12] These studies have begun to draw connections between the political and diplomatic decisions made in wartime, and the personal experiences of conflict experienced by soldiers. While this is a significant step towards a more comprehensive study of Australians' experiences in Asia, the discrete nature of military engagement means that they are often examined in isolation, with only cursory reference to broader social and political contexts. This prevents connections being drawn between military contact, the foreign policies which led to war, and the social and cultural attitudes towards the Other through which these policies were negotiated.

These connections have been recognised by social and cultural historians, leading to the development of a substantial body of work on Australian perceptions of and attitudes to Asia. A perceived polarisation of attitudes toward Asia during the 1970s led Murray Goot and J.V. D'Cruz to take the first steps in tracing the history of popular attitudes to international affairs.[13] These works preceded Edward Said's *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, which shifted historical attention to the way in which Others are defined by cultural imagination.[14] Said's work,

Affairs and Trade with Melbourne University Press, 2003); Mary Quilty and David Goldsworthy, *Social and Cultural Engagement*, in Edwwards and Goldsworthy, *Facing North*, vol. 2, pp. 258-296.

[11] Robert O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War, 1950-1953, Volume 1: Strategy and Diplomacy* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1981); Peter King, ed., *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982); Robert O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War, 1950-1953, Volume 2: Combat Operations* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1985); Michael McKernan, *All In!: Australia During the Second World War* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1983); John Barrett, *We Were There: Australian Soldiers of World War II* (Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 1987); Gregory Pemberton, *All the Way: Australia's Road to Vietnam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Stuart Rintoul, *Ashes of Vietnam: Australian Voices* (Richmond, Vic.: William Heinemann, 1987); Hank Nelson, "Turning North: Australians in Southeast Asia in World War 2," *Overland*, no. 119 (1990), pp. 31-39; Peter Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments: The Politics and Diplomacy of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1948-1965* (Canberra: Allen & Unwin, 1992); Gary McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992); John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993); Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, *Emergency and Confrontation: Australian Military Operations in Malaya and Borneo, 1950-1966* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin with Australian War Memorial, 1996); James Wood, *The Forgotten Force: The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952* (St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1998); Gary McKay, *Bullets, Beans and Bandages: Australians at War in Viet Nam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999).

[12] Joan Beaumont, *Gull Force: Survival and Leadership in Captivity, 1941-1945* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); Patsy Adam-Smith, *Prisoners of War: From Gallipoli to Korea* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1992); Gavin McCormack and Hank Nelson, eds., *The Burma-Thailand Railway: Memory and History* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1993); Christina Twomey, "Australian Nurse Pows: Gender, War and Captivity," *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 124 (2004), pp. 255-74; Christina Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation: Photographic Images, White Masculinity and Captivity by the Japanese in World War Two," *Journal of Men's Studies* 15, no. 3 (2007), pp. 295-311; Christina Twomey, *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners: Civilians Interned by the Japanese in World War Two* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[13] Murray Goot, "Red, White and Brown: Australian Attitudes to the World since the Thirties," *Australian Outlook* 24, no. 2 (1970), pp. 188-210; Murray Goot and Rodney Tiffen, "Public Opinion and the Politics of the Polls," in *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War*, ed. Peter King (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983); J.V. D'Cruz, *The Asian Image in Australia: Episodes in Australian History* (The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1973); Annette Hamilton, "Skeletons of Empire: Australians and the Burma-Thailand Railway," in *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 92-112.

[14] Said, *Orientalism* ; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

and the substantial body of postcolonial theory which has followed it, has inspired historians to examine changes in Australian relations with Asia along an axis of colonial and postcolonial attitudes, alongside the established trope of fear to engagement. Adapting Said's insights for Australian conditions, Adrian Vickers and Alison Broinowski have interrogated representations of Asia and Asians in literature and the visual arts, in order to gauge broader attitudes towards Asia and colonialism.[15] A special edition of *Australian Cultural History* edited by David Walker, Adrian Vickers and Julia Horne in 1990 focussed on Australian perceptions of Asia, and allowed Nicholas Brown, Annette Hamilton, Beverley Kingston and John Legge, among others, to investigate the range of Orientalist practice in Australia, recognising intellectual and academic representations, as well as those of food and popular culture, as sites for Australian Orientalism.[16] A similar compilation edited by Maryanne Dever allowed for further explorations of Australian Orientalism in cinema, media, myth and stereotype.[17] The study of Australian perceptions of Asia reached a highpoint with David Walker's *Anxious Nation*, which traced the complex ways in which Australians imagined and perceived Asia before the Pacific War.[18] Although taking a narrower subject, histories of Australian perceptions of China by Ouyang Yu, Lachlan Strahan and Timothy Kendall, and of perceptions of Japan by Robin Gerster, have further traced the development of a uniquely Australian way of perceiving Asia. They have also followed these perceptions into the post-war world, noting both continuities and changes in a complex period entailing decolonisation and Cold War.[19]

While historians have noted a broad shift in Australian attitudes to Asia during the twentieth century, the reasons behind this conceptual shift continue to be debated. Diplomatic historians, including most of those noted above, tend to foreground changes in policy, arguing that positive relationships with Asia were fostered by an enlightened political elite, with the Australian public

[15] Adrian Vickers, "Racism and Colonialism in Early Australian Novels About Southeast Asia," *Asian Studies Association of Australia Review* 12, no. 1 (1988), pp. 7-12; Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1989); Alison Broinowski, "Australia, Asia and the Arts," *Review (Asian Studies Association of Australia)* 12, no. 1 (1988), pp. 18-23; Alison Broinowski, *The Yellow Lady: Australian Impressions of Asia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[16] Nicholas Brown, "Australian Intellectuals and the Image of Asia, 1920 - 1960," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 80-92; Hamilton, "Fear and Desire."; Beverley Kingston, "The Taste of India," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 35 - 48; John Legge, "Asian Studies from Reconstruction to Deconstruction," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 93 - 102.

[17] Maryanne Dever, ed., *Australia and Asia: Cultural Transactions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

[18] Walker, *Anxious Nation*. See also David Walker, "National Narratives: Australia in Asia," *Media History* 8, no. 1 (2002), pp. 63 - 75; David Walker, "Survivalist Anxieties: Australian Responses to Asia, 1890s to the Present," *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 120 (2002), pp. 319 - 30; David Walker, "Australia's Asian Futures," in *Australia's History: Themes and Debates*, ed. Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005).

[19] Ouyang Yu, "Australian Invention of Chinese Invasion: A Century of Paranoia, 1888-1988," *Australian Literary Studies* 17, no. 1 (1995), pp. 74-83; Lachlan Strahan, "'The Luck of a Chinaman': Images of the Chinese in Popular Australian Sayings," *East Asian History*, no. 3 (1992), pp. 53-76; Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Timothy Kendall, *Ways of Seeing China: From Yellow Peril to Shangrila* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005); Robin Gerster, "Fault Lines: Australian Inscriptions of Japan," *Meanjin* 57, no. 3 (1998), pp. 473-85.

gradually (and sometimes grudgingly) following in their footsteps. Many highlight the progressive ideas of individual politicians and the changing imperatives of international diplomacy, to explain moves toward engagement with Asia. However, as Akira Iriye has recognised, international relations exist within cultural frameworks.[20] Some cultural historians have posited that Australians' changing attitudes towards Asia were part of a broader, transnational shift in values which followed the discrediting of racism after World War II. Scholars of immigration policy, including Gwenda Tavan and Anna Haebich, have shown that moves to dismantle the White Australia Policy were part of this broader trend during the 1950s and 1960s.[21] Others still have posited that the shift towards Asia resulted from the process of economic and cultural globalisation. Food historian Michael Symons has positioned Australia's increasing acceptance of 'foreign' foods within broader changes wrought by globalisation, noting that, although one popular theory attributed it to increased rates of travel, the shift was ultimately the result of industrial improvements.[22] More broadly, theorists of globalisation, most notably Arjun Appadurai, have noted that the increasing movement of people, commodities and ideas, has resulted in an inexorable shift away from parochialism and towards an 'interactive' global system.[23] The reasons driving the discursive shifts from fear to engagement, or from the colonial to a postcolonial mindset, continue to generate substantial debate.

Travel and Politics

This thesis explores travel as an engine driving changes in popular and political attitudes towards the Other. In recent years, travel has been identified as a particularly meaningful activity which has helped shape global outlooks and foreign policy attitudes. The complex relationship between travel and politics has begun to be unpicked in three discursive and analytical contexts: in postcolonial studies, in analyses of mass tourism and in histories of foreign relations in the United States.

Postcolonial scholars have followed Edward Said in deconstructing perceptions of Otherness, and tracing the relationship between perception, travel and colonial domination.[24] As Mary Louise Pratt has shown in *Imperial Eyes*, the genre of travel writing has been a central

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[20] Akira Iriye, "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History* 3, no. 2 (1978), pp. 115-28; Akira Iriye, "Culture and International History," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[21] Gwenda Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005); Anna Haebich, *Spinning the Dream: Assimilation in Australia, 1950-1970* (North Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2007).
[22] Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A Gastronomic History of Australia*, 2nd ed. (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2007), pp. 258-272.
[23] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
[24] Said, *Orientalism*; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.

technology in the development of ideas about the Other. Pratt has analysed a process by which explorers and travel writers extrapolated knowledge about entire categories from personal experience, generalising about the nature of a racial or cultural 'type' from their unique, personal experiences. The privilege with which the eyewitness has been held in the West following the Enlightenment rendered the traveller's account authoritative, and their descriptions formed the basis for decisions about colonial expansion and foreign policy. [25] Pratt's work has since been built upon by David Spurr, who, like Pratt, posited a direct line of control between travel, travel writing and colonial policy.[26]

Nicholas Thomas and Robert Dixon have shown that the relationship between travel and colonial policy was more complicated than Pratt and Spurr had allowed. Both have found a more complex relationship between experience, cultural production, popular perceptions, and colonial policy by focussing on Australia's colonial relationship with Papua New Guinea.[27] Thomas has traced the links between travel, anthropology, and colonial governance in Papua New Guinea, arguing that the representation of colonial culture in the metropole functioned in a complex negotiation with colonial politics in this particular context.[28] Dixon has also investigated Australia's colonial culture, highlighting the way in which travel images and travel writing not only shaped an image of Otherness, but were central to the creation of Australian national identity, forged against the Papua New Guinean Other.[29] In their nuanced studies, both have sharpened the focus on travel as an activity which generated meanings and knowledges about the Other for the consumption of a metropolitan culture, and the complex ways in which this could instigate changes in colonial policy.

Studies of mass tourism have also probed at the connections between tourism and ideas about the Other. As John Urry and Chris Rojek have noted, both touring and toured cultures are remade through the flow of people, objects and images.[30] In mass tourism to the 'Third World,' these changes have been mediated by a system structured by inequality. Mike Robinson has argued that some people hold 'a deep-seated imperialistic assumption that large areas of the

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[25] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[26] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993).

[27] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Ringwood, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1994); Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875 - 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Robert Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods: Travel, Representation and Colonial Governance* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001).

[28] Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture.*

[29] Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods.*

[30] Chris Rojek and John Urry, "Transformations of Travel and Theory," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory,* ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1-19.

world exist solely for the benefit of tourists.'[31] Not only do tourists feel they have the right to travel, but come to privilege their experiences as revealing something of the 'truth' of toured cultures. As Kevin Hollinshead has noted, 'tourism is used politically to articulate the so called "real" nature of populations.'[32] Much recent work investigates tourism through the prism of Orientalism and postcolonialism, to investigate the ways in which the tourism industry (typically conceived as a monolithic and hegemonic force), along with broader cultural practices, package Otherness for consumption by tourists and the tourist-generating West. Most notably, work by Ngaire Douglas on Melanesia and John Hutnyk on Calcutta has revealed the Orientalist processes which underpin the constructions of tourist images in specific contexts.[33] An active theoretical field has emerged out of this work, seeking to examine the power of tourist representation on a structural as well as empirical level.[34]

While a great deal of research has focused on the industrial and marketing contexts of destination image production, the political significance of tourism and its images lies at the core of studies of the inequalities inherent to the tourist system. Dennison Nash and Malcolm Crick have noted that tourism continues the inequalities of colonialism in a postcolonial world, as the tourist industry in developing nations co-opts local labour and culture in order to please wealthy Western visitors.[35] Hutnyk's study traced the effects of the circulation of popular images of Calcutta, finding that, by keeping Westerners fixated on poverty and squalor, the rumour of Calcutta cut off the creative interventions of indigenous politicians and intellectuals, and thus kept it entrenched within a global system of inequality.[36] The role of tourism in perpetuating and re-creating inequality in the postcolonial era has also been examined by C. Michael Hall and

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[31] Mike Robinson, "Tourism Encounters: Inter and Intra-Cultural Conflicts and the World's Largest Industry," in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 43.

[32] Keith Hollinshead, "Tourism and New Sense: Worldmaking and the Enunciative Value of Tourism," in *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, ed. C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

[33] Ngaire Douglas, *They Came for Savages: 100 Years of Tourism in Melanesia* (Lismore, N.S.W.: Southern Cross University Press, 1996); Hutnyk, *Rumour of Calcutta*.

[34] The most influential work probing into the nature of tourist images and the tourist 'gaze' has been John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2002). See also Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (1997), pp. 371-89; Andrew McGregor, "Dynamic Texts and Tourist Gaze: Death, Bones and Buffalo," *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 1 (2000), pp. 27-50; Ranjan Bandyopadhyay and Duarte Morais, "Representative Dissonance: India's Self and Western Image," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 4 (2005), pp. 1006-21; Arturo Molina and Agueda Esteban, "Tourism Brochures: Usefulness and Image," *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 4 (2006), pp. 1036-56; Samuel Seongseop Kim, Bob McKercher, and Hyerin Lee, "Tracking Tourism Destination Image Perception," *Annals of Tourism Research* 36, no. 4 (2009), pp. 715-18.

[35] Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 33-48; Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sights, Savings and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989), pp. 307-44.

[36] Hutnyk, *Rumour of Calcutta*.

Hazel Tucker, in an edited volume exploring the relationship between tourism and postcolonialism.[37]

Outside postcolonial studies, the relationship between discourse, travel and foreign relations has recently begun to be probed by scholars examining the history of American foreign policy. Christopher Endy has traced the way in which transatlantic travel 'shaped the global outlook of hundreds of thousands' of Americans in the early twentieth century, including the elites who went on to make foreign policy decisions based on their personal experiences of Europe.[38] Endy has also followed American tourism to France during the Cold War, finding that personal experience was not only central to creating popular American ideas about Europe, but that this was recognised and manipulated by the United States government.[39] Christina Klein has foregrounded the role of travel and travel narratives in building support for the spread of the Cold War in Asia. In *Cold War Orientalism*, Klein argued that travel and tourism were central technologies for the spread of American 'soft' power, and traced attempts by the United States government to use tourists for diplomatic purposes.[40] Recognising the cultural basis for foreign policy directions, these works have found in travel and tourism a new explanatory framework through which to plot the progress of diplomacy.

Travel, Asia and Australia

The importance of personal contact in foreign relations has begun to be recognised in the Australian context. Indeed, the *Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing*, edited by Ros Pesman, David Walker and Richard White, has posited that travel has been 'essential to the experience of living in Australia,' as a consciousness of distance from the metropole made Australians curious about 'civilisation' elsewhere.[41] Recent work on Australians in Britain has revealed the growing academic interest in Australian experiences abroad, and their political, cultural and social impacts.[42] The fact that travel has influenced Australian perceptions of Asia has been identified

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[37] C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

[38] Christopher Endy, "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917," *Diplomatic History* 22, no. 4 (1998), pp. 565-94.

[39] Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[40] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945 - 1961* (Berkeley: University of Californa Press, 2003).

[41] Ros Pesman, David Walker, and Richard White, eds., *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. ix.

[42] See, for example, Angela Woollacott, "Australian women in London: Surveying the twentieth century"; Roger Beckett, "The Australian soldier in Britain, 1914-1918"; Jim Davidson, "'Home' becomes away: Melburnians in Oxford in the 1920s"; Richard White, "Australian tourists in Britain, 1900-2000"; Mathew Trinca, "Part of the pageant: Australian tourists in postwar London"; Graeme Davison, "Tourists, expats and invisible immigrants: Being Australian in England in the 1960s and 70s" and Robert

in studies of travel writing. Robin Gerster, in particular, has traced the importance of mass contact in shaping Australian conceptions about Asia.[43] Like Pesman, Walker and White, Gerster has chosen the anthology as an appropriate form through which to probe the way Australians have represented Asia. This format has allowed him to approach the subject of Australian travel to Asia with laudable breadth, and *Hotel Asia* outlined a broad skeleton of tropes through which Australians have perceived and experienced Asia, from wartime, through political interests, to mass tourism.[44] Gerster has also focussed more closely on Australian representations of Japan and Bali.[45] The relationship between mass tourism and travel writing has also been traced by Graham Huggan, who has explored the Australian tourist novel, probing the way in which Australia's pleasure periphery has shaped the national identity as well as the national literature.[46]

In addition, recent work has begun to trace some specific contexts in which travel affected Australian conceptions of Asia. Dixon's work on colonial culture in Australia arose from an interest in the discursive effects of the genre of colonial adventure stories, or 'ripping yarns,' a genre which has also been explored Adrian Vickers.[47] Both David Walker and Angela Woollacott have probed how travel affected Australians' ideas about colonialism in the early twentieth century, coming to different conclusions about whether Australians implicitly identified with the colonisers when travelling through Asia.[48] An interest in how travel shaped Australian conceptions of foreign affairs has also motivated recent work on one of Australia's most prolific travellers and travel writers, Frank Clune.[49] While these studies coalesce to suggest that travel has had a wide and continuing impact on Australian attitudes towards Asia, this thesis is the first full-

Crawford, "Going 'OS' for the 'OE': Aussies, Kiwis, and Saffas in contemporary London," all in Carl Bridge, Robert Crawford, and David Dunstan, eds., *Australians in Britain: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2009).
[43] Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia*; Robin Gerster, "A Bellyful of Bali: Travel, Writing and Australia/Asia Relationships," *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no. 4 (1996), pp. 353 - 63; Robin Gerster, "Asian Destinies/Destinations: The Vietnam Tour," *Australian Studies* 10 (1996), pp. 61-69. See also Richard White, "The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War," *War & Society* 5, no. 1 (1987), pp. 63-77; and Richard White, "Sun, Sand and Syphilis: Australian Soldiers and the Orient: Egypt 1914," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 49 - 54. For detailed work on foreign correspondents in Asia, and their role in shaping Australian perceptions, see Prue Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia: War, Journalism and Australia's Neighbours, 1941 - 75* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000); Prue Torney-Parlicki, "'Unpublishable Scoops': Australian Journalists as Prisoners of the Japanese, 1941 - 45," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 66 (2000), pp. 180 - 89; Prue Torney-Parlicki, "'Whatever the Thing May Be Called': The Australian News Media and the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 114 (2000), pp. 49 - 66; John Tebbutt, "Through Australian Eyes: A Cultural History of the Foreign Correspondent," (Sydney University: PhD Thesis, Department of History, 2002); Alan Knight, *Reporting the Orient: Australian Correspondents in Asia* (n.k.: Xlibris, 2000).
[44] Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia*.
[45] Ibid. See also Gerster, "Bellyful of Bali"; Gerster, "Fault Lines: Australian Inscriptions of Japan".
[46] Graham Huggan, "The Australian Tourist Novel," in Dever (ed.), *Australia and Asia: Cultural*, pp. 162-175. See also Graham Huggan and Patrick Holland, *Tourists with Typewriters:* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).
[47] Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, Vickers, "Racism and Colonialism in Early Australian Novels About Southeast Asia".
[48] David Walker, "Travelling Asia," in *Story/Telling*, ed. Bronwyn Levy and Ffion Murphy (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001); Angela Woollacott, "'All This Is Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 4 (1997), pp. 1003 - 29.
[49] Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods*, pp. 124-48; Walker, "Travelling Asia"; John Tebbutt, "Frank Clune: Modernity and Popular National History," *Australian Journal of Communication* 24, no. 3 (1997), pp. 53-64; Tebbutt, "Through Australian Eyes"; pp. 210-49; John Tebbutt, "The Travel Writer as Foreign Correspondent: Frank Clune and the ABC," *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2010), pp. 95-107. Clune is investigated in more depth in Chapter 3.

length study devoted to this topic. The need for such an analysis has previously been identified in Quilty and Goldsworthy's chapter in the second volume of *Facing North*.[50]

Analytical and theoretical tools

This introduction has outlined some of the ways in which travel and personal experience can contribute to society's knowledge of the Other. This knowledge in turn determines the boundaries of what is thinkable, sayable or imaginable about that Other, and so helps to shape popular attitudes and official policy.[51] This thesis seeks to trace the ways in which experience of Asia has produced ways of knowing Asia; and how this knowledge has, in turn, mediated Australians' experiences in Asia. By analysing Australian travel across a considerable stretch of time, it seeks to trace the changing effects of travel on discourse and policy. It also endeavours to trace how discourses shift over time, analysing the negotiations between various discursive frames, including colonialism, the Cold War, and mass-tourism.

In tracing the different modes of seeing, understanding and representing Asia, I have borrowed theoretical tools from across this broad literature. In order to explain the changing experience of Australian travel to Asia, and the changing images of Asia that have emerged in negotiation with travel experience, this thesis posits that a model of preconception-experience-representation underpins discursive change about the Other. Although debate continues to rage about how travel contributes to such discursive change, I have built my understanding in particular from the ideas of Robert Dixon and John Hutnyk, with additional insights about the political uses of travel through the writings of Christina Klein.

In probing Australians' preconceptions about Asia, I use the term 'rumour' following John Hutnyk. Building on Said and a 'Marx-inflected Heidegger,' Hutnyk analysed the way that discourses about Calcutta were promulgated to intending visitors, and found that the many competing discourses created a hazy totality which functioned much like a rumour. Like rumours, these images were rapidly and enthusiastically spread among and by travellers, and had a tenuous a relationship to a 'real' Calcutta, as inhabited and interpreted by Calcuttans.[52] While discourses about Other places circulated like rumours, they were often received as fact by earnest audiences. This was especially so when the rumour of particular destinations became so strong as to turn into stereotype. When rumours became this strong, they could be recast as

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[50] Quilty and Goldsworthy, *Social and Cultural Engagement*, p. 269.
[51] See Hollinshead, "Tourism and New Sense: Worldmaking and the Enunciative Value of Tourism".
[52] Hutnyk, *Rumour of Calcutta*.

unquestionable truths, and frame all possible experience and knowledge about the Other. When this occurs, these discourses function less as rumours than as regimes of truth, a process which has been described by Michel Foucault.[53]

Thus, rumours and preconceptions inflect travellers' experience of the Other.[54] As some rumours became weaker, and others stronger, they affected the ways in which 'Asia' could be imagined, and therefore experienced. In the case of Calcutta, Hutnyk found that rumours gave 'focus to the imagery which enframes Western views of Calcutta,' so that 'decay is not simply there, it is sought out, foregrounded, represented, and becomes a tourist attraction.'[55] This thesis examines the many ways in which Australians in Asia have mediated their experiences through this lens of preconception. At the extreme, this process rendered their journeys into memes, recreating and rediscovering that which was already known. This determination to find what was expected was even theorised as the meaning of travel itself, leading to a broader conception of travel as a search for the 'authentic' that is most clearly evident in the theoretical works of the 1970s, especially those of Dean Maccannell, Erik Cohen and Louis Turner and John Ash.[56]

However, travel is a complex action, with a complex relationship to preconceptions. Rumours about Other places do change over time, revealing that travel is not always entirely predetermined. Personal experience of a place can reveal new elements that had not been imagined before departure; indeed, some travellers set out in order to have their preconceptions challenged.[57] Some degree of novelty is often sought out by travellers keen for their investment in 'experience' to pay off. The genre of travel writing depends upon novelty to capture its market, and the re-examination of preconceptions when faced with 'reality' is a stock feature of most travel literature. While some travellers deny experiences which go against their expectations, stripping them of meaning with claims they are 'inauthentic,' others weave their novel experiences into a newly expanded tapestry of rumour. Travel is not entirely

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[53] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 53-6; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980), esp. pp. 109-33; See also Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, p. 119; Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, p. 23.

[54] For other analyses of the interrelations of rumour and experience, see Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991), pp. 1-21; Graham Dann, "Writing out the Tourist in Space and Time," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 1 (1999), pp. 159-87; McGregor, "Dynamic Texts and Tourist Gaze"; Simon Coleman and Mike Crang, *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (New York: Beghahn Books, 2002); Julie L. Andsager and Jolanta A. Drzewiecka, "Desirability of Differences in Destinations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 2 (2002), pp. 401-21; Mike Crang, "Circulation and Emplacement: The Hollowed-out Performance of Tourism," in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, ed. Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 47-64.

[55] Hutnyk, *Rumour of Calcutta*, p. viii.

[56] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976); Erik Cohen, "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism," *Social Research* 39, no. 1 (1972), pp. 164-82; Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2 (1973), pp. 89-103; Erik Cohen, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," *Sociology* 13, no. 6 (1979); Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975).

[57] Richard White, "Australian Journalists, Travel Writing and China: James Hingston, the 'Vagabond' and G.E. Morrison," *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 2 (2008), pp. 237-50.

predetermined by discourse; it can also be creative, uncovering new images which can feed changed discourses.

In particular, this thesis investigates how corporeal experiences can act as circuit-breakers in the propagation of discourse. While the 'tourist gaze' has attracted a great deal of theoretical attention, the physical aspects of travel have only recently been approached.[58] Travel involves more than just seeing; it is, above all, a corporeal experience, involving bodies moving between spaces which are also contact zones. In these zones, bodies become sites for negotiations of power. As Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton have shown, bodies are 'sites through which imperial and colonial power was imagined and exercised,' and they remain so in postcolonial contexts.[59] The way a traveller's body is treated can be symbolic of the broader webs of power encapsulating that traveller's experience. Unexpected physical experiences can be hard to ignore, and can force a re-thinking of rumours and discourses about the Other, while the confirmation of preconceptions about comfort can serve to reaffirm ideas about the power relations between Australians and Asians.

In this thesis, preconception and experience are locked in constant negotiation, a negotiation which is both revealed and complicated by the way journeys are represented for broader audiences. Travel experiences can only influence rumours if they are adequately represented. Personal experiences remain private if not explained; and unrepresented travel experiences remain inaccessible to both the broader public and the researcher. The relationship between experience and representation can be extremely problematic. Many scholars of travel have actually been scholars of travel writing, leaving the experience behind the representation largely unexamined. Whilst I do not claim to have solved this problem or have discovered a portal to 'true' experience, this thesis cultivates a focus on corporeal experience and unconventional forms of representation at key points in the story of Australian travel to Asia, in order to access experiences which may not have reached a broad audience.

Luckily, travel experiences are not often left unrepresented; as Paul Fussell quipped, travel is 'an activity which generates travel books.'[60] And not only books: Pesman, Walker and White have traced travel experiences represented not only through text, but also in 'souvenirs, paintings,

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[58] Urry has addressed the physical aspects of the Tourist Gaze in the Second Edition of *The Tourist Gaze*, released in 2002. A significant analysis of the embodied nature of travel is Tim Edensor, "Sensing Tourist Spaces," in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, ed. Claudio Minca and Tim Oakes (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

[59] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 6.

[60] Paul Fussell, ed., *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), p. 21.

sketches, postcards, photographs, slides and videos.'[61] Travel representations are powerful texts which create an image of the Other, trading on the authority of the 'eyewitness.' As Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs have shown, the claim to truth embodied in the figure of the eyewitness has been a central component of the genre of travel writing since at least the sixteenth century.[62] This strategy relies on the widespread belief that personal experience bears more authority than other forms of knowledge, a common though problematic trope which is examined in some detail through the experiences of 'fellow-travellers' in Chapter 4. If contradictory accounts 'ring true,' and/or they fit within dominant power configurations, and/or they are repeated often enough, they can develop their own authority, and act as their own justification. In a word, they become rumours.

Thus, rumours inform experiences; but experiences can also challenge rumours. When adequately represented, alternative experiences can form new rumours in themselves. These then affect subsequent experiences and representations, and perpetuate the cycle of preconception-experience-representation. This thesis posits that this cycle was central to changing social, cultural and political conceptions of and attitudes to Asia during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It traces the way in which overlapping and competing rumours shaped travel experiences of Asia, and the way those experiences were then represented to various audiences at 'home.' It identifies the ways in which unexpected travel experiences have challenged some rumours, replacing them with new ones. It also shows that some rumours have retained meaning over long periods, and that old rumours have been reinterpreted for new audiences. In doing so, it posits that discourses about the Other change as some rumours become stronger, and others weaker. By tracing the range of Australian experience in Asia, and following the shifting rumours, experiences and representations, this thesis aims to add to the scholarly debate about how travel can affect foreign affairs.

Structure of the thesis

To trace the way in which travel and personal experiences have underpinned Australians' perception of and attitudes to Asia, this thesis consists of eight chapters, which follow a rough chronological order from the outbreak of the Pacific War to the present day. Chapter 1 contends that the Pacific War saw the first mass encounter between Australians and Asia. It investigates the discourse of a 'colonial order,' which informed the preconceptions of soldiers and others

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[61] Pesman, Walker, and White, eds., *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing*, p. x.
[62] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-13.

during this conflict, before turning to the ways in which these preconceptions were renegotiated as dramatic shifts in the fortunes of war demanded new modes of thinking. Chapter 2 traces the confusion and ambivalence towards both Asia and the colonial system which followed the physical, geographical and discursive upheavals of the Pacific War. It does so by following two very different groups of Australian expatriates to post-war Japan and Indonesia, tracing the discursive boundaries which shaped their contrasting attitudes to Asia. Chapter 3 charts how this ambivalence about Asia was recast with Australia's entry into the Cold War. In particular, it traces the emergence of a new discourse of engagement, which saw conservative cultural producers call for Australians to get to know their Asian 'neighbours' through personal experience and travel. Chapter 4 traces the other side of the Cold War divide, exploring the preconceptions, experiences and representations of those undertaking political pilgrimages to Communist China during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Chapter 5 unpicks the colonial discourses underpinning Cold War attitudes by following Australian soldiers and related personnel to Vietnam. It also explores how those opposed to the conflict utilised their personal experiences to represent the war's human impact. Chapter 6 traces the revival of exoticism and Orientalism in the post-Vietnam era, by following young Australians on the overland 'hippie trail' of the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter 7 examines the burgeoning travel industry that helped construct new rumours which seemingly depoliticised the experience of Australian travel to Asia, whilst perpetuating the inequalities at the heart of the modern tourist system. As Chapter 8 shows, depoliticising the image of Asia did not remove the political meaning of Australian travel. Indeed, the effect of travel on politics became most tangible following a series of crises in the region during the first decade of the twenty-first century. At this juncture, Australia's attitudes to national security, as well as policy relating to foreign affairs and foreign aid, were increasingly dominated by considerations of the needs, demands and desires of Australian tourists. In tracing this archive of personal experience, this thesis reveals the ways in which travel and tourism is both constituted by, and in turn constitutive of, broader social attitudes towards the Other. As such, it positions travel as a central element in the changing discourses which underpinned shifts in Australian attitudes to Asia.

1

Conflicted Territories: The Pacific War and the Colonial Order

Australia's involvement in the Pacific War has attracted a significant amount of historical attention. Official histories, Unit histories, military histories and social histories of the war have proliferated over the past seventy years.[1] However, the sense that wars have discrete beginnings and ends has seen most analyses limit their focus on the war as an event, without a sense of its discursive connections to events which both preceded and followed it. As a result, historians have neglected to analyse Australia's involvement in the Pacific War through the lens of colonial and Orientalist discourse. In the United States, this avenue was first probed by John Dower.[2]

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[1] Recent examples include John Barrett, *We Were There: Australian Soldiers of World War II* (Ringwood, Victoria: Viking, 1987); Joan Beaumont, *Gull Force: Survival and Leadership in Captivity, 1941-1945* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988); Gavin McCormack and Hank Nelson, eds., *The Burma-Thailand Railway: Memory and History* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1993); Mark Johnston, *At the Front Line: Experiences of Australian Soldiers in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mark Johnston, *Fighting the Enemy: Australian Soldiers and Their Adversaries in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Margaret Geddes, *Blood, Sweat and Tears: Australia's WWII Remembered by the Men and Women Who Lived It* (Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin/Viking, 2004); David Stevens, *The Royal Australian Navy in World War II* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2005); Hank Nelson, *Chased by the Sun: The Australian Bomber Command in World War II* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2006); Michael Caulfield, *War Behind the Wire: Australian Prisoners of War* (Canberra: Hachette Australia, 2008) .

[2] John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

Recent work by Stephen Garton, Prue Torney-Parlicki and Christina Twomey has also begun to probe the connections between the Pacific War and Australian perceptions of Asia.[3] This chapter continues this venture by investigating the lived experience of the Pacific War, as tens of thousands of Australians experienced the continent for the first time. It does this in order to trace the war's effects on Australian discourses about Asia, finding both continuities and interruptions.

A Colonial Order: Australia and Asia at the outbreak of war

At the outbreak of the Pacific War, Australian conceptions of Asia were based on a number of rumours. Recent scholarship has overthrown the simplistic platitude that Australians had very little interest in or contact with Asia before the outbreak of war in the Pacific in 1941. As David Walker's *Anxious Nation* has shown, Australians had developed a varied and sophisticated set of images about the 'East' from the 19th century. Early, romanticised notions about an 'Antique' and aesthetic Orient had been altered by fears that Asia had 'woken up,' and its great populations posed a threat to sparsely populated Australia.[4]

Public opinion about Australia's relations with Britain, as on many domestic issues, was polarised. While Australian nationalists may have opposed Britain's domination of Australia, the desirability of colonialism throughout Asia was not commonly questioned. Rather, Australians overwhelmingly supported colonialism, whether from a belief in the natural inferiority of 'natives,' or because of a political belief that Australia's security required the South Pacific and Southeast Asia to remain under friendly control. A growing anxiety about Australia's security had motivated Queensland to attempt an annexation of Papua in 1883. Australia finally gained the territory as a Crown Colony in 1906, and was granted stewardship of New Guinea as a Mandated Territory of the League of Nations in 1918.

Papua and New Guinea attracted a growing number of settlers and visitors following the gold rushes of the 1920s and 1930s. Although Nicholas Thomas has raised the question whether the Australian colonial project was more a 'fantasy of conquest' than 'pervasively efficacious,' the

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[3] Stephen Garton, "War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 56 (1998), pp. 86-95; Stephen Garton, "Changi as Television: Myth, Memory, Narrative and History," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 72 (2002), pp. 79-88; Prue Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia: War, Journalism and Australia's Neighbours, 1941 - 75* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000); Prue Torney-Parlicki, "'Unpublishable Scoops': Australian Journalists as Prisoners of the Japanese, 1941 - 45," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 66 (2000), pp. 180 - 89; Christina Twomey, "Australian Nurse POWs: Gender, War and Captivity," *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 124 (2004), pp. 255-74; Christina Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation: Photographic Images, White Masculinity and Captivity by the Japanese in World War Two," *Journal of Men's Studies* 15, no. 3 (2007), pp. 295-311; Christina Twomey, *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners: Civilians Interned by the Japanese in World War Two* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[4] David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850 - 1939* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999).

experience of Papua and New Guinea for settlers and visitors was certainly colonial, with power relations clearly demarcated along racial lines.[5] As the colonised nation with which they were most familiar, Australian wisdom about the environment and 'natives' of Papua and New Guinea guided popular views about the 'natives' of other colonised countries.

Although Australia's position there was more ambiguous, those who had travelled to Asia before the outbreak of war also experienced a colonised space. Angela Woollacott has argued that many pre-war travellers identified with Asia's colonisers rather than colonised, based on a shared 'whiteness.'[6] Although David Walker has questioned the extent to which turn-of-the-century Australians conceived of themselves as a regional power, it is evident that many Australians sought to blend in with the local colonial elite, adopting their style of living while in the 'East.'[7] Edward Said has recognised that, under the colonial system, 'to reside in the Orient [was] to live the privileged life,' far above the standards of the local population.[8] Those Australians wealthy enough to travel in the pre-war period almost uniformly experienced such luxury. In a celebrated 1894 journey, George E. ('Chinese') Morrison travelled across China accompanied by a team of 'coolies,' who sometimes carried him on a sedan chair.[9] Travelling to India for the Great Coronation Durbar in 1902, Ruby Madden, daughter of an eminent Victorian legal family, enjoyed every possible luxury. Based in Lord Kitchener's camp, her Indian visit revolved around parties and social events, aided by a silent army of native servants, whom Madden barely noticed.[10]

A more common experience of Asia involved a stop-over in Colombo, capital of the Crown Colony of Ceylon, on the passage to England. As well as introducing them to the comforts of colonial life at the lavish Galle Face Hotel, this short visit gave many travellers their first (and often only) view of 'natives.'[11] The experience convinced many that, while they were certainly exotic, the natives were undoubtedly a lower 'type.'[12] The typical opinion of the 'have-a-dive' boys, who performed acrobatic feats to catch the coins thrown overboard by amused travellers, was that they were more like 'ants', or 'birds [catching] crumbs thrown into the air' than like

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[5] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Ringwood, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1994), p. 15; Regis Tove Stella, *Imagining the Other: The Representation of the Papua New Guinean Subject* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), p. 8. For an investigation of colonial-era power relations in Papua New Guinea, see Edward P. Wolfers, *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea* (Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Company, 1975).

[6] Angela Woollacott, "'All This Is Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 4 (1997), pp. 1005-8.

[7] David Walker, "Travelling Asia," in *Story/Telling*, ed. Bronwyn Levy and Ffion Murphy (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), pp. 87-99.

[8] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed. (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 156.

[9] Ros Pesman, David Walker, and Richard White, eds., *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 46-52.

[10] Helen Rutledge, ed., *A Season in India: Letters of Ruby Madden* (Netley, S.A.: Fontana/Collins, 1976).

[11] Ibid., p. 28.

[12] Woollacott, "All This Is Empire.".

human beings.[13] Further acquaintance did little to alter initial impressions. Travelling in 1929, Una Otway Falkiner's delight at the 'Black Sambo' types was soon dispelled, and after a short drive out of town she declared that 'I never wanted to see or smell the blacks again.'[14] Mabel Dowding travelled around the same time, and her experience was similarly illustrative. Although she thought Colombo and Kandy were 'beautiful,' she found the 'natives + their begging thoroughly spoilt it all.' Harassed by Ceylonese salesmen, Dowding wished she could have seen the 'very fine residences and business places' instead. All in all, she was 'rather glad to get back to the boat.'[15]

While Falkiner and Dowding did not necessarily enjoy their visits to the East, their having made them was a sign of privilege. The cost of travel was prohibitive for most, and personal experience of Asia was largely unobtainable. Instead, most Australians learnt of the colonial order through what Richard White has called 'the popular culture of imperialism.'[16] Metropolitan support for colonialism was typically garnered by cultural productions, and as Mary Louise Pratt has shown, travel writing was among the most significant.[17] Nicholas Thomas has further shown that anthropological, historical and scientific discourses could be complicit in popularising the colonial mission, in some contexts.[18]

In the Australian context, preconceptions about Asia were also formed by the popular genre of colonial adventure novels, which Robert Dixon has dubbed 'ripping yarns.'[19] Dixon has argued that colonial adventure novels guided young Australians' thinking about their proper role as white men in Asia. In their study of Australian readership from 1890 to 1930, Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa found that Rudyard Kipling's novels were fondly remembered by Australian readers.[20] Similarly, Adrian Vickers has argued that novels of adventure were the most influential depictions of the Malay Islands before the war, predisposing Australians to imagine the islands as a 'backdrop for white adventures.'[21]

In adventure novels, Australian boys found out that theirs was the 'White Man's Burden.' As such, they inducted youngsters into the Orientalist canon, positing the East as a sphere of

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[13] '12 February 1929,' in Papers of Una Otway Falkiner, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 423; Rutledge, ed., *A Season in India* , p. 28.
[14] '13 February 1929,' in Papers of Una Otway Falkiner.
[15] 'Saturday 28th April,' (1928), in Papers of Mabel Dowding, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 4249-8-710-C.
[16] Richard White, "Sun, Sand and Syphilis: Australian Soldiers and the Orient: Egypt 1914," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 49 - 54.
[17] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
[18] Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*.
[19] Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875 - 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[20] Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa, *Australian Readers Remember: An Oral History of Reading 1890 - 1930* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992) , pp. 45, 50.
[21] Adrian Vickers, "Australian Novels and South-East Asia, 1895 - 1945," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), p. 66.

disorder; the West, of order.[22] As Philippa Moylan has recognised, colonial adventure novels also served to allay fears about modernity's degenerative powers, by portraying white men as vigorous models of masculinity, courageously facing dangers at the edges of the civilised world.[23] Significantly, the hero of these stories was typically a 'British' subject, even in novels written for the Australian market. Vickers has argued that, by positioning Australian boys within a unified British identity, these novels encouraged Australians to identify with Asia's colonisers, and not with the colonised, despite Australia's own complex relationship with imperialism.[24]

Unlike Britain, where the genre declined in favour of more ambivalent portrayals of empire from World War I, novels of colonial adventure remained wildly popular in twentieth-century Australia.[25] Tales of South Sea adventures, including many Beatrice Grimshaw, Ernest Osborne and S.W. Powell titles, as well as Arthur Crocker's *South Sea Sinners*, Jack McLaren's *The Oil Seekers* and Harold Mercer's *Amazon Island* sold through multiple editions in the inter-war years.[26] Further, this period saw the birth of a new genre of colonial adventure in the flood of historical and travel narratives of the Australian 'taming' of Papua and New Guinea. Popular authors as well as prominent colonists followed the conventions of adventure in texts including Charles Monckton's *Taming New Guinea* and *Last Days in New Guinea* (both published in 1922), Frank Hurley's *Pearls and Savages* (1924), Beatrice Grimshaw's *Isles of Adventure* (1930), Ion Idriess' *Gold Dust and Ashes* (1933), Jack Hides' *Through Wildest Papua* (1935) and *Papuan Wonderland* (1936), Frank Clune's *Prowling through Papua* (1942) and *Somewhere in New Guinea* (1951) and Colin Simpson's *Adam with Arrows* (1953) and *Adam in Plumes* (1954).

Although nominally non-fiction, these texts were firmly modelled on the colonial adventure genre. Their plots described the explorations and 'discoveries' of savage tribes made by white Australians. They also updated the modes of colonial adventure to the present day, by overtly incorporating modern technologies, and particularly air craft, and juxtaposing the whites' technological superiority with the natives' 'Stone Age' society.[27] Writers including Ion Idriess and Frank Clune also increasingly praised the economic accomplishments of Australian miners, plantation owners and transport magnates, remoulding their activities into colonial adventures.

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[22] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 2-3, 40-41.
[23] Philippa Moylan, "The Feeling Eye: Nation, Nerves and Masculinity in the Colonial Adventure Romance," *Journal of Australian Studies* 66 (2000), p. 138. See also John Martin, "Turning Boys in Men: Australian 'Boys' Own' Annuals, 1900-1950," *Kunapipi* 18, no. 1 (1996), pp. 200-13. Significantly, girls were more limited in their access to reading material at this time. For details, see Martyn Lyons and Lucy Taksa, "'If Mother Caught Us Reading...!': Impressions of the Australian Woman Reader 1890/1933," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 11 (1992), pp. 39 - 50.
[24] Vickers, "Australian Novels and South-East Asia." pp. 77-8.
[25] Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*.
[26] Carol Mills, *The New South Wales Bookstall Company as a Publisher* (Canberra: Mulini Press, 1991).
[27] Robert Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods: Travel, Representation and Colonial Governance* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), esp. 72-84.

Idriess' *Gold Dust and Ashes,* for example, purported to be an 'authentic record' of the discovery and mining of gold in Papua and New Guinea. Its plot, however, was structured by the conventions of adventure. It was subtitled a 'romantic story,' and marketed as the 'exciting colourful story of...airmen, administrators, prospectors, pygmies, head-hunters and white women all matched against this beautiful but dangerous land.'[28] Its (white Australian) hero possessed 'mesmeric eyes' and a mysterious power over the 'savage' population, so that he could 'live among them as a right; even compel them to work.'[29] As colonial adventure novels had functioned to support British imperialist expansion, so these historical tales of adventure romanticised Australia's colonisation of Papua and New Guinea, rendering the process by which white men 'compelled' colonised bodies to work into adventure.

The genre of Papuan adventure was immensely popular. The film of *Pearls and Savages* was a 'sensation' upon release in 1921, screening up to three times a day for an unprecedented five month season in Sydney, before travelling across the country.[30] The associated book went through two print runs in two years after release in 1924, despite its publication as lavish, richly illustrated (and therefore expensive) hardback. Idriess' *Gold Dust and Ashes* met with even more spectacular success. First published in 1933, it was reprinted four times that year, then twice more the following year, and twice more again in 1935. It remained extremely popular until the 1960s, and was reprinted sixteen more times before 1964.[31]

The heyday of this 'true adventure' genre, from the mid-1920s to the 1940s, coincided with the period when many of the men who would fight in the Pacific were growing up. Most of the soldiers who fought in the Pacific War were born between 1914 and 1924.[32] Lyons and Taksa have shown that boys were the primary readers of adventure fiction in the pre-war period. As a result, it is likely that future soldiers formed the primary readership for Papuan non-fiction adventures.[33]

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[28] Ion L. Idriess, *Gold Dust and Ashes: The Romantic Story of the New Guinea Goldfields* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1964).
[29] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[30] Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods*, p. 74.
[31] Idriess, *Gold Dust and Ashes*, 1964 edition.
[32] Barrett, *We Were There*, p. 52.
[33] An analysis of boys' reading preferences is in Lyons and Taksa, *Australian Readers Remember* , p. 87.

Colonial comforts, colonial adventures

Like most Australians, very few soldiers had been overseas at the outbreak of war.[34] Most of the men enlisting to fight were too young to have served in the previous war, and very few came from privileged backgrounds.[35] Indeed, as Barrett has found, most had never travelled outside their state, let alone their country, upon enlistment.[36] As a result, soldiers' responses to the news that they were to serve in the 'Far East' were conditioned by tales of colonial adventure. In a survey of veterans from this conflict, Barrett found 55% of his respondents had been drawn to service by the promise of adventure.[37] Edward 'Weary' Dunlop had enlisted because of a yearning 'for the high romantic ground for adventure in strange lands.'[38] Others, including Brian Walpole and F. F. Fenn, also claimed that they had enlisted for 'the sense of adventure.'[39] In his semi-fictional account, George Johnston thought that the Australian yearning for adventure was uniquely strong, and mythologised the young soldiers' 'pure and passionate regard for the adventure in itself.'[40] The influence of the trope of colonial adventure is also evident in some soldiers' early responses to the war. Escaping from the Japanese assault on Singapore, Rohan Rivett 'kept thinking how similar it all was to some of the adventure stories of Ballantyne, Henty, Stevenson and others I had read as a boy.'[41] It is evident, then, that the attitudes of Australian soldiers had been conditioned by the trope of colonial adventure.

Those soldiers posted to Asia before the fall of Singapore in February 1942 found their colonial preconceptions confirmed in the early weeks of the conflict. As in the previous world conflict, a transport shortage meant that servicemen and women sailed on the same ships that had previously ferried moneyed tourists around the South Seas. Many officers, and some lower ranks, were served by the same staff, enjoyed the same meals, and maintained the same refined idleness as Madden, Falkiner and Dowding had before them.[42] The leisure was maintained once officers landed. Berthed at Singapore, soldiers amused themselves by tossing coins in the water, and watching natives jump in for them, much as colonial-era tourists had done in Colombo.[43]

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[34] Geoffrey Bolton, *1942-1995: The Middle Way*, vol. 5 of the Oxford History of Australia (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 5.
[35] Barrett, *We Were There*, pp. 110, 100.
[36] Ibid., p. 53.
[37] Ibid.
[38] E. E. Dunlop, *The War Diaries of Weary Dunlop: Java and the Burma-Thailand Railway, 1943 - 1945* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1990), p. xxv.
[39] Brian Walpole and David Levell, *My War: An Australian Commando in New Guinea and Borneo* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2004), p. 12; Barrett, *We Were There*, p. 60.
[40] George Johnston, *My Brother Jack* (Sydney: A & R Classics, 2001), p. 286.
[41] Rohan D. Rivett, *Behind Bamboo: An inside Story of the Japanese Prison Camps* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1946), p. 79.
[42] See for example John Wyett, *Staff Wallah at the Fall of Singapore* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), pp. 14-16.
[43] Interview with Maxwell Venables, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 2044, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1504.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009; Interview with Joseph

Soldiers across Asia enjoyed colonial comforts that seemed to confirm their dominance as white men in Asia. Navy Sub-Lieutenant Lindsey Money 'saw most of Hong Kong from inside the 'Parisian Grill' restaurant...or the Hong Kong Cricket Club' while berthed there in 1941.[44] Similarly, in Batavia with the RAF in early 1942, Christopher Dawson stayed at the colonial Hotel des Indes, where he was treated to elaborate rijstaffel meals washed down with 'as much good French champagne as we could consume.'[45] Posted to India, A.J. Humphreys attended a 'real Parsee dinner,' at which food was served on plates 'two feet wide and three feet long,' and native servants washed the guests' hands at the table.[46] Training at the elite Command and Staff College in Quetta in India, Tom Wyett was assigned a native 'bearer' for the duration of his training, who would even take his shoes off for him at the end of each day.[47] His college retained an overtly colonial atmosphere, with 'dozens of white-clad servants...moving silently and efficiently' to make the students' lives comfortable.[48]

Although officers' experiences were most obviously aligned to the colonial order, many lower ranks experienced colonial standards during the early months of the Pacific War. All soldiers stationed in India were served by 'room boys,' who brought cups of tea to men in their barracks, as well as doing their cleaning and washing.[49] Similarly, all ranks in Malaya were served by Chinese launderers, whom soldiers referred to as 'coolies' or, co-opting the language of the Raj, 'dhobi.'[50] In India, 'coolies' performed manual labour, such as building aerodromes, that rank-and-file soldiers would have been expected to perform for themselves in Western theatres of war.[51] Photographs taken at the end of hostilities show RAAF personnel lounging and laughing, while, the caption tells us, Indian labourers loaded their bags onto troopships.[52] In Asian theatres, then, the colonial hierarchy superseded some of the structures of the military. As a result, thousands of Australian soldiers, who would not have had the means to travel in style themselves, were inculcated into colonial modes in the early years of the Pacific War.

Janeson, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 1112, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1012.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[44] Interview with Lindsay Money, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 0509, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1825.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[45] Christopher Dawson, *To Sandakan: The Diaries of Charlie Johnstone, Prisoner of War, 1942 - 1945* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1995), pp. 23-4. Dawson was one of a number who served with the RAF, rather than with Australian forces.
[46] AJ Humphreys to Mrs. EA Humphreys, 'Letters from the Boys', *Australian Women's Weekly,* Vol. 8, No. 25, (November 23, 1940), p. 14.
[47] Wyett, *Staff Wallah at the Fall of Singapore*, p. 22, 29-30.
[48] Ibid., p. 29.
[49] Interview with Lionel King, Australians at war film archive, Archive no. 0624, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/720.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[50] The term 'coolies' was used in Interview with Maxwell Venables, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 2044, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1504.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
The term 'dhobi' was used in Interview with Cyril Gilbert, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 0821, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1939.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[51] Photograph, 'Dhubalia, Bengal, India. 11 January 1945,' Australian War Memorial, Negative SEA0110.
[52] Photograph, 'Calcutta, India. c. October 1945,' Australian War Memorial, Negative SEA0281.

Many soldiers posted to Asia immediately recognised their place as white men in the colonial register. As Richard White has noted of the First AIF, it is 'surprising how readily ordinary Australians assumed the imperial voice, a voice they rarely had come to use in their own pasts, a voice that...they really only knew through the popular culture of imperialism.'[53] The Second AIF proved as adept at adopting the imperial voice as their forebears. When signals officer Lindsay Money docked in Hong Kong, he claimed that he did not consider it foreign, but rather 'part of the British Empire.' Revealing his colonial attitudes, Money claimed that, while the Chinese were British subjects, they were 'a bit inferior to us white people.'[54] Similarly, driver Joseph Jameson admitted that soldiers referred to Malays only as 'boongs,' the same term many adventure tales used to refer to Papua New Guineans.[55] The rumours of Asia, as formed by the popular culture of imperialism and Australia's formal role as coloniser in Papua New Guinea, formed a cogent text by which many soldiers negotiated their experiences of Asia. Guided by these rumours, many soldiers readily took up the performance of colonial superiority during the early months of the Pacific War.

Yet, not all soldiers were so keen to strike colonial poses. While many eagerly played up to the role of coloniser, others retained a stronger sense of themselves as 'colonials.' An anti-British element propelled populist Australian nationalism during this period, and it sometimes found its target in the more affected behaviours of British colonists. While happy with the colonial culture at his Staff College, Wyett thought that the 'exclusive attitude was taken to absurd limits' in Singapore.[56] Gunner Colin Finkemeyer also criticised the British at Singapore, arguing that their sumptuous lifestyle had clouded their judgment, so that, despite the Japanese advance, 'they had their whiskey stingers, they still had their little shindigs in Raffles Palace and they lived almost in ignorance of the war.'[57] Thus, although many Australians enjoyed their chance to enact a colonial role, others distanced themselves from the British colonial culture. However, as Wyett and Finkemeyer's comments suggest, anti-British sentiment was not motivated by sympathy for the colonised, but from a self-consciousness about Australia's position as a former colony, or from a concern about the fighting capacity of men spoiled by years of luxurious living.

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[53] White, "Sun, Sand and Syphilis.", p. 57.
[54] Interview with Lindsay Money, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 0509, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1825.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[55] Interview with Joseph Jameson, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 1112, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1012.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[56] Wyett, *Staff Wallah at the Fall of Singapore* , p. 19.
[57] Interview with Colin Finkemeyer, Australians at war film archive, Archive no. 0093, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/115.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.

As well as stories about comfortable colonial journeys, and the popular colonial adventure genre, Australians carried a more personal archive of rumour about the Orient. Many soldiers had fathers, uncles or older brothers who had fought in the First AIF, and had spent time in what the British considered 'Oriental' destinations, including Egypt. Although Egypt was not prominent in Australian conceptions of 'Asia,' its firm place in Europe's 'Orient' served to blur the discursive boundaries between 'East' and 'West.' Even those without personal connections to the First World War, or with relatives who preferred to keep their stories to themselves, typically imbibed the legendary stories of the diggers' exploits through the popular *Anzac Book*, the World War I memoirs popular during the 1920s, and the yearly rituals surrounding Anzac Day.[58] As a result of the mythologising of the diggers' campaigns, many of those signing up to fight in the Second AIF considered their Anzac predecessors to be 'heroes.'[59]

While the First AIF's Egyptian adventures were not at the core of the heroic Anzac image, they did shape popular notions of how Australians experienced and behaved in other so-called 'Oriental' destinations. While Gallipoli was the space for heroism in World War I memoirs, Cairo was portrayed as the place where the Anzac's other defining characteristic, his larrikinism, took full flight.[60] Diggers' stories of Egypt told of heavy boozing and drunken trysts with the innumerable prostitutes of Cairo's red light district, the Wasa'a. They also highlighted the dirt, disorder, immorality and untrustworthiness of the Egyptians, coining the phrase 'gyppo' to inscribe these meanings.[61] As Mario Ruiz reminds us, these activities and attitudes were negotiated within an overtly colonial context, as the start of hostilities had seen England impose increasingly strict regulations over Egypt's population.[62]

The Anzacs' larrikin adventures in Egypt influenced the behaviours of the Second AIF. Many soldiers who eventually made their way to Southeast Asia had already served in the Middle East, sometimes in the same places as the First AIF. Men in the 6th and 7th Divisions fought in Palestine, Egypt and Syria before being moved to Ceylon, the Dutch East Indies and Papua New

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[58] David Kent, "Bean's 'Anzac' and the Making of the Anzac Legend," in *War: Australia's Creative Response*, ed. Anne Rutherford and James Wieland (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1997), pp. 27-39.

[59] Interview with Colin Finkemeyer, 'Australians at War film archive,' Archive no. 0093, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/115.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.

[60] Richard White, "The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War," *War & Society* 5, no. 1 (1987), pp. 63-77, pp. 68-9.

[61] White, "Sun, Sand and Syphilis."

[62] Mario M. Ruiz, "Manly Spectacles and Imperial Soldiers in Wartime Egypt, 1914-19," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 3 (2009), pp. 351-71.

Guinea with the entry of the Japanese.[63] These men, in particular, felt they were 'following the footsteps' of the Anzacs. This sense was directly encouraged by some. Harold Hunt remembered 'diggers' from the First AIF telling the new recruits 'all about the...gyppos,' thus directly influencing the attitudes of soldiers who fought in the Middle East, and later in Asia.[64] Their influence was palpable in the confidence with which new recruits immediately took to referring to Egyptians, Syrians and others as 'gyppos.' As such, the negative meanings ascribed to Egyptians by a previous generation of 'diggers' influenced soldiers' attitudes towards 'Orientals' in the Second World War.

Many soldiers set out to find fitting sequels to the First AIF's experiences in Asia, too. Private Roy Maxwell Poy dedicated five months in Singapore to training and 'having a good time.' Like many others, his attention was diverted by Singaporean taxi-girls, who, for a fee, danced with the troops at nightclubs throughout the city. Remembering his Singaporean exploits, Poy claimed he 'did a lot of things I can't tell you about!!!!'[65] Going AWOL from camp one night in Singapore, Max Venables was taken straight to a brothel, although he claimed 'I did not go in.'[66] Private Don McLaren was not so reticent. He admitted that 'Life in Singapore was excellent, thousands of gorgeous Chinese girls. Oh yes, lots of them, cheeky little devils too, one even deflowered me!'[67] Ivor White was also 'deflowered' in an Asian port, as 'the first time I broke my maid...was in Bombay...a little dark sheila.'[68] Landing in Oriental ports, therefore, the soldiers of the Second AIF followed in the footsteps of Anzac predecessors, and went looking for adventure in Asian cabarets and brothels. For some young, working class Australians, the luxuries of a colonial lifestyle were an uneasy fit; however the boisterous adventures of Anzacs in the Orient served as a more appropriate model for behaviour.

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[63] Australian War Memorial. 'Australian Military Units, Second World War, 1939-1945,' http://www.awm.gov.au/units/ww2.asp, accessed 25 February 2010.

[64] Interview with Harold Hunt, 'Australians at War film archive,' Archive no. 0107, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/128.aspx, accessed 16 September 2009. Neville Lewis also remembered veterans of the Middle Eastern campaigns coming back 'and they used to talk about the Gyppos...They spoke a good deal of it and we listened with respect and bated breath.', in Interview with Neville Lewis, 'Australians at War film archive,' Archive no. 1636, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1045.aspx, accessed 16 September 2009.

[65] Papers of Private Roy Maxwell Poy, Australian War Memorial: AWM PR02023, wallet 1, unpaginated memoir. Enthusiastic punctuation as in original.

[66] Interview with Maxwell Venables, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 2044, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1504.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.

[67] Don McLaren, *Mates in Hell: The Secret Diary of Don Mclaren, Prisoner of War of the Japanese: Changi, Burma Railway, Japan, 1942 - 1945* (Henley Beach, S.A.: Seaview Press, 1998), p. 1.

[68] Interview with Ivor White, 'Australians at War film archive,' Archive no. 0144, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/635.aspx, accessed 16 September 2009.

Representing the experience: creating the 'Glamour Boys' and 'Rajahs' of the war

The colonial comforts and larrikin adventures of Australian servicemen in Asia were keenly reported by correspondents eager for good news stories. Flagging enlistment rates and morale demanded more positive reporting. Reports by the special correspondent for the *Australian Women's Weekly,* Adele Shelton Smith, focussed exclusively on soldiers' comfortable conditions, and their periods of leisure and recreation. A 1941 report detailed an outing to the colonial institution of curry tiffin, held for 400 8ᵗʰ Division troops by a wealthy Malayan Indian. Shelton Smith stressed the locals' concern for the Australians' comfort, before that 'everybody was happy' in Malaya.[69] The richness and variety of the Second AIF's diet was reinforced in the next issue of the *Australian Women's Weekly,* in which Shelton Smith explored the 'Tip-Top Tucker' enjoyed by soldiers in Malayan Army camps.[70] Although aimed at raising enlistment rates, Shelton Smith's reports reinforced the rumour of Asia as a colonised space, where white men lived lives of luxury, for readers back in Australia. This notion was enthusiastically accepted by the Australian public, as evidenced by the new nicknames acquired by the 8ᵗʰ Division: 'glamour boys' and 'Menzies' Tourists.'[71]

The demands of Australian morale continued to colour wartime reporting until the fall of Singapore in February 1942.[72] The tendency for positive coverage was furthered by the personal experiences of correspondents, whose privileged status ensured that many had a 'good war.' War correspondents had a good deal of autonomy, often able to decide what they would report, and where they would report from. Many chose to avoid the front lines, and instead became 'base wallahs,' enjoying the comforts of military bases where 'food is good, and plentiful. Malaria is comparatively rare. There is a choice of picture shows - and perhaps a concert as well - every night.'[73] In addition, war correspondents were granted priority for all forms of travel. Working for the *Herald Sun* and *Sydney Sun* newspapers, Douglas Wilkie 'very shrewdly' got out of Singapore before it fell, travelling instead to India, China and Burma to report on the political situations there.[74] Some were more willing to take advantage of the comforts than others. Flying to Singapore in late 1940 in the role of Australian War Comforts Fund Commissioner, Frank Clune made full use of the luxuries afforded him by his rank.[75] In a travelogue published shortly

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[69] Adele Shelton Smith, 'Tour of Malaya: I go to curry tiffin with 400 AIF,' *Australian Women's Weekly,* Vol. 8, No. 46 (April 19, 1941), p. 7.

[70] Adele Shelton Smith, 'Tip-Top Tucker in the Tropics', *Australian Women's Weekly,* Vol. 8, No. 47 (April 26, 1941), p. 7.

[71] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia,* p. 33-34.; Interview with Maxwell Venables, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 2044, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1504.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.

[72] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia,* pp. 39-41.

[73] Frank Legg, *War Correspondent* (Adelaide: Rigby Limited, 1964), p. 55.

[74] Kent, "Bean's 'Anzac' and the Making of the Anzac Legend."

[75] Frank Clune, *All Aboard for Singapore: A Trip by Qantas Flying Boat from Sydney to Malaya* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd., 1941), p. 118.

afterwards, Clune raved about the service and food on board his Qantas flight, which was 'cuisine-de-luxe in our luxury liner of the fluffy clouds.'[76] Not every reporter chose to take the comfortable route, however. War correspondent and poet Kenneth Slessor was bitter about Clune's 'racket,' and preferred to report from the Papuan front lines.[77] In general, however, war correspondents enjoyed higher levels of comfort, for far longer, than the average soldier. The reports they conveyed to Australia were necessarily coloured by this experience, and early reports perpetuated the idea that Australians could expect to live a comfortable life as white men in Asia.

Policing the 'natural order': the Army in Papua and New Guinea

Although some soldiers were unimpressed by the British style of colonialism, most nonetheless followed the imperative of maintaining 'white man's prestige.' The necessity of maintaining white 'prestige' in the colonial context had first developed in British systems of administration under the New Imperialism of the 1870s. As anxieties about the latent political potential of the 'coloured' races grew, colonialists came to believe that the weakness of one white man (or woman) was a potential danger to the colonial system as a whole. In response, complex codes of behaviour sought to maintain the chimera of 'white man's prestige.'[78]

Because they identified with the colonisers, many Australians in Asia adopted the imperative of white prestige. In the Dutch East Indies at the outbreak of war, Frank Clune thought that the luxurious treatment he received at the hands of 'natives' was but one side of a colonial bargain, and as long as the 'White Man is a big fellow master' in Asia, the appearance of superiority had to be maintained. As such, 'we have to keep up the White Man's prestige, and try to look the part of bosses of the world, God's chosen people, enlightening the poor benighted heathen with our culture and commerce.'[79] The irony of this acting out of colonialism, by which White Men attempted to persuade local populations to respect them when, theoretically, their superiority should have been self-evident, passed Clune by, just as it passed by most of his contemporaries.

This code was adopted by the Army and its soldiers during the Pacific War, partly at the urging of the resident white population.[80] Edward Wolfers, Amirah Inglis and Regis Tove Stella

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[76] See Richard White, "The Retreat from Adventure: Popular Travel Writing in the 1950s," *Australian Historical Studies* 28, no. 109 (1997), p. 102. A full discussion of Clune and his commercial links with Qantas follows in Chapter 3.
[77] Clement Semmler, ed., *The War Diaries of Kenneth Slessor: Official War Correspondent, 1940 - 1944* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985), p. xxxi.
[78] Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (1989), pp. 634-60.
[79] Clune, *All Aboard for Singapore*, p. 126.
[80] For a description of the local white population's attempts to regulate soldiers' behaviour in the name of the white man's prestige, see Twomey, *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners*, p. 46.

have shown that the code of 'prestige' was even more carefully applied in Papua New Guinea than in many other, British-held colonies.[81] As evidenced in wartime letters from his wife, Donald Cleland, the deputy leader of the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) was particularly concerned about the war's effect on colonial 'prestige.'[82] His management of the Army deployment was coloured by this concern. One of Cleland's ANGAU subordinates, Eddie Allan Stanton, was also a firm believer in the code of prestige, and was adamant that, soldiers had to act in a manner befitting their role as representatives of the Australian Empire. Stanton considered respect as a central element of colonial control, for, as he confided in his diary, 'where is the white man's prestige if he loses respect?'[83] As Robert Grantham was to remember, ANGAU's management impacted on all soldiers, who 'were this master and that master' in dealings with Papuans, 'and we were warned never to have contact with boongs without a shirt on.'[84]

Wartime service initiated a significant number of Australians into colonialism's culture. IN particular, it taught soldiers colonial mores determining dealings with 'natives.' Early contacts were typically mediated by the stereotypes of Papuans as 'savages' which had been perpetuated by the popular culture of colonialism. Interacting with Papuans for the first time, Frank Legg was 'horrified to see a couple of sinister, half-naked savages creeping up on me.'[85] Naive first impressions were soon mediated by advice from the colonial 'old hands,' who initiated soldiers into colonial modes. White women and children were evacuated from the territories in December 1941, but many civilian men remained to help the war effort. They claimed to 'know how to handle the natives,' and instructed new arrivals accordingly.[86] Soldiers soon adopted the language and norms of the civilian colonial population, so that they were addressed as 'master,' while they in turn used derogatory terms, including 'boy' or 'boong' for Papua New Guinean men, 'mary' for women, and 'piccaninny' or 'monkey' for children.[87] Pre-war colonial culture was also perpetuated in ANGAU. Whilst senior positions were filled by military men, many pre-war Patrol Officers continued in their positions. Other self-proclaimed 'experts in native affairs' also

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[81] Wolfers, *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea* , pp. 45-59; Amirah Inglis, *'Not a White Woman Safe': Sexual Anxiety and Politics in Port Moresby, 1920-1934* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974); Stella, *Imagining the Other* , pp. 45-59, 93-95.

[82] For example, upon hearing that the British had had to surrender Somaliland, Rachel Cleland wrote to Donald that 'the worst feature would be the loss of prestige.' Nancy Lutton, ed., *My Dearest Brown Eyes: Letters between Sir Donald Cleland and Dame Rachel Cleland During World War II* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2006), p. 52.

[83] Hank Nelson, ed., *The War Diaries of Eddie Allan Stanton: Papua 1942 - 45, New Guinea 1945 - 46* (St. Leonards, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), p. 84.

[84] Interview with Robert Grantham, 'Australians at War film archive,' www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1740.aspx, accessed 17 September 2009.

[85] Legg, *War Correspondent*, p. 29.

[86] Neil McDonald, *Damien Parer's War*, revised ed. (2004: Lothian Books, 2004), pp. 181-2, 194.

[87] For usage, see Interview with Robert Grantham, 'Australians at War film archive,' www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1740.aspx, accessed 17 September 2009.

remained to advise the Army, which adopted many of their methods.[88] Along with Cleland's firm opinions about the colonial order, the employment of 'old hands' helped ensure that ANGAU retained colonial systems of governance into wartime, and beyond.

A further point of continuation came in the Australian and United States Armies' policy of indenturing Papuans for labour. To do this, the Army made use of the Australian National Security (Emergency Control and External Territories) Regulations, which effectively gave the Army total power over the people and land of Papua and New Guinea.[89] Altogether, the Allies requisitioned the labour of approximately 55,000 Papua New Guineans, despite the protests of some of its own anthropologists.[90] Indentured labourers worked as carriers and porters, but they were also used as builders and for domestic labour on bases. In some areas, therefore, Army conditions strengthened the reach and power of Australian colonialism in Papua and New Guinea.

However, despite much continuity with the pre-war order, the dramatic upheavals of the war did lead to some changes in race relations. The lack of serviceable roads meant that all food, ammunition and other supplies had to be carried by local labour. Similarly, all casualties had to be carried back to camps and bases. The nature and extent of war meant that Australians became dependent on their carriers, and the strength, loyalty and bravery of some porters became much admired. The appreciation for locals led to the popularization of the term, 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels,' first broadcast in a poem of the same name by Sapper H. 'Bert' Beros and published in the Brisbane *Courier-Mail* and the *Australian Women's Weekly*. The view of Papuans as 'Fuzzy Wuzzies' evoked a sentimentalism that seemed far removed from the rigid colonial order. Photographs of Australians joking with Papuan men and playing with Papuan children reveal that some of them enjoyed their contacts with the local inhabitants, and did not attempt to impose a master-servant relationship.[91] The many photographs of Australians lighting Papuans' cigarettes and pipes further reveal that they were willing to invert the colonial order by putting themselves at the service of Papuans.[92]

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[88] Wolfers, *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea*, p. 113.

[89] Ibid., p. 109.

[90] Total number of indentured labourers from Ibid., p. 111. Anthropologists' activities in wartime Papua and New Guinea in Geoffrey Gray, "The Army Requires Anthropologists: Australian Anthropologists at War, 1939-1946," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 127 (2006), p. 157.

[91] Australian War Memorial , Negatives 058639, 026018, 076504.

[92] Australian War Memorial , Negatives 015149, 076117, 076118, 017040, 016740, 076020, OG0297.

Figure 1.1: '1943-06-28 - New Guinea. Wau-Mubo Area.'
Source: Australian War Memorial, Negative 015149.

Indeed, personality and the political views of individual soldiers often determined whether their approach to the local population followed the pre-war colonialist mode, or the egalitarian and sentimental mode which considered locals 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels.' Some soldiers, like Nace Hogan of the 3rd Battalion or H. D. 'Blue' Stewart, a regimental medical officer. They were quick to praise locals, and firmly believed that the work of carriers, whom they referred to as Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels, could not be praised enough.[93] Others held more ambivalent views. Despite the growing popularity of the term 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angel' back in Australia, most soldiers continued to call carriers the 'Boong Train,' with all the racist implications engendered in such a term.[94] Further, soldiers with a developed sense of racial hierarchy, like Eddie Allan Stanton, could become increasingly convinced by their wartime service.[95] Believing that the 'savages' were smelly, stupid, lusty and untrustworthy, Stanton was disgusted that 'the occupying forces have far too long been treating the native like brothers.'[96]

As such, some Australian soldiers came to reflect on the colonial condition during their time in Asia, and in the Australian colonies of Papua and New Guinea. While many enjoyed the novelty of being treated with deference by 'native' bearers and servants, others critiqued elements of colonial life. Rarely, however, did a personal distaste for colonial mores lead to a

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[93] Nelson, ed., *War Diaries*, p. xv.
[94] This expression is used in Legg, *War Correspondent*, p. 59, among others.
[95] See, for example, entries for 'Nov. 1944' (p. 253), Tuesday 3/4/45 (p. 277), Friday 8/3/46, (p. 330), Wednesday 30/8/44 (p. 242 – 243) and Thursday 23/8/45 (p. 299), in Nelson, ed., *War Diaries*.
[96] Ibid., p. 203.

broader criticism of the colonial system. The rumour of Asia as colony was so pervasive as to limit what was imaginable, and Australian soldiers almost inevitably accepted the colonial order, even as they critiqued some of its excesses. Those serving in Papua and New Guinea experienced an even more organised initiation into the role of coloniser, and were initiated into Australian colonial culture.

Challenging the Colonial Order

When the Japanese advance came, it was devastatingly swift. On 8 December, 1941, the Japanese Army attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i, and simultaneously landed forces in Malaya and Thailand. Two days later, the British destroyers *HMS Prince of Wales* and *HMS Repulse* were sunk, crippling the British Navy in Southeast Asia. For the next two months, the Japanese advanced southwards down the Malayan Peninsula. As they advanced, they engaged Australian troops in battles in Malaya, Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies. By the end of January 1942, the Japanese had reached Singapore. They had simultaneously entered Australian-mandated New Guinea, and captured its capital, Rabaul. Singapore was surrendered on 15 February, the Netherlands East Indies fell on 8 March, and the Japanese advanced into Australian territory in Papua and New Guinea.

As the Pacific War unfurled in earnest, soldiers' experiences changed dramatically. As Les Atkinson remembered, 'the good life was over – we were back in the army with a vengeance.'[97] Days at leisure were replaced with fighting, and tourist excursions became a thing of the past. Outings to brothels and bars became unfeasible during the fighting, as constant air raids demanded soldiers and civilians remain within safe distance of a slit trench. As nurse Mona Wilton wrote in December 1941, 'we miss the outings we were getting used to...but guess that war is war. We haven't come here on a Cook's Tour.'[98] The contrast with previous weeks was striking. In Singapore, Les Atkinson had trouble reconciling the Orchard Road of the past with the bombed out, bloodied mess he faced in the days before surrender.[99] Similarly, Don McLaren's Salvage Unit dug in to defend the Singapore Botanical Gardens, previously the site for McLaren's leisure excursions.[100]

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[97] Les Atkinson, *My Side of the Kwai: Reminiscences of an Australian Prisoner of War of the Japanese* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 2001), p. 19.
[98] Barbara Angell, *A Woman's War: The Exceptional Life of Wilma Oram Young, Am* (Sydney: New Holland, 2003), p. 45.
[99] Atkinson, *My Side of the Kwai*, p. 44.
[100] McLaren, *Mates in Hell*, p. 3.

In response to the attacks, the Army rushed in a number of soldiers from Australia. These soldiers' journeys to Asia were far removed from the luxuries of colonial-era travel. Travelling on the Dutch ship, *Sibajak*, Lance Sergeant Cyril Gilbert found the food inedible, resorting instead to tins of salmon to see him through the trip.[101] Sailing on the *Zealandia*, Max Venables was so disgusted by the smell of the galleys on his first night that he never ate below decks again.[102] The conditions were no better on land. The Japanese onslaught immediately stripped back the colonial luxuries previously enjoyed by troops in Asia. The days of feasting were quickly replaced by active warfare, and the increased army discipline that came with it.

The success of the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia, and onto Australian-mandated territory, threatened the colonial order. Early wartime portrayals of the Japanese as physically weak, myopic, bandy-legged creatures possessing only second-rate technology served to sharpen the blow of Japan's victories over the combined strength of the British and Australian forces. These victories undermined ideas about the white man's superiority, leading to broader questions about the colonial order.

Despite their urgency, most Australian soldiers avoided such probing questions, and refocussed on fighting their enemy. At times when the Japanese appeared the most threatening, soldiers and media alike defused the threat by dehumanising them through the use of animalistic imagery. Analogies between Japanese and apes, insects, monkeys and other creatures were represented to audiences back home in soldiers' letters, as well as in war correspondents' reports.[103] Being placed at mortal danger by wild creatures was less threatening to Australian prestige than being threatened by a racial and cultural inferior. The experience of frontline fighting exacerbated the tendency to dehumanise the enemy. Some soldiers claimed to be able to smell the 'Japs' approaching, implying they were categorically different to Australians.[104] Rumours spread about Japanese cannibalism, which was commonly taken as confirmation that 'they were just animals, the way they carried on.'[105] The imagery also influenced Australian behaviours, and some soldiers came to conceive of the Japanese as less than human. Stumbling upon the body of a Japanese soldier, war correspondent Frank Legg wondered whether the

[101] Interview with Cyril Gilbert, Australians at war film archive, Archive no. 0821, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1939.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[102] Interview with Maxwell Venables, Australians at War film archive, Archive no. 2044, www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/1504.aspx, accessed 15 September 2009.
[103] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 48, pp. 65-9;
[104] Legg, *War Correspondent*, p. 42.
[105] Interview with Archie Allaway, Australians at War film archive, www.australiansatwarfilmarchvie.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/654.aspz, accessed 17 September 2009. See also Walpole and Levell, *My War*, p. 20.

'monkey-like face' could have possibly belonged to a man.[106] In opposition to the practice at other battlefields, Australians who chanced upon the bodies of fallen Japanese left them as they were found, considering them unworthy of proper burial.[107] Instead of admitting the challenge which the Japanese seizure of European colonies posed to notions of the colonial order, Australians sought to de-activate it by presenting their enemies as inhuman, and therefore very far from overturning the racial hierarchy that had placed white men in power across Asia.

Bodies of Power

The most sustained challenge to the pre-war colonial order was the inversion of power relations experienced by the 22 000 Australians who were captured and imprisoned as Prisoners of War.[108] Australian soldiers, nurses and civilians in camps across Singapore, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and Japan were at the mercy of Japanese and Korean guards, who controlled every element of their lives. These white men had been defeated by Asians, and found themselves entirely subordinated to their authority. More than any other situation, then, the situation in POW camps inverted the colonial 'order' which had informed Australian attitudes before the outbreak of war.

As Christina Twomey has found, this power inversion was immediately recognised by Australians in Asia, and some wondered what its effects on the colonial order would be.[109] Moving into Singapore the day after the British surrender, Richard Lloyd Cahill claimed that 'this is the finish of the white man here.'[110] Les Atkinson similarly recognised that, in Singapore, 'the Japanese have made it perfectly clear who are the masters now.'[111] Much of the shock came from signs that white man's 'prestige' had been irretrievably lost. As he was marched through Kuala Lumpur, Russell Braddon was shocked by the 'stoning and spitting meted out by a native population which had only a fortnight before been hysterically pro-British.'[112] Captured in Java, Rohan Rivett deeply resented one Indonesian's delight that, where the colonisers could previously 'take everything, give Javanese nothing. Now Nippon come...Soon all British become

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[106] Legg, *War Correspondent*, p. 54.
[107] Ibid., p. 54.
[108] Figures from Australian War Memorial. 'General information about Australian Prisoners of War,' http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/pow/general_info.htm, accessed 19 January 2008. In addition, 1500 civilians were interned. See Twomey, *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners*, for details of these.
[109] Ibid., pp. 41-2.
[110] Richard Lloyd Cahill, cited in Michael Caulfield, *War Behind the Wire: Australian Prisoners of War* (Canberra: Hachette Australia, 2008).
[111] Atkinson, *My Side of the Kwai*, p. 58.
[112] Russell Braddon, *The Naked Island* (London: Pan Books, 1974), p. 109.

coolies. We are masters. We have many hundred Europeans working coolie for us.'[113] The lack of servility from 'coolies' signalled the extent to which colonial power relations had been overturned, as the Japanese gained control of Southeast Asia.

In captivity, the Japanese exercised absolute control over Australian bodies. The Japanese military system did not hold those who surrendered in high regard and felt no obligation to care for them. Rations were minimal, and many prisoners nearly starved to death. The condition of near-starvation weakened prisoners' bodies, and many fell gravely ill. Many prisoners died of dysentery, malaria, dengue, pellagra, beri-beri and cholera, among other diseases, in POW camps across Asia. Some Japanese guards exacerbated prisoners' deterioration by claiming the best food (including Red Cross parcels intended for prisoners) for themselves. This strategy was a clear expression of the guards' power over prisoners' bodies, and was recognised as such by the prisoners themselves. Russell Braddon vehemently resented the fact that the Japanese refused to allow prisoners even 'worthless' rice husks. As The POWs' subjection was complete: as one captive was to remember, 'we had to take it.'[114] The inversion of the colonial power in Asia during the Pacific War took a distinctly corporeal form, imprinted onto the bodies of Australian prisoners of war.

POWs' bodies were also imprinted with more direct violence. Camp discipline was typically maintained by physical punishment, occasionally devolving into torture. If displeased, Japanese guards would commonly slap, punch or otherwise harm a captive. Beatings imprinted Australian bodies with their inferior status, 'just to let us know who was boss.'[115] Japanese power was also exercised over prisoners' bodies in demands that Australians salute to Japanese officers, and bow down before images of the Emperor Hirohi. Although POWs were commonly unwilling to salute the Japanese, almost all submitted after continuing Japanese demands were made clear through violence. These were corporeal invocations of the new power relations between Japanese and Australian; physical evidence that the pre-war colonial order had been overturned. Their capitulation to Japanese demands revealed their subaltern status, and confirmed the total power of the Japanese.[116]

Although individual responses to the Japanese guards could vary, a clear pattern is evident in many soldiers' perceptions. Initially, many prisoners had observed that the Japanese were childlike and inconsistent. As the extent of the Japanese guards' power over them became

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[113] Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, p. 77.
[114] Cited in Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation", pp. 301-2.
[115] Hugh V. Clarke, "Of Elephants and Men," in *The Burma-Thailand Railway: Memory and History*, ed. Gavan McCormack and Hank Nelson (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), p. 38.
[116] See Dunlop, *War Diaries*.

increasingly apparent, however, prisoners routinely came to conceive of them as beasts or fiends. Australians attempted to subvert this new power hierarchy with paradoxical claims that Japanese strength and brutality indicated not their power, but their inferiority. Even Edward 'Weary' Dunlop, who has been celebrated for his humanity, was prone to using dehumanising imagery when the Japanese made their power over him most obvious, exclaiming that they were a 'disgusting, deplorable, hateful troop of men – apes…beasts.'[117] Lieutenant Ben Hackney related the behaviour of Japanese during an attack on a hospital as akin to 'a gorilla [gone] berserk.'[118] Similarly, nurse Betty Jeffrey's most vehement protests that the Japanese 'are not human, they are just beasts,' occurred after they made her feel her subjection by refusing her permission to bury a fellow-prisoner.[119]

Women who were imprisoned by the Japanese were particularly concerned about the meanings of their captivity. The absolute power of the Japanese was exacerbated by the gender difference, and the incumbent threat of sexual contact (including rape). The captivity of white women and children also symbolised the failure of white Australians to protect them against a racial threat. Faced with the unalloyed power of the Japanese, female internees, too, turned to dehumanising images to comfort themselves that, although power relations had been reversed, they still remained superior to the Japanese. 'What an unattractive race, rather like monkeys!' wrote Jeffrey, when considering the possibility of sexual union with the Japanese. She also portrayed them as 'little yellow devils,' 'bandy-legged monkeys,' and 'a cruel, untamed, uncivilised race.'[120] When Australian bodies were made subject to the Japanese, Australians evoked animalistic imagery to confirm a mental and moral superiority; however this response was impotent against the power held by the Japanese over their bodies.

POWs also resented being forced to labour for the Japanese. Significantly, they conceived of their subjugation in colonial terms, utilising the language of subalternity to describe their condition. Toiling on the Burma-Thailand railway in March 1943, Dunlop noted in his diary that the Japanese had forced his team to work like 'blacks.'[121] At roughly the same time, Stan Arneil was part of an indentured labour force working in Singapore. Although his conditions had been relatively comfortable up to this point, Arneil confided in his diary that he could hardly 'believe that men do horses work,' and claimed that 'the only missing part of a tableau of the slave days is

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Ibid., p. 265.
Cited in James Essex, "Nippon Very Sorry - Many Men Must Die: Submission to the United Nations Commission of Human Rights (Ecosoc Resolution 1503)," (Brisbane: Queensland ex-POW Reparation Committee, Boolarong Publications, 1990), p. 37.
Betty Jeffrey, *White Coolies* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1997).
Ibid., pp. 113, 168, 186, 122.
Dunlop, *War Diaries*, p. 227.

the whip of the overseer.' Like many others, he read the reversal of pre-war power relations in colonial terms, noting the 'queer sight' of white men 'bronzed like natives.'[122]

Although being forced to work for the Japanese was considered insult enough, many prisoners were most affected by the experience of being seen in their ignominy by the local populations, and the loss of colonial prestige that this entailed. As he was being transported north to labour on the Burma-Thailand railway, Arneil wrote in his diary that a 'most humiliating experience' had occurred, when white men were forced to eat inside their sweltering train carriages, while the 'almost black Thai guards...lounged on the cool platform.'[123] Travelling into Singapore, Cahill thought the Japanese did 'everything to humiliate' white men, including parading tied-up captives 'in front of all the people.'[124] Christopher Dawson remembered that being marched into a POW camp by the Japanese was a 'humiliating procession with the native people and Chinese watching us.'[125] During her years in captivity, Betty Jeffrey resented working 'while natives sit around smoking straws and watch and laugh at us.'[126] Another Australian nurse, Wilma Oram, was similarly affronted when forced to travel in the back of a truck, which she believed was 'for the benefit of natives who jeered and cheered at the sight of so many captive white women.'[127] The sting of humiliation was so strong because of Australians' fears that their subjection would spell the end of white man's prestige forever. Flying to Hong Kong near the end of the war, John Balfe concluded that 'the cloak of British superiority had fallen' when the local populations saw white men dominated.[128] In a grim prediction, Russell Braddon claimed that the 'war itself, of Asia against the white man,' would continue for a hundred years.[129] The corporeal experience of subjection to the Japanese had been so powerful as to force a re-appraisal of the rumours and ideas which had dominated pre-war attitudes to Asia. As a result, some began to wonder whether the colonial order had been overturned forever.

Representing the POW experience

The release and return of POWs and civilian internees from early 1945 excited significant media and popular interest back in Australia. From the earliest reports, the focus was solidly on the poor conditions prisoners had been subjected to, and the imprints these conditions had left

[122] Stan Arneil, *One Man's War* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 2003), p. 59.
[123] Ibid., p. 73.
[124] Richard Lloyd Cahill in Caulfield, *War Behind the Wire*, p. 11.
[125] Dawson, *To Sandakan*, p. 53.
[126] Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, p. 107.
[127] Angell, *A Woman's War*, p. 82.
[128] John Balfe, *...And Far from Home: Flying Raaf Transports in the Pacific War and After* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1985), p. 120.
[129] Braddon, *The Naked Island*, p. 283.

on their bodies. The earliest *Argus* reports focused on the poor health and physical condition of prisoners. They quoted the commander of a hospital ship evacuating Australians from Tokyo, who claimed that 'there has never been a blacker hell-hole than the POW hospital we are now evacuating.'[130] The implicit reference to the Black Hole of Calcutta symbolically linked the suffering of Australians in Asia to the mythical event most commonly associated with the overthrow of colonial power.[131] Australian audiences responded to reports of the POWs' captivity with fascination and dread, a response conditioned both by the reference to the Black Hole of Calcutta and the genre of captivity narratives itself.[132] In addition, some read the prisoners' sufferings as a terrifying hint at how they may have been treated, had the Japanese succeeded in invading Australia.[133]

As Twomey has pointed out, the corporeality of the POW experience was a key focus of subsequent reports. As Crayton Burns wrote in the *Argus,* the captives' suffering was most clearly 'written in their bodies and broken bones in the language of scars, weals, dueodenal ulcers, jaded nerves' and amputated limbs.[134] Some POWs used their own emaciated bodies as evidence of the conditions imposed upon them by the Japanese. On a flight back to Darwin, a group of rescued prisoners told their stories to RAAF officers, and one of the men, Captain C. H. Collis, proffered the identity photograph taken upon enlistment to highlight the amount of weight he had lost as a prisoner.[135] The media followed this trope, and once the extent of the mistreatment became evident, photographs of POWs' skeletal figures punctuated reports of Japanese cruelty. Twomey has interpreted these photographs as problematising the reception of POWs in terms of the ideals of warrior masculinity.[136] However, the fact that these white men were subjected by an Asian power added deeper meanings to their publication. By propagating images of the POWs' emaciated bodies, the Australian media displayed the outcome of overturning of the colonial order to a broader audience. The discursive threat of these photographs was recognised by the Australian government. On 18 July 1945, the Country Party Member for New England, Joe Abbott, put it to the House of Representatives that 'no earthly good' came of the publication of photographs evidencing Australian suffering at the hands of the Japanese, and called for 'the

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[130] '5,516 Australian P.O.W's at Singapore,' *The Argus*, 31 August 1945, p. 1.
[131] For a discussion of the image of the Black Hole of Calcutta, see Iris Macfarlane, *The Black Hole: Or, the Makings of a Legend* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975).
[132] Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Postmodern Images of Indian Captivitiy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), p. 6.
[133] For a further discussion of the use of captivity narratives of Australians in Asia, see Agnieszka Sobocinska, "Prisoners of Opinion: Australians in Asian Captivity, 1942-2005," *Australian Studies (Journal of the British Australian Studies Association)* 1, no. 1 (2009).
[134] Crayton Burns, 'Men of the 8th come home from Singapore,' *The Argus*, 20 September 1945, p. 3.
[135] 'Repatriated POWs tell stories of Jap brutality,' *The Argus*, 15 September 1945, p. 3.
[136] Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation"; Twomey, "Australian Nurse POWs", pp. 255-74; Torney-Parlicki, "'Unpublishable Scoops'", p. 185. For an example of contemporary reporting, see 'Changi Prison Camp: How Japs treated 8th Division Soldiers,' *Cinesound Review* No. 0725 (21 September 1945).

press to agree not to publish these harrowing photographs and stories.' Recognising the threat to the racial and colonial order, the House agreed, and the question was resolved in the affirmative; however, some photographs of emaciated prisoners continued to find their way onto newsprint.[137]

In addition to the physical privations endured, media reports focussed on prisoners being worked like 'white coolies.' An *Argus* report of 6 September 1945 portrayed the POWs as 'white coolies within the power of the cruel Korean guards.'[138] A Melbourne *Herald* report expressed outrage that Australian women had been 'compelled to toil like coolies.'[139] Similarly, the *Argus* wrote of 'stories of slavery at [the] hands of Japanese,' and of 'Australians used as slaves.'[140] The loss of prestige entailed in suffering in Australians' subjection occurring in full view of 'native' populations was also addressed. In a news report outlining alleged war crimes, former prisoner and journalist Rohan Rivett placed great emphasis on the fact that the Japanese had sought to 'debase and humiliate Allied officers and other ranks ... under the eyes of the local Asiatic population.' He highlighted the ignominious sight of white 'officers being compelled to work under the eyes of the local Asiatics naked except for a loin cloth and wooden clogs.'[141] Notably, the criticism was based on the perceived inversion of colonial norms. Again, the order of colonialism was not questioned; criticism was not levelled at the fact that the Japanese kept coolies, but only that the coolies were white.

The new meanings were problematic. Many prisoners feared that their stories went so much against the grain of the pre-war colonial order that they would not be believed.[142] Yet, as J.V. D'Cruz has noted, the Australian audience had been primed by anti-Japanese propaganda, and POWs found an audience ready to 'devour their horrifying experiences in internment camps.'[143] The interest in the prisoners' experiences was such as to ensure a market for a number of POW narratives published in the decade following the cessation of hostilities, including Rohan Rivett's *Behind Bamboo*, Graeme McCabe's *Pacific Sunset*, and W.S. Kent Hughes' *Slaves of the Samurai*, all published in 1946; Roy Whitecross' *Slaves of the Sun of Heaven*, published in 1951; Russel Braddon's *The Naked Island*, published in 1952; and Jessie Simons' *While History Passed* and Betty Jeffrey's *White Coolies*, both published in 1954. Several of these books became best-sellers. *White*

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[137] *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates*, 18 July 1945, pp. 4220-1.
[138] Athole Stewart, 'Deliverance comes to Singapore POWs,' *The Argus*, 6 September 1945, p. 1.
[139] 'Nurses compelled to toil like coolies,' *Herald*, 13 September 1945, p. 1, cited in Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 74.
[140] Athole Stewart, 'Camp horrors in Sumatra,' *The Argus*, 17 September 1945, p. 1; Axel Olse, 'Australians used as slaves in Osaka ironworks,' *The Argus*, 22 September 1945, p. 1.
[141] Rohan D. Rivett, 'War Correspondent indicts Jap POW authorities,' *The Argus*, 15 September 1945, p. 8.
[142] Ray Filkins, cited in Essex, "Nippon Very Sorry - Many Men Must Die: Submission to the United Nations Commission of Human Rights (ECOSOC Resolution 1503)", p. 37.
[143] J.V. D'Cruz, *The Asian Image in Australia: Episodes in Australian History* (The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1973), p. 37.

Coolies was reprinted six times in 1954, then again in 1955 and 1956.[144] The most successful, *The Naked Island*, was reprinted 13 times within twenty years by Pan Books, and had sold over a million copies by 1958.[145] The prisoners' narratives, therefore, were a significant form for the representation of the POW experience.

Like the initial media reports, these narratives focussed on the degradation of white men being forced to labour for Asians. Where contemporary descriptions of the captives' subaltern status had utilised a range of images, including those of 'blacks' and 'horses', the narratives written in the years following release distilled these into two particular images, of coolies and slaves. Jeffery abhorred what she believed was the Japanese aim to make white women 'do coolie labour,' and felt disgust at their 'ambition...to make us white coolies.'[146] The image of whites being degraded to 'coolie' status shaped Jeffrey's narrative, which she titled *White Coolies*. Former prisoners also commonly utilised the trope of slavery. Two early narratives used this image in their titles, reinterpreting their captivity as a period when they were *Slaves of the Son of Heaven* and *Slaves of the Samurai*.[147] Oftentimes, the two images, of the prisoner of war as slave and as coolie, were used together. W.S. Kent Hughes' 1946 epic poem, *Slaves of the Samurai*, utilised both images to show the change in colonial power effected by the Japanese:

> Where coolie chants were sung before
> Upon the docks of Singapore,
> Large gangs of Diggers – tanned and tall...
> Slaved ceaselessly to load the ships.[148]

Along with the initial media reports, POW narratives formed the most sustained representations of the corporeality of Australians' imprisonment. The changes in captives' bodies as they became hungrier, weaker and increasingly exhausted were described in agonizing detail in every narrative. The bodily effects of various diseases to which prisoners succumbed were also specified in uncompromising detail.[149] In these texts, prisoner's shrinking bodies become symbolic of the shrinking power they held even over their own lives, let alone the lives of others in Asia. As a result, these narratives are striking in their resentment of the Japanese. POWs unanimously portrayed the Japanese as brutal and sadistic, and the Koreans who served under

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[144] Jeffrey, *White Coolies*.
[145] Braddon, *The Naked Island*.
[146] Jeffrey, *White Coolies*, p. 107.
[147] Roy Whitecross, *Slaves of the Son of Heaven* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 2000 (1951)); W.S. Kent Hughes, *Slaves of the Samurai* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1946).
[148] Kent Hughes, *Slaves of the Samurai*, p. 112.
[149] See, for example, Braddon, *The Naked Island* , esp. pp. 119-121, 138, 143-4, 163, 181-2, 193, 197-8, 200, 202, 204, 208-12, 215-19, 221-226, 229-232, 234, 239-40, 242, 252-3, 256, 278.

them as 'merciless fiends.'[150] Roy Whitecross claimed that his captivity had given him an insight into the 'true character of the Japanese – ruthless, brutal, inhuman.'[151] Rohan Rivett made a study of the 'ruthlessness' and 'sadism' of the Japanese, believing that their 'inhumanity' arose from a deep, deluded arrogance.[152] As Robin Gerster has recognised, at least some of this hatred was a strategy to counter the helplessness of captivity, with prisoners writing vehement denunciations of the Japanese 'as if frustrated by [their] impotence to hit back militarily.'[153] As prisoners of war, many of these soldiers had been denied the heroic trope which marked the narratives and memoirs of 'battlefield' soldiers.[154] The frustrated, angry portrayals of the Japanese as brutal captors were the closest many could get at redemption.

However, the media reports and narratives worked at another level, representing the corporeal experience of imprisonment to a broader audience. The sustained focus of the powerlessness of Australians at the hand of the Japanese – as seen through the tropes of coolie and slave labour, of violence and of starvation – ensured that the prisoners' experiences reached a broad audience. The overturning of the colonial order, which had been enunciated through the capture and imprisonment of Australian soldiers, was recognised throughout Australia. As a result, much of the pre-war certainty about the colonial order, and about Australians' role in that order, was lost. As the following chapter shows, they were replaced by a broad confusion and ambivalence about Australia's role in Asia. The overturning of colonial power during the Pacific War had been forceful enough to shift many pre-war rumours.

Restoring the order

However, this shift was not accepted without opposition, and the captivity of Australian prisoners of war by the Japanese has been woven into a tale of resistance, as well as degradation. The fact that an Asian power, especially a bestial and even subhuman one, had subjugated Australian men complicated POWs' roles within both the masculine warrior tradition and the broader colonial context.[155] The POWs were aware of these tensions. From the earliest days of their captivities, they harboured anxieties about their place in the Anzac tradition, that their

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[150] Dawson, *To Sandakan.*
[151] Whitecross, *Slaves of the Son of Heaven.*
[152] Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, pp. 142-52.
[153] Robin Gerster, "No Man Is a Naked Island: The Australian POW Story," *Southerly* 65, no. 2 (2005), p. 51.
[154] Robin Gerster, *Big-Noting: The Heroic Theme in Australian War Writing* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1987), p. 225.
[155] Garton, "War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia", pp. 86-87.

service would be interpreted as 'a shocking burlesque of conventional active service.'[156] Many felt ashamed about their early reputation as the 'Glamour Boys' of the conflict, which they feared would appear confirmed by the fact they arrived

> 'back in Aussie
> Without having fired a shot.'[157]

The media was aware of these tensions, and sought to defuse them after the POWs' release. The *Bulletin* argued that, instead of focussing on POWs' subjugation, Australians should celebrate the stories of heroism and survival which came out of Australian captivity.[158] The Australian news media actively worked to rehabilitate POWs' reputations. By mid-September 1942, reports began to highlight examples of POWs exercising some form of agency, such as building and disguising wireless sets and other contraband, during their captivities.[159] Newsreels boasted of the 'concealed ingenuity' of prisoners, and print reports claimed that survival was due to Australian prisoners' courage and resourcefulness.[160] Such reports overtly sought to recast the POWs' experience as 'a story of resistance.'[161] As well as restating the heroism of the soldiers as Anzacs, such coverage attempted to restore agency to white Australians, and so restore some of the pre-war order. In the months following the Japanese surrender, many reports took to portraying Japanese guards as dupes who were, perhaps, too myopic to see the flagrant flouting of discipline, or too bandy-legged to stamp it out. As Rivett was to write in the *Argus* not long after his release, the 'truth was that from first to last the Australians never really succeeded in concealing their contempt for their captors.'[162]

The captivity of Australian soldiers was recast as a story of ingenuity and adventure, highlighting the larrikinism, bravery and mateship required to survive and flourish in desperate conditions; and, as such, a worthy reiteration of the 'cobber spirit' of Anzac.'[163] As Stephen Garton has recognised, such reports straddled the genres of horror and 'public school "boy's own" romp.'[164] As Twomey points out, to effect this change, journalists had to shift attention

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[156] Robin Gerster and Peter Pierce, eds., *On the War-Path: An Anthology of Australian Military Travel* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2004), p. 5. See also Dawson, *To Sandakan* p. 44. See also the papers of Private Roy Maxwell Poy, Australian War Memorial: AWM PR02023, Wallet 1.

[157] 'Poems by men at Changi Prison Camp', in Papers of Private Roy Maxwell Poy, Australian War Memorial Private Records Collection, PR02023, Wallet 1.

[158] Cited in Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 75.

[159] See 'Changi Prison Camp: How Japs treated 8th Division Soldiers,' *Cinesound Review* No. 0725 (21 September 1945) and 'Changi Camp: P.O.W. concealed ingenuity', *Cinesound Review*, no. 0728 (12 October 1945).

[160] 'Changi Camp: P.O.W. concealed ingenuity', *Cinesound Review*, no. 0728, 12 October 1945; Crayton Burns, 'Men of the 8th come home from Singapore,' *The Argus*, 20 September 1945, p. 3; 'POW General drew his own teeth,' *The Argus*, 18 September 1945, p. 3.

[161] Crayton Burns, 'Men of the 8th come home from Singapore,' *The Argus*, 20 September 1945, p. 3.

[162] Rohan Rivett, 'Risked lives to help sick mates,' *The Argus*, 25 September 1945, p. 2.

[163] Rohan Rivett, 'Risked lives to help sick mates,' *The Argus*, 25 September 1945, p. 2.

[164] Garton, "Changi as Television", p. 86.

away from the corporeality of the prisoner of war experience, by emphasising the soldiers' resistant 'spirit' rather than their subjugated bodies.[165]

Just as the photographs of emaciated POWs revealed the corporeality of Japanese power, images of Australians enjoying the comforts of a re-colonised Asia following their release. In mid-September, the *Argus* published a photograph of former prisoners of war experiencing the 'new luxury' of rickshaw rides in Singapore, noting that, if they had their way, it would be 'their late captors between the shafts.'[166] For Western audiences, the rickshaw functioned as a symbolic representation of the colonial order, with white bodies in comfortable rest being conveyed by the labouring body of a 'native' coolie.[167] By publishing the photograph of ex-prisoners again being pulled by Singaporean 'natives' on its front page, the *Argus* intimated that the pre-war colonial order had been restored following the Japanese surrender.

Figure 1.2: 'Rickshaw Rides'
Source: *The Argus*, Tuesday 18 September 1945, p. 1.

Further, the rehabilitation of the POWs involved utilising the strategy of portraying the captives' survival as a victory in itself.[168] In many reports, Australian soldiers were not presented as the victims of Japanese captivity, but as victors who had overcome a vast number of foes: not only brutal Asian guards, but also tropical heat, starvation, disease and fatigue. As Twomey has recognised, the rehabilitation was such that the POWs' suffering was read as reminiscent of the sufferings of Christ, and so as an allegory of national sacrifice.[169]

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[165] Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation." pp. 300-1.
[166] Norman Smith, 'Rickshaw rides,' *The Argus*, 18 September 1945, p. 1.
[167] For a discussion of the 'rickshaw' in Australian and colonial discourse, see James Francis Warren, *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore (1880-1940)* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 157-161; Woollacott, "All This Is Empire.", p. 1021.
[168] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 73.
[169] Twomey, "Emaciation or Emasculation.", p. 296. This connection is made explicitly in Braddon, *The Naked Island*, p. 146.

This representational strategy met with some success, and the perception of Australian POWs as heroic martyrs influenced popular understandings of their captivity.[170] Upon their return to Australia, many former prisoners participated in parades and processions, where they were given a hero's welcome by large crowds.[171] While the POWs had been rehabilitated, the new meanings of the Pacific War, which had overturned the colonial order in Asia, and imprinted evidence on this change onto the bodies of white men, could not be excised so easily. A new set of rumours challenged pre-war notions about the white man's place in Asia. The discourse 'prestige' had been challenged, and Australians now had a competing narrative of Asians as able independent actors. Negotiations between these two competing narratives structured Australian experiences of Asia in the period of postwar decolonisation, as explored in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Before the Pacific War, Asia was a land of colonies. When they gazed at Asia, Australians may have turned north, but they saw the 'East,' a place where white men comfortably dominated over 'natives.' Those Australians who travelled to Asia experienced a colonised space which confirmed their preconceptions, and (despite their own complicated relationship with imperialism) many instinctively sided with the colonisers. For the majority who could not afford overseas travel, the rumour of Asia was primarily formed by the popular genre of colonial adventure novels, which painted the continent as a space for white dominance.

The Pacific War was a colonial war. The established regional colonisers, Australia, Britain and Holland, fought to retain control of colonised lands against an aspiring colonial power, Japan. At stake was a swathe of land, stretching from India and Burma in the East through Indochina and the islands of Java and Sumatra to New Guinea. The speed and efficiency of the Japanese defeat of the British in Malaya and Singapore and the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies revealed the inadequacy of their defences. Further, it undermined European claims that they were of a superior racial stock; and therefore their justification that they had colonised Asia in order to improve its standards of civilisation. At its core, the Japanese advance challenged Europe's right to colonise Asia.

The initial comfort of Australian soldiers in Asia seemed to confirm the old colonial order. Wartime service in Papua and New Guinea explicitly served as a training ground for colonial culture. However, their further experiences in Asia led to a shift in Australian understandings of

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[170] Garton, "War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia," p. 88
[171] 'City greets the men of the 8th,' *The Argus*, 20 September 1945, p. 1.

the region, and their place within it. This chapter has argued that the idea of a 'natural' colonial order was finally shattered by the capture and long imprisonment of thousands of Australians as prisoners of war. In camps across Asia, the inversion of colonial power relations was imprinted onto prisoners' bodies, as they were starved and beaten by their Japanese guards. This experience was explicitly corporeal. Intense publicity of the prisoner of war experience over the following decade ensured that the colonial challenge inscribed on captives' bodies was broadcast to the broader population. As Joan Beaumont has noted, the collective violence perpetrated upon Australian bodies has made the POW experience in Asia 'one of the greatest traumas in Australian national experience.'[172] It had such a dramatic effect because it symbolised the reversal of power which Australian soldiers had experienced in Asia. The Pacific War, therefore, toppled the dominance of the colonial mode of perceiving Asia in Australia. While, as the next chapter shows, colonial ideas continued to colour some Australians' perceptions about Asia, the colonial order was never again considered to be the only, or the 'natural,' state for Asia.

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[172] Joan Beaumont, *Gull Force: Survival and Leadership in Captivity, 1941-1945* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), p. 2.

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Embodying De/colonisation: Renegotiating the contact zones of Empire

In the period of upheaval following the Pacific War, the future of colonialism in Asia appeared uncertain. While some Australians hoped for an immediate return to the pre-war status quo, others began to rethink Australia's role in the postwar world. During the war, Prime Ministers John Curtin and Ben Chifley, and Minister for External Affairs H.V. 'Doc' Evatt, had begun to question the colonial order, inspired by the 'spirit of idealism' that had underpinned their ratification of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations.[1] Yet, their liberal idealism did not lead to a push for immediate and absolute decolonisation once the war had ended. Rather, Chifley and Evatt negotiated between their postcolonial ideals and the political demands of the postwar period. In particular, as Anthony Burke has recently shown, much of Australia's foreign policy during this period resulted from a determination to guarantee Australia's security, with

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[1] For further details, see W.J. Hudson, *Australia and the New World Order: Evatt at San Francisco, 1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1993), esp. pp. 3-4.

ideology taking second place to this fundamental concern.[2] When it came to the colonial question, a focus on Australian security bore uneven result. While, on the one hand, the postwar period heralded a postcolonial attitude with the Labor government's support of Indonesian independence, it also saw the dramatic extension of Australian colonial control in Papua New Guinea.[3] In addition, the Australian military become a key partner in the United States occupation of Japan.

Similar negotiations between anti-colonialism and a conservative desire to return to the colonial status quo were also taking place in wider society. This chapter follows two groups who embodied opposing poles of this debate. Although they held opposing ideas, both enacted their hopes for the postwar order, and Australia's place within that order, by travelling to Asia. The first group consists of the thousands of soldiers who participated in the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF), which assisted the American Occupation of Japan. By settling in Japan, and consciously cultivating a form of colonial culture, these soldiers embodied the view that Australia should take a dominant role in imposing a strong Western presence in Asia, in order to regulate the region and ensure Australian security. The second group imagined the postwar world in a very different way. Although their numbers were far smaller than the official BCOF deployment, a group of Australians held strongly anti-colonial views. Rather than believing that Australia should impose itself as a colonising power in Asia, this group believed that Australia's rightful role in the region was to assist in the decolonisation of Asia, and act as a partner in the economic and social development of newly-independent, post-colonial Asian nation states. Although their views were very different, this group also enacted their beliefs through travel, in their case by volunteering to assist in the development of Indonesia as a postcolonial nation. Their experiences, and particularly their attempts to foster close

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[2] Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 76-80.
[3] The postwar 'New Deal' for Papua New Guinea followed from Australia's mandate over New Guinea falling under the oversight of the United Nations Trusteeship Council (UNTC) after World War II. Influenced by principles of self-determination, the United Nations demanded that Trustees develop their mandated lands towards self-government or independence. However, self-determination was not seriously considered by Australian colonial authorities, who believed Papua New Guineans were too primitive for independence. Instead, the postwar period saw a ramping up of the Australian colonial project, which was considered by most Australians in power as a progressive step towards enlightening the primitive New Guineans. The 'New Deal' included the modification (but not the devolvement) of the indentured labour system, and the introduction of new laws regulating what activities New Guineans could engage in at any time of day or night, including where, with whom, and at what times they could be out of their homes. The New Deal also regulated dress requirements for 'natives,' as well as setting limits on New Guineans' professional, personal and sexual behaviours. For a fuller account, see Edward P. Wolfers, *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea* (Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Company, 1975); W.J. Hudson and Jill Daven, "Papua and New Guinea since 1945" in *Australia and Papua New Guinea*, ed. W.J. Hudson (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1971), pp. 151-77; Peter Fitzpatrick, "Really Rather Like Slavery: Law and Labor in the Colonial Economy in Papua New Guinea," *Contemporary Crises* 4 (1980), pp. 77-95; Hank Nelson, *Taim Bilong Masta: The Australian Involvement with Papua New Guinea* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1982); Allan M. Healy, "Monocultural Administration in a Multicultural Environment: The Australians in Papua New Guinea," in *From Colony to Coloniser: Studies in Australian Administrative History*, ed. J.J. Eddy and J.R. Nethercote (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1987); Thelma Jackson, "Australians in Papua: The Effect of Changing Government Policies on Attitudes, 1945-1973, (Brisbane: thesis submitted for B.A. (Hons), Asian and International Studies, Griffith University, 1988).

identification with the Indonesian people, reveal a streak of radical anti-colonial sentiment within postwar Australia.

Several historians have begun to evaluate the BCOF deployment. What was once the 'Forgotten Force' has recently been the subject of extensive analysis by James Wood, Carolyne Carter, Christine de Matos and Robin Gerster.[4] Following the American historian John Dower's influential interpretation of the Occupation of Japan, all these works have highlighted the neocolonial meanings of this deployment.[5] As with other military histories, however, much of this analysis is strictly focussed on the deployment, without significant attention to how the neocolonialism of BCOF fit into broader postwar debates about Australia's role in the region. Such questions are taken up by diplomatic historians, who have traced the postwar Labor government's foreign policies, but, again do so with a specialised political or diplomatic focus.[6] The contrast between the military's neocolonialist project and Labor's internationalist rhetoric is sharpened by an analysis of postwar anti-colonial activists. Although steps towards a biographical study of Molly Bondan and Herb Feith have been taken, no critical historical analysis has probed either their place, or that of the Volunteer Graduate Scheme (VGS), within the discursive upheavals of the postwar period.[7] An exploration of the use of travel as a political tool in the postwar period has similarly been neglected.

By revealing the coexistence of two opposing ideologies, this chapter points the complexity of Australian discourses about Otherness. It also explores the complexity of discussions about colonialism, and Australia's proper role in Asia, in the postwar period. Finally, by following two groups of expatriates to Asia, this chapter reveals how ideas about the postwar order, and what Australia's role in that order was to be, were embodied in and negotiated through the act of travel.

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[4] James Wood, *The Forgotten Force: The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952* (St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1998); Carolyne Carter, "Between War and Peace: The Experience of Occupation for Members of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force, 1945-1952" (PhD thesis submitted to the Australian Defence Force Academy/ University of New South Wales, 2002); Christine de Matos, "A Very Gendered Occupation: Australian Women as 'Conquerors' and 'Liberators'," Unpublished paper presented at the Faculty of Arts, University of Wollongong, 2007; Robin Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine: Australia and the Occupation of Japan* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2008).

[5] John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999).

[6] See, among others, Neville Meaney, "Australia, the Great Powers and the Coming of the Cold War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 38, no. 3 (1992), pp. 316 - 33; Hudson, *Australia and the New World Order*; Christopher Waters, "War, Decolonisation and Postwar Security," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia*, ed. David Goldsworthy (Carlton South, Vic: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade/ Melbourne University Press, 2001).

[7] A biography of Bondan has been self-published by Joan Hardjono and Charles Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation: Molly Bondan and Indonesia* (Picton, NSW: Charles Warner, 1995). A biography of Feith is currently being researched by Jemma Purdey. See Purdey, "Morally Engaged: Herb Feith and the Study of Indonesia" (paper presented at the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne, 1-3 July 2008). The VGS was described early in Ivan Southall, *Indonesia Face to Face* (Melbourne: Landsdowne Press, 1964) however no historical work on the Scheme has been done.

Performing the overthrow of Japanese power

With the Japanese surrender of August 1945, the period of Japanese dominance over Australian bodies came to an end. In the weeks they spent waiting to be repatriated, many prisoners of war who had been held captive in Japan performed the overthrow of Japanese power. Upon release from hard labour at a Japanese coal mine, Ray Parkin was overcome by a giddy feeling of power, and a desire to imprint this newly-found power onto the Japanese who had kept him captive. One common activity saw former prisoners confiscate Japanese officers' swords, as personal symbols of surrender.[8] Once they had exhausted local supplies, one group of former prisoners proceeded to hold up trains, systematically confiscating the swords of every soldier on board.[9] Others marched into Japanese homes at random, demanding food and hospitality from residents within.[10] Others still requisitioned cars and trucks, and embarked on macabre 'sightseeing' tours of a Japan brought low by the war.[11] Some former prisoners recognised they now had the power to indulge their every whim, and many were inclined to exercise this power after years of captivity. Kenneth Harrison remembered five of his fellow ex-prisoners deciding that 'they had always wanted to rob a bank and...there was no time like the present.'[12] Another ex-P.O.W. also decided to rob a bank, and gang-pressed several Japanese to help him do it.[13] Other former prisoners turned their resentment directly at Japanese bodies. Parkin remembered groups of drunken ex-prisoners heading to town to 'stir some of these bastards up.' Their outing climaxed in the brutal bashing of an elderly Japanese man, who later succumbed to his injuries.[14] Japanese historian Yuki Tanaka recounts a further story of former prisoners who, drunk on power as well as alcohol, forced three prostitutes to accompany them to their Kyoto hotel, yelling 'Japan lost the war and your police have no power at all!' Once at their hotel, the women were gang raped by several Australians.[15] Clearly, the Japanese surrender was keenly felt by former prisoners, many of whom spontaneously set out to imprint their newly-regained power on their former captors, in a variety of ways.

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[8] Hank Nelson, "'The Nips Are Going for the Parker': The Prisoners Face Freedom," *War & Society* 3, no. 2 (1985), pp. 135-6; Kenneth Harrison, *Road to Hiroshima* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1983), pp. 258-9; Roy Whitecross, *Slaves of the Son of Heaven* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 2000 (1951)), p. 251.

[9] Harrison, *Road to Hiroshima*, pp. 258-9.

[10] Ray Parkin, *Ray Parkin's Wartime Trilogy* (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1999), p. 895.

[11] Hugh V. Clarke, "Of Elephants and Men," in *The Burma-Thailand Railway: Memory and History*, eds. Gavan McCormack and Hank Nelson (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), pp. 37-44., p. 121; Nelson, "'the Nips Are Going for the Parker': The Prisoners Face Freedom," p. 136.

[12] Harrison, *Road to Hiroshima*, p. 268. The same story is recounted in Clarke, "Of Elephants and Men," p. 122.

[13] Nelson, "'The Nips Are Going for the Parker': The Prisoners Face Freedom," p. 135 – 136.

[14] Parkin, *Ray Parkin's Wartime Trilogy*, pp. 917-8.

[15] Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 149.

A similar performance of Australian power was also enacted by the troops and war correspondents who arrived in Japan to witness the official surrender on 2 September 1945. Like the former prisoners, they too boldly pushed their way around Japan, demanding the fulfilment of their every whim. The sense of dominance is evident in the memoir of ABC war correspondent Frank Legg. Among other vignettes, Legg proudly recounted how his group, including the *Argus*'s George Johnston, insisted on entering the Japanese Diet armed, despite direct instructions otherwise.[16] The performance of Australian power was also enacted by Legg's group physically moving Japanese out of crowded trains, so that they could ride around Tokyo in comfort.[17]

Even at this early stage, some Australians conceived of their new-found power in colonial terms. Suddenly wealthy following American airdrops of food and supplies, many former prisoners employed Japanese as servants, enjoying the reversal of fortunes that this relationship symbolised. Although the idea of having Japanese work for them could be comforting after a long captivity, the widespread application of colonial images suggests that some soldiers also conceived of their new dominance as a return to a longstanding colonial order. Kenneth Harrison, for one, imagined his power through a colonial model, evoking his interactions with Japanese as a form of 'imperial patronage.'[18] With the Japanese again toiling for white masters, Harrison imagined that 'the wheel had come full circle.'[19] Of course, the Japanese had never been formally colonised; and certainly not by Australians. Rather than coming full circle, these attempts to impose a colonial culture on postwar Japan were entirely novel, and indeed suggested a new conception of the postwar world, in which Australia would take on the role of coloniser in Asia for the first time.

A 'neocolonial revolution'

Former prisoners of war were not the only ones to read the Japanese surrender through a colonial lens. As Burke has shown, 'many Australians drew from the war a sense of unique moral injury.'[20] This sense of injury led to demands of a punitive peace, and a program of Western (and preferably, Australian) domination to ensure Japan could never again threaten Australia's

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[16] Frank Legg, *War Correspondent* (Adelaide: Rigby Limited, 1964), p. 262.
[17] Ibid., pp. 259-261,, John Balfe, *...And Far from Home: Flying RAAF Transports in the Pacific War and After* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1985) p. 103.
[18] Harrison, *Road to Hiroshima*, p. 258.
[19] Ibid., p. 256-9.
[20] Burke, *Fear of Security*, p. 81.

security. Australia was the most aggressive party at the peace settlement.[21] While Australia expressed its demands in the most aggressive terms, its desire to subjugate Japan were not far out of step with other Allies. The United States also wanted a long-lasting occupation, in order to restructure Japanese society to Western demands. For seven years following the surrender, the United States took complete control of Japan, restructuring its political and economic systems to echo its own democratic and free-market values. To effect these large-scale changes, the Americans seized Japanese land and assets, and interfered in every element of the nation's government. Historian John Dower has termed this occupation a 'neocolonial revolution,' and argued that it represented 'the last immodest exercise in the colonial conceit known as the "white man's burden."'[22]

Although the Occupation of Japan functioned along colonial lines, it was not an extension of the pre-war colonial system. Most obviously, rather than the major pre-war colonial powers (who had all been weakened by the war in Europe) it was the emerging superpower, the United States, who assumed the role of coloniser. America's style of colonisation was very different to that known in pre-war Asia. The United States had long positioned itself as a champion of national sovereignty. In addition to its leading role in the formation of both the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations, the United States had also signalled its intention to grant its largest colonial holding, the Philippines, early independence. After the war, the imperial model favoured by the Americans would be less interventionist (although no less effective) than the pre-war model favoured by the British, Dutch and French. Rather than an overt political colonisation underpinned by military might, the United States conceived of a neo-colonial order in a postwar world which was carved into spheres of economic and political influence.[23] The nature of the colonised had changed, too. Japan had never been colonised in the pre-war period; indeed, a stock image had positioned the Japanese as the 'British of Asia,' and therefore akin to the colonisers, rather than the colonised.[24] Although wartime propaganda had focussed on the racial differences (and supposed inferiorities) of the Japanese, the rapid spread of the Pan-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and the imprinting of Japanese power onto Australian prisoners' bodies, complicated easy racial and colonial hierarchies. The postwar Occupation of Japan was not a facsimile of pre-war colonialism, but was a different beast altogether.

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[21] Waters, "War, Decolonisation and Postwar Security," pp. 112-117. See also William Macmahon Ball, *Japan: Enemy or Ally?* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1948), p. 12.

[22] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 23, 203.

[23] For a further discussion of the style of American imperialism in the postwar period, see Sidney Lens, *The Forging of the American Empire: From the Revolution to Vietnam: A History of U.S. Imperialism*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2003), pp. 326-394.

[24] For usage of the 'British of Asia,' see David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850 - 1939* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), pp. 52-67.

Nonetheless, the leaders of the United States forces self-consciously borrowed from pre-war models of colonial culture to frame their occupation of Japan. As historian John Dower has noted, the Occupation's Supreme Commander, General Douglas Macarthur, was an admirer of the old colonial style.[25] In annexing parts of Tokyo (which became known as 'Little America') for the exclusive use of the Occupation Forces, in his refusal to meet Japanese on a premise of equality, and in the strict controls he maintained over every element of Japanese political, economic and civilian life, Macarthur consciously crafted a new type of colonial culture in occupied Japan. According to Dower, 'democratic aspirations became entangled with colonial mentalities in unexpected, not to say unprecedented ways,' so that, while putatively introducing the Japanese people to democracy, Macarthur also 'reigned as a minor potentate in his Far Eastern domain.'[26]

Colonial associations were also crafted by the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF), which assisted the United States in its Occupation. Composed of British, Indian, Australian and New Zealand troops, BCOF was overtly identified with the British Empire, and symbolised the continuation of its established colonial culture.[27] Upon arrival, BCOF troops were informed that they were in Japan not as representatives of their individual nations, but of the Empire as a whole, and they were to enforce the defeat of an enemy who jad 'caused deep suffering and loss in many thousands of homes throughout the British Empire.'[28] Early media reporting also highlighted the imperial unity, with the *Australian Women's Weekly*, for example, casually referring to BCOF as 'Empire troops.'[29]

Yet, the changed context of postwar Asia disallowed the simple continuation of a pre-war colonial culture. Despite the military leadership's rhetoric, BCOF was never a unified force symbolising the strength and tradition of the British Empire. As Robin Gerster has shown, deep rifts corroded relations between the four Commonwealth partners from the very beginning.[30] The three Commanders-in-Chief of BCOF, General John Northcott and Lieutenant-Generals Horace Robertson and William Bridgeford were all Australian; further, Australia's eagerness to be recognised as a 'party principle,' accompanied by the noticeably flagging enthusiasm of the

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[25] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 222-3.
[26] Ibid., pp. 73, 79.
[27] Peter Bates, *Japan and the British Commonwealth Occupation Force 1946-52* (London: Brassey's, 1993), p. 131.
[28] 'Personal instruction from Lt-Gen John Northcott, Commander-in-Chief BCOF,' cited in Carter, "Between War and Peace," p. 247.
[29] Mary Coles, 'To command Empire troops in Japan,' *Australian Women's Weekly*, 4 May 1946, p. 18.
[30] Robin Gerster, "Six Inch Rule: Revisiting the Australian Occupation of Japan, 1946-1952," *History Australia* 4, no. 2 (2007), pp. 42.3-42.4.

United Kingdom and New Zealand, problematised any show of Empire unity.[31] Apart from conflicts about status and power, BCOF included Indian troops at the very time when India's anti-Empire sentiment was at its strongest. This situation came to a head after India's declaration of independence in 1947 resulted in the immediate recall of the Indian contingent.[32] The departure of the Indian forces exacerbated the further crumbling of Empire unity. British and New Zealand forces were demobilised soon after the Indian departure, leaving a British Commonwealth force that was composed entirely of Australians from 1948. After this time, BCOF had few direct links with the colonial culture of the pre-war era.

Creating a colonial culture

As Nicholas Thomas reminds us, colonial discourses and cultures varied between and across every colonial context, determined by different understandings of the purpose and modes of colonialism.[33] Thomas' remarks are particularly apt in the context of postwar Japan, which presents a complex case study in colonial policy and ideas. The BCOF administration (and many of its soldiers) attempted to impose a style of colonial culture onto postwar Japan, in an attempt to project Australian power onto Asia. Of course, few Australians had a clear sense of what colonial culture consisted of, or what it looked like. As the previous chapter has shown, few Australians had had direct experiences of empire in the pre-war period, but instead formed their ideas through the popular culture of colonialism. Some of the soldiers participating in the BCOF deployment had served in Papua New Guinea, and so had some experience of a colonial system, albeit one that was undergoing great upheavals during wartime. Further, they were acting as minor powers in an occupation that itself bore a complex relation to colonialism. Yet, believing that Australia had to take a more active role in shaping the political and military state of Asia, many of those involved in BCOF began to shape their behaviour to embody what they conceived of as the 'proper' role of Australia in Asia, as defined by the trope of coloniser.

Like the former prisoners of war discussed at the beginning of this chapter, many Australian soldiers repositioned the Japanese within what they understood to be a colonial framework immediately upon arrival. In a telling use of colonial language, the newssheet of the *Taos Victory*,

[31] James Wood, 'The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952,' *Australian War Memorial*, Australians at War series, http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/BCOF_history.pdf, accessed 20 February 2010.

[32] Indian troops were originally deployed while India was still part of the Empire. After Independence in August 1947, tension between Indians and other BCOF troops developed. The *Canberra Times* reported on 6 October 1947 that Independence had made Indian troops 'very cheeky and arrogant.' For further discussion of the relationship between Australians and Indians in BCOF, see Bates, *Japan and the British Commonwealth Occupation Force 1946-52*, pp. 131-6.

[33] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Ringwood, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1994), pp. 11-32.

which carried troops towards Japan, informed soldiers that the Japanese were 'essentially native' people.[34] ABC correspondent Frank Legg, who reported on the Japanese surrender and the BCOF deployment, was fixated on the physical and cultural inferiority of the Japanese, especially in comparison to Australians. From Yokohama, Legg reported that the Japanese were 'a rabble …undersized, ill-clad little figures,' more 'like defiant boys' than a proud, independent people: in all, 'insignificant.'[35] The motif recurred throughout BCOF's deployment. In his study of Australians in Japan, Robin Gerster has found that many soldiers considered the Japanese as 'small weak objects' or 'little Nips.'[36] Again, Australians were not alone in their patronising descriptions, and their imposition of colonial terms of reference fit into a broader American pattern. Supreme Commander of the Occupation, General Douglas MacArthur, for example, claimed that the Japanese were like 'a boy of twelve,' compared with 'our development of forty-five years.'[37]

Aligning their project with colonial mores, Australian policies were formulated with an eye to maintaining 'prestige.' Upon arriving in Japan, soldiers received a booklet outlining the 'Objects and Role of the BCOF,' which explained that a central reason for their deployment was to 'maintain and enhance British Commonwealth prestige.[38] Australians were particularly eager in their demonstrations of prestige, developing complex 'showing the flag' ceremonies which involved parading 'at every opportunity.'[39] Parades involved columns of soldiers marching through the centre of Japanese towns, in full formation and with bayonets fixed, on a regular basis; complex massed flights of the Air Force contingent also demonstrated Australian prestige in the skies. Although these ceremonies took up a great deal of the deployment's time and required much effort, they had no direct purpose other than 'as a reminder to the Japanese of the formal nature of the occupation,' and the authority held by BCOF.[40]

Although they were charged primarily with demilitarisation of the Japanese forces, BCOF also sought, and was granted, some direct authority over the civilian population. The Japanese police force retained domestic policing duties throughout the Occupation, but BCOF voluntarily took on some policing roles, especially with regards to the burgeoning rates of black marketeering and venereal disease. In both these roles, Australians made enthusiastic use of their authority over Japanese bodies. As a means of preventing venereal disease, Australian troops

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[34] Cited in Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine*, p. 57.
[35] Legg, *War Correspondent*, p. 250.
[36] Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine*, pp. 13, 15.
[37] Cited in Ibid., p. 31.
[38] Cited in Wood, *The Forgotten Force*, p. 68.
[39] James Wood, 'The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952,' *Australian War Memorial*, Australians at War series, http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/BCOF_history.pdf, accessed 20 February 2010.
[40] Wood, *The Forgotten Force*, pp. 64-6.

indiscriminately rounded up Japanese women, whom they forced to undergo invasive health checks. Those found to be infected were forcibly hospitalised or even imprisoned.[41] A similar willingness to enact Australian dominance over the Japanese population is evident in BCOF's policing of the black market. Despite the fact that black market trading flourished among its own troops, BCOF focussed its policing efforts on routine and arbitrary searches of Japanese civilians. Analysing these policies, Carter has argued that Australia's assumption of policing duties was aimed less at achieving results, than demonstrating BCOF's authority over the local people.[42]

The official policies were enthusiastically enforced by many individual soldiers. Positioning Australia as a colonial force, the leadership of BCOF also demanded that the Japanese enact their subaltern status by treating soldiers with deference. Official policy advised soldiers to maintain a 'correct' order by ensuring that all Japanese bow down and address them as 'sir' at every contact.[43] The BCOF command also decreed that Japanese pedestrians had to make way for all Occupation personnel on the roads. Australian drivers made full and conspicuous use of this decree, often displaying what Carolyne Carter has termed an 'arrogant and overbearing attitude' on the roads, which was 'at times coupled with disregard for the personal wellbeing of Japanese civilians.'[44] Many soldiers took eager advantage of their new powers by employing them with impunity. Not long after their deployment, Australian troops had come to the attention of the Commander-in-Chief for their 'deliberately arrogant and bullying attitude towards the Japanese civil population,' which, some feared, threatened rather than raised Australian prestige.[45] Like the former prisoners of war, many Australians serving in the BCOF deployment relished their newly-found power over the Japanese, and sought to enact it at every opportunity.

The colonial mood was also appropriated into the most intimate spheres of individual soldiers' lives, as BCOF leaders attempted to implement what they imagined to be a colonial culture in Japan. For the first (and to this day, only) time, many Australian soldiers deployed in Japan were accompanied by their wives and children. Special accommodation was constructed to suit the needs of settled family life, with single-occupancy homes purpose-built before the first group of dependants arrived in 1947. The presence of nearly 500 wives and some 600 children, living in suburban-style homes, lent a sense of permanence to the Australian deployment. It also approached what many Australians imagined was a colonial style of military occupation.

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[41] Carter, "Between War and Peace," pp. 172-4.
[42] Ibid., p. 189.
[43] Ibid., p. 305.
[44] Ibid., p. 285.
[45] Ibid., p. 289.

Inspecting the Australian deployment, the popular writer Frank Clune compared the settlement to a British garrison at the highpoint of the Raj.[46] In doing so, Clune symbolically repositioned the heart of the British Empire, moving it away from India (where it had so recently been overthrown), and onto a new acquisition: Japan. He also positioned Australians at the heart of this new Imperial project.

The Australian BCOF deployment employed many other trappings of colonial culture. During their deployment, all officers and many lower ranks enjoyed the labour of Japanese 'housegirls' and 'houseboys,' who looked after the cooking, cleaning and other domestic chores. Most officers, or lower ranks with children, had had more than one servant.[47] The exercise of power over servants was particularly significant for the women who accompanied the BCOF deployment, and encouraged them to conceive of themselves in a colonial mode. As Christine de Matos has noted, 'Australian women used the language of colonialism/imperialism to create and reinforce their privileged status,' a usage which was encouraged by their interactions with servants.[48] The colonial culture built by the BCOF leadership was therefore performed by most soldiers, their wives and even their children, during their deployment in Japan.[49]

The power exercised over Japanese servants was represented to a broader audience in some sympathetic media reports. One 1946 article in the *Australian Women's Weekly* took readers through the home of a Air Vice-Marshal, which had been requisitioned from a Japanese viscount to make way for the BCOF deployment. A substantial part of the article focussed on the labour performed by 'domestic staff in kimonos.' The four accompanying photographs sharpened this focus, depicting the Air Vice-Marshal being served by 'three Japanese housegirls,' who, it was explained 'bow low' whenever in his presence, and even tied the Air Vice-Marshal's shoes for him.[50] The focus on the deference with which Japanese servants treated BCOF troops represented the culture of the Occupying forces as a colonial one, to readers back in Australia.

Following a colonial model, Australian military leaders soon came to consider privilege and luxury an essential element of the BCOF deployment. Ignoring the fact that most soldiers could not aspire to such levels of comfort back home, their primary aim was to project an image of prestige to local observers. Thus, BCOF soon requisitioned several first-class hotels for use by soldiers on rest and recreation leave. By February 1947, the Australian leadership had taken

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[46] Frank Clune, *Ashes of Hiroshima* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950), p. 56.
[47] Carter, "Between War and Peace," p. 253; de Matos, "A Very Gendered Occupation," p. 6.
[48] de Matos, "A Very Gendered Occupation," p. 2.
[49] Gerster notes that even the 'BCOF kids' leveraged their power over servants and other Japanese civilians. See Gerster, "Six Inch Rule," p. 42.7.
[50] Dorothy Drain, 'Air Force officers live in Jap viscount's house: Domestic staff in kimonos,' *Australian Women's Weekly*, 18 May 1946, p. 17.

command of fourteen hotels, including the luxurious Kawana Hotel, and soldiers on leave from active duty soon found that 'mind-boggling amenities...could be enjoyed for a pittance.'[51] The requisition of colonial-style infrastructure encouraged the overt performance of (what soldiers imagined to be) colonial culture. As Robin Gerster has discovered, some of these performances pivoted on old clichés of the Raj, so that BCOF ensured that the Kawana's shelves were well stocked with Pimm's, a drink holding 'connotations of ruling class pretensions.'[52] Encouraged by a rarefied air of luxury enabled by an army of Japanese servants, Australians on leave at the Kawana performed a pantomime of colonial behaviour, as imbibed through the popular culture of empire.

While this example of the Australians' self-conscious playing at colonial culture was relatively benign, other BCOF policies had more divisive effects. Perhaps the most stringently colonial element of the deployment was its non-fraternisation policy, which enforced a strict cleavage between Australian and Japanese lives. In an attempt to limit contact and so maintain prestige amongst the local population, Australians were prohibited from entering all restaurants, bars, cabarets and cafes, as well as cinemas, theatres, Geisha houses, public baths and private homes.[53] A further directive entreated troops to be 'strictly correct and coldly polite' with the local population, and prohibited them from encouraging a sense of equality by shaking hands with even the most senior Japanese.[54] By limiting social contact with the local population, the BCOF authorities sought to limit the threat of intimacy, which could render BCOF's institution of a colonial order unsuccessful. As Ann Laura Stoler has shown, affective unions were recognised as blurring the boundaries between coloniser and colonised.[55] In this way, the non-fraternisation rule took its tone from regulations of sexual and personal contacts in colonial contexts, including the White Woman's Protection Ordinance in Papua New Guinea.[56]

Affective ties

While official policy sought to impose a form of colonial culture onto postwar Japan, individual soldiers and their families found the lived experience of Occupation more complex. Early in their deployment, many members of BCOF shied away from social contact with the

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[51] Gerster, "Six Inch Rule," p. 42.1.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Carter, "Between War and Peace," p. 229.
[54] Ibid., p. 243.
[55] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 85-96.
[56] For the controls placed on sexual and personal contacts between races in colonial context, and their formative role in the regulation of Empire, see Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (1989), pp. 634-60; and Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.

Japanese. However, as the deployment stretched from months to years, a number of Australians began to form a variety of personal relationships with Japanese civilians. Although it is impossible to plot the extent of this affective shift, it is evident that at least some Australians abandoned the colonial frames through which they had initially understood their deployment, to negotiate more complex relationships with Japanese. James Wood has argued that 'in effect BCOF troops were breaking the non-fraternisation rules all the time.'[57] These ranged from casual acquaintances with work colleagues and domestic servants, through to deep and lasting friendships. Similarly, Australians formed many types of sexual relationships with Japanese women, ranging from casual, drunken encounters with prostitutes through to long-lasting, monogamous unions leading to marriage. As they came to know the Japanese, the Army's non-fraternisation policy came to appear short-sighted and crude, and some soldiers fought the regulations which prohibited social contact with the Japanese. In some cases, their flouting of orders took on a formal nature. Most notable was the organised campaign to overturn the regulations that prohibited their marrying Japanese women, which was fought for many years, with eventual success.[58] Despite official attempts to separate them, then, many Australians experienced a deep engagement with the Japanese.[59]

Although these relationships complicated the bank of contact between Australians and Asians, they were not always well-received back in Australia. The climate of bitterness towards the Japanese was particularly strong in the immediate postwar years. As Chapter 1 has shown, this bitterness was stoked by the release of several high-profile memoirs by former prisoners of war, detailing Japanese brutalities. The war crimes tribunals of the late 1940s further inflamed anti-Japanese sentiment, ensuring that rumours about fraternisation between Australians and Japanese were not received positively. In this domestic context, consistent rumours of fraternisation, which appeared to be confirmed by an extremely high VD rate among Australians, rendered the BCOF contingent unpopular.[60] Applying the colonial model to Australian relations with Japan, a 1946 report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* argued that 'such behaviour damages prestige,' and that, rather than encouraging friendliness, Australian soldiers 'can, and should,

[57] James Wood, 'The Australian Military Contribution to the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952,' *Australian War Memorial*, Australians at War series, http://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/BCOF_history.pdf, accessed 20 February 2010.
[58] Keiko Tamura has estimated that 650 Japanese wives and fiancées finally came to Australia after the immigration restrictions had been relaxed in 1952, however an unspecified number of relationships did not survive the administrative hardships. See Keiko Tamura, "Home Away from Home: The Entry of Japanese War Brides into Australia," in *Relationships: Japan and Australia*, ed. Paul Jones and Vera Mackie (Parkville: Department of History, University of Melbourne, 2001), p. 241.
[59] Carter, "Between War and Peace."
[60] Although the exact figures of VD incidence are impossible to determine, most historians agree with Peter Bates that it was 'an extremely high rate.' Bates, *Japan and the British Commonwealth Occupation Force*, pp. 103-4. For media reaction, see Wood, *The Forgotten Force*, pp. 69, 99-103.

command respect.'[61] In response to the negative reports, BCOF orchestrated a publicity campaign which sought to underline the fact that, far from encouraging equality, the Australian deployment in Japan was in fact constructing a colonial order in postwar Japan. As part of this, several high profile Australian writers and journalists – including Frank Clune – reported that Australians were maintaining firm discipline, and conducted themselves in a colonial style. Clune approvingly quoted a RAAF Sergeant who stated that 'It's their turn to cop it now...We don't fraternize with....the bastards.'[62] Clune also consciously portrayed BCOF as a colonial enterprise, referring to it as the 'British Empire – sorry, Commonwealth, Occupation Force.'[63]

The shift in some soldiers' attitudes, from disdain and a colonial conception of the Japanese as a subaltern Other, to a range of personal engagements, marked a significant change. As the *Sunday Herald* reported in 1952, some of the BCOF soldiers returned with hopes for a broader change in Australian attitudes towards Asia, including at official levels. The article cited the example of a Presbyterian padre who had been in Japan for much of the Occupation. During his time in Japan, the padre had found 'that the Japanese at home are people much like ourselves,' and, as a result, had come to rethink his antipathy towards them. Now returning to Australia, he deplored the tone of bitterness back at home. Despite their recent dark history, he now believed that 'Australia and Japan should try to become friends.'[64] De Matos notes a similar shift in the attitudes of some BCOF women, who returned to Australia determined to foster a more positive attitude towards the Japanese.[65] As the headline of the *Sunday Herald* report warned, Australians at home had to prepare themselves for the fact that 'our soldiers like the Japanese.[66]

In such ways, Gerster has argued, the personal encounters of BCOF troops 'disturbed the settled and complacent attitudes [some] Australians took to Japan.'[67] The personal experience of the Occupation of Japan did complicate the bank of rumours about Japan. As the next chapter goes on to show, a broader engagement with Japan developed through tourism and trade relations in the 1950s.[68] However, at this point, with memories of the war still fresh, the idea of Australians engaging with the Japanese in anything but a strictly colonial manner repelled many

[61] George Caiger, 'Problems in Japan over 'Fraternising,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 4 April 1946, p. 2.
[62] Clune, *Ashes of Hiroshima* , p. 59. For further discussion of Clune's report on postwar Japan, see Agnieszka Sobocinska, "The Role of the 'Asia-Educator' in the Post-War Period: The Case of Frank Clune'," in *Asia Reconstructed: Proceedings of the 16th Biennial Conference of the ASAA*, ed. Adrian Vickers and Margaret Hanlon (University of Wollongong: http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASAA/biennial-conference/2006/Sobocinska-Agnieszka-ASAA2006.pdf, 2006).
[63] Clune, *Ashes of Hiroshima*, p. 76.
[64] R.T. Foster, 'Our Soldiers Like the Japanese,' *The Sunday Herald*, 20 January 1952, p. 2.
[65] de Matos, "A Very Gendered Occupation: Australian Women as 'Conquerors' and 'Liberators,'" pp. 8-9.
[66] R.T. Foster, 'Our Soldiers Like the Japanese,' *The Sunday Herald*, 20 January 1952, p. 2.
[67] Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine*, p. 250.
[68] Michael S. Molasky makes the point that the Occupation was unrepresentable by the Japanese, too, until censorship restrictions were lifted in 1952. See Molasky, *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 8-12.

Australians, and returned soldiers often found it hard to convey their experiences to others. While some former soldiers decided that they would try to bring their acquaintances around to their view of the Japanese, others preferred to keep their altered views to themselves. As travel writer Colin Simpson reported in 1956, many soldiers found that, when it came to the Japanese, 'you just can't talk to the people at home.'[69]

Thus, despite the great personal epiphanies which friendship with the Japanese could bring, the complex, experiences of BCOF soldiers remained largely unrepresented. The reception of one early exception serves to underline the rule. After several years serving as a BCOF translator in Japan, with close personal contacts fostered through his facility with the Japanese language, Allan S. Clifton had come to like the Japanese. In his memoir, *Time of Fallen Blossoms*, Clifton presented them in a sympathetic way, while also destabilising the colonial fantasies of the BCOF deployment by alleging that Australians were locally regarded as 'barbarians.' Perhaps unsurprisingly, *Time of Fallen Blossoms* caused a scandal upon publication in 1951, and served to discourage any more sympathetic accounts.[70] The negative reception of Clifton's memoir was conditioned by a bitterness which continued to define broader Australian attitudes towards Japan until at least the mid-1950s.[71]

By that time, the Occupation had been wound down, a victim to the growing demands of the Cold War. Increasingly, the Australian presence in Japan acted as a half-way house for troops fighting in the Korean War. The Occupation entered a period of decline from 1952, and the last Australian troops departed in 1956. After the withdrawal of BCOF, few Australians would call for an overtly colonial framework to Australia's relations with Asia. Along with the rise of the Cold War (which imposed its own discursive logic onto Australian-Asian relations), the legitimacy of the colonial system had been questioned during the years of the BCOF deployment. For Australia, much of the renegotiation of colonial ideas took place in discussions about Indonesia, to which this chapter now turns.

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[69] Colin Simpson, *The Country Upstairs* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956), pp. 5-6.
[70] Allan S. Clifton, *Time of Fallen Blossoms* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951). For an account of the scandal, see Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine*, pp. 114-6.
[71] The renegotiation of Australian attitudes towards Japan from the mid-1950s is discussed in Chapter 3.

A whole new world: Indonesia and postwar decolonisation

Before the war, most Australians had only a hazy conception of the situation to Australia's north, informed by images of the exotic Spice Islands on the one hand, and a vague notion that the Dutch were able, benign colonisers on the other.[72] Although the Australian government had never developed strong political or trading links with the Dutch East Indies, it was generally satisfied that a friendly European power was in control.[73] After the Japanese invasion, the Curtin government supported the Dutch, even accommodating the Netherlands Indies government-in-exile in Brisbane. Paradoxically, however, Curtin and Evatt were also strong supporters of the Atlantic Charter, which championed the right of all peoples to self-determination. Thus, while the alliance with the Dutch had been inherited from a long tradition of Australian support for Asian colonialism, the Labor government had begun to support the principle of decolonisation.[74] Then, on Friday, 17 August 1945, the leaders of the Indonesian independence movement, Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta, declared Independence for the Republic of Indonesia. Only a hundred kilometres from the Australian mainland at its nearest point, and the site of some heavy fighting by Australian soldiers during the Pacific War, the events in Indonesia were of obvious importance to Australia.

Labor's uncertain attitude to colonialism was foregrounded in Australia's dealings with Indonesia. As late as 1942, Prime Minister John Curtin had assured the Dutch that Australia would help it reassert its colonial control over Indonesia at war's end. Simultaneously, however, his advisers had begun to reassess the issue, advising Curtin that 'our interests are incompatible with reversion to a colonial system.'[75] Unable to predict developments in postwar Asia, the Labor government charted a middle course throughout the war. Once the war had finished, however, and the Indonesians had declared independence, the ambiguity of the government's policy came to a head

The policy impasse was furthered by the domestic political climate. Although Labor was sympathetic to the Indonesian position, the parliamentary Opposition and the majority of the metropolitan media vehemently opposed Indonesia's independence. Many of their arguments relied on colonial stereotypes of Indonesians as 'natives.' The then Leader of the Opposition,

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[72] Adrian Vickers, "Australian Novels and South-East Asia, 1895 - 1945," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 68-70. The faith in Dutch colonialism is evident in recollections of Justice Richard Kirby of his pre-war image of the Dutch East Indies "A.B.C. Interview with Sir Richard Kirby," (Conducted by Richard Zolla, 1972. National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 202).
[73] Margaret George, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1980), pp. 5-13.
[74] Waters, "War, Decolonisation and Postwar Security."
[75] Bruce to Canberra, 3 December 1943, cited in David Lee, "Indonesia's Independence," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia*, ed. David Goldsworthy (South Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade/Melbourne University Press, 2001), p. 140.

Robert Menzies, argued that Indonesians were not ready for self-government, as 'the truth is that in the Netherlands East Indies, those who, by reason of intellectual development, are fit to cope with the democratic instrument could probably be numbered by hundreds, certainly not by millions.'[76] Opposition parliamentarian Percy Spender also invoked colonial imagery, claiming that Australians should seek the continued involvement of European powers to prevent their becoming merely 'a handful of white people in a coloured sea.'[77] Similar opinions were conveyed by conservative interest groups, who represented Indonesia's uprising as merely a 'hubbub' of 'native' dissatisfaction, which the steady hand of Dutch colonisation would quell.[78]

Indonesia's acknowledged significance to Australia's postwar security meant that the 'problem' of Indonesia was keenly reported in metropolitan newspapers. A Gallup poll in December 1945 suggested that 7 out of every 10 men, and half of all women, followed the news on Indonesia's future.[79] Notably, almost all the coverage portrayed a single viewpoint. The editors of all of Australia's mainstream newspapers backed the Dutch, and like Menzies, painted the Indonesians as irrational 'natives' who were unfit for self-government.[80] Independent nationhood could only come 'to the extent that they were capable of exercising it,' the *Argus* argued, and Indonesian 'hotheads' such as Sukarno were proving themselves incapable of rational conduct.[81] In a similar tone, the *Sydney Morning Herald* categorised factions within the Republican movement by their levels of 'wildness'.[82] In an essay-length report in an influential guide to Australia's *Near North* released in 1948, journalist Alan Dower claimed that the majority of Indonesian activists did not understand what they were fighting for; rather, they were 'fettered minds' who had been hypnotised by the magnetic personalities and 'Oriental indifference to danger' of the Republican movement's leaders.[83] Emotive reports of Nationalist 'terror,' involving brutality against women, children and the elderly, were splashed across the front pages of metropolitan newspapers, where they joined emotive claims that Dutch faced conditions reminiscent of the 'Black Hole of Calcutta.'[84] The mainstream press therefore portrayed an

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[76] Menzies, cited in Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Ltd., 1985), pp. 533-4.
[77] Cited in Waters, "War, Decolonisation and Postwar Security," p. 125.
[78] John Thompson, *Hubbub in Java* (Sydney: Currawong Publishing Company, 1946), p. 10.
[79] Meaney, *Australia and the World*, p. 537.
[80] Prue Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia: War, Journalism and Australia's Neighbours, 1941 - 75* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000), pp. 171-2.
[81] 'British General asks for Dutch policy in NEI,' *The Argus*, 2 October 1945, p. 1; Editorial, 'Justice must be firm,' *The Argus*, 2 November 1945, p. 2.
[82] C. C. Eager, 'Demonstrations by Javanese for Independence,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1945, cited in Meaney, *Australia and the World*, pp. 530-2.
[83] Alan Dower, 'Holland in the Near North: Revolution in Black and White,' in Robert J. Gilmore and Denis Warner, eds., *Near North: Australia and a Thousand Million Neighbours* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1948), pp. 135, 146.
[84] See, for example, 'Javanese village terrorised,' *The Argus*, 19 October 1945, p. 1; Graham Jenkins, "Black Hole of Calcutta' conditions in Java,' *The Argus*, 22 October 1945, p. 1.

Indonesia that required colonial control. In doing so, editors and reporters argued for the continuing applicability of colonialism in postwar Asia.

Wartime experience, postwar rumour

However, for the first time, Australians had a more immediate source of information about Indonesia than the press. As the previous chapter has shown, tens of thousands of Australians served in Asia during the Pacific War. Many of those had been held captive in the Japanese-occupied Netherlands East Indies, where they had personal contact with both Indonesians and Dutch. Most contacts with Indonesians were transitory and largely insignificant, and former captives often remembered them either as the simple 'natives' who went on with their lives outside the fences of internment camps, as light-fingered guards, or as jeering masses who made their humiliation under the Japanese complete. However, some Australians developed deeper contacts, which shaped their understanding of the Indonesian political situation after the war's end. Several Australian prisoners of war escaped from their camps in Malaya, and trained with Communist guerrilla forces. As a result, several soldiers formed a deep political and personal solidarity with the Indonesian cause.[85] Others were surprised and impressed by the level of anti-colonial sentiment among Indonesians, which was usually expressed as an antipathy towards whites.[86] Further, as they walked free, Australian soldiers witnessed the first battles in the fight for Indonesian independence. Seeing the passion with which Indonesians pursued Independence led some to develop a more sustained interest in the progress of their cause.[87]

Upon their return to Australia, many former prisoners felt that they had a personal link to Indonesia, and closely followed developments there. Engagement did not necessarily translate to support for independence, however, and many soldiers retained a faith in colonialism as an appropriate model for postwar developments. Writing to the magazine of the Army Education Service, *Salt*, in late 1945, Army Diver R. Lewis advised a quick return to colonialism, reminding readers that 'it is none of Australia's business what treatment the natives get after the war – it is Holland's concern.'[88] Whilst Lewis' view was supported by the Parliamentary Opposition and the mainstream media, his letter sparked an outpouring of outrage in *Salt*. *Salt*'s international affairs editor, 'O-Pip,' quickly retorted that, 'Far from being no concern of Australia's, the future of Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China and the other SE Asian lands urgently concerns this

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[85] Nelson, "'the Nips Are Going for the Parker': The Prisoners Face Freedom," pp. 137-8.
[86] See Chapter 1 above for a discussion of POWs' reactions to anti-white sentiment in South East Asia.
[87] Nelson, "'the Nips Are Going for the Parker': The Prisoners Face Freedom," pp. 137-8.
[88] Dvr. R. Lewis (NX39104), *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 3, 8 October 1945, p. 50.

Commonwealth and its 7,000,000 people.'[89] A flood of soldiers' submissions agreed, with many expressing sympathy for the Indonesian cause. Letters emphasised the political sophistication of Indonesians, which, they claimed, demonstrated their readiness for self-government.[90] Others argued that Australia had an obligation to Indonesians following their wartime support of many prisoners. Others revealed deeply anti-colonial sentiments, claiming that 'the bill for the Atlantic Charter is being presented. It must be paid in full.'[91] One letter, by Warrant Officer George Steele, argued that '[t]he present intervention against the Indonesian people violates the principles for which so many Australians have given their lives.'[92] Similarly sympathetic letters from Australian soldiers who had served in Indonesia also appeared in the *Australian Women's Weekly*.[93]

Back in Australia, some civilians had also developed significant contacts with Indonesians, and many found their political ideas shaped as a result. The war effort had brought Indonesian merchant sailors and soldiers to Australian ports. Wartime contacts had led the Australian Seamen's Union (ASU) to build a strong relationship with Indonesian workers during the war. Following the declaration of Independence, it transformed its solidarity into a political alliance, and became a major supporter of the Indonesian cause. A Black Ban on all Dutch ships and transports to Indonesia was declared in 1945, eventually affecting 559 Dutch military and transport ships, 30 unions and 1.5 million Australian workers in an action dubbed the Black Armada.[94] In 1947, a group of university students allied to the ASU took the cause to Sydney's streets, protesting the Dutch Police Action in Indonesia.[95] That an Australian union was at the forefront of support for an Asian independence movement shows the extent to which some liberals' attitudes towards Asia had changed during the war. Rather than seeing Asian workers as competitors who could drive down wages, the ASU propounded international co-operation among workers, and considered decolonisation as a corollary of the labour movement.[96]

Yet, support for Indonesian Independence was not necessarily based on a broader anti-racist platform, and often co-existed with support for the White Australia policy. As activist and historian Rupert Lockwood remembered, a strain of thought held that 'that, if Asians could rid

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[89] 'O-Pip looks the world over,' *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 4, 22 October 1945, pp. 18-22; see also letters from Pte. P.L. Smith, QX44886, *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 7, 3 Dec 1945, p. 48; Sgt. H. Pottage, VX139386', *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 8, 17 Dec. 1945, p. 47.
[90] Letters from Pte. N.L. Rosser VX93408, *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 5, 5 Nov 1945, pp. 51-2; WO1 G. Steele, VX101839, *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 5, 5 Nov 1945, p.52.
[91] Letters from Dvr. M. Smith, NX124188, *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 6, 19 Nov 1945, p.51; Sgt. J. Ross, V215939, *Salt*, vol. 11, no. 9, 31 Dec. 1945, p. 48; Cpl. F. G. Lynch, WX38152, *Salt*, Vol. 11, no. 4, 22 October 1945, p. 48.
[92] Letter from WO1 G. Steele, VX101839, *Salt*, Vol. 11, No. 5, 5 Nov. 1945, p. 52.
[93] See for example, 'Letters from Our Boys,' *Australian Women's Weekly*, Vol. 13, no. 12 (1 September 1945), p. 14.
[94] Rupert Lockwood, *Black Armada: Australia and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1942-49* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982).
[95] Ibid., p. 8.
[96] Julia Martinez, "'Coolies' to Comrades: Internationalism between Australian and Asian Seamen," in *Labour and Community: Historical Essays*, ed. Raymond Markey (Wollongong: University of Wollongong Press, 2001), pp. 295-312., p. 295.

themselves of imperial tolls and improve their living standards... they would no longer cast covetous eyes at Australian bounty.'[97] Thus, while support for Indonesian independence was often motivated by liberal internationalist ideals, it could also be predicated on notions of security and self-interest.[98]

In addition to the political relationships with Indonesians developed by the ASU, Jan Lingard has traced a surprisingly broad range of wartime social contact between Indonesians and white Australians.[99] Approximately 6,000 Indonesian soldiers, merchant sailors, and civilian evacuees had been settled in Australia during the early 1940s, and some struck up contacts with locals in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane.[100] The Clayton family in Sydney began inviting an Indonesian sailor, Anton Maramis, to family dinners after an acquaintance was struck at a city hotel.[101] The Healy family of Brisbane became close enough to the Indonesian community to begin a formal course of Malay lessons.[102] Several families organised a system of hospitality and entertainment to ensure that Indonesian visitors were welcomed as valued allies in the war effort, and had a comfortable time while in Australia.[103] Inevitably, close interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the community also led to the development of romantic liaisons. Approximately forty Australian women married Indonesian men during the war, and several couples had children before the end of hostilities.[104]

While many of these contacts were social, political questions regularly arose. Amongst the Indonesian evacuees was a group of political prisoners from the notorious Boven Digul prison in West New Guinea, where they had been imprisoned for actions against Dutch colonialism. Initially interned in Cowra at the request of the Dutch East Indies government-in-exile, most were freed once the Australian authorities were alerted to the fact that they had been imprisoned for political reasons. Mostly radical nationalists, they soon set about spreading their anti-colonial cause in Australia. The former prisoners soon formalised their activities, establishing the Central Committee for Indonesian Independence (CENKIM) in Brisbane, with sub-branches in Sydney and Melbourne. Their passionate activism soon attracted Australian supporters. John Guthrie, a

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[97] Lockwood, *Black Armada*, pp. 11-12.
[98] For a further discussion of the role national security played in Australia's response to Indonesian Independence, see Burke, *Fear of Security*, pp. 91-2.
[99] Jan Lingard, *Refugees and Rebels: Indonesian Exiles in Wartime Australia* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008), esp. pp. 9-59.
[100] This figure is from Herb Feith, "Molly Bondan: Pioneer, Mentor and Role Model," in *Half a Century of Indonesian-Australian Interaction*, ed. Anton Lucas (Adelaide: Department of Asian Studies and Languages, Flinders University of South Australia, 1996), p. 8.
[101] Charlotte Clayton Maramis, *Echoes Book One: Australia and Indonesia* (Self-published, 2006).
[102] Connie Healy, "Recollections of 'the Black Armada' in Brisbane," *The Queensland Journal of Labour History*, no. 2 (2006), pp. 15-27. Before Independence elevated Bahasa Indonesia to the official language, it was generically referred to as 'Malay' in Australia.
[103] Clayton Maramis, *Echoes Book One: Australia and Indonesia*, pp.28-37.
[104] 'Australian Wives of Indonesians', National Archives of Australia (henceforth NAA): A433, 1949/2/4823.

young Melbourne man who had become friendly with a group of Indonesian refugees, soon became involved in CENKIM's political activism.[105] Sydneysider Molly Warner also found herself becoming involved in the Indonesian political cause, after befriending Indonesian sailors.[106] Ettie Menot first fell in love with an Indonesian man, then volunteered her time at CENKIM because 'my husband is going to be an Indonesian, I feel I ought to help.'[107] The wartime presence of Indonesians in Australia, then, had led to a range of contacts between Indonesians and Australia, including some political interaction. Together with the experiences of some soldiers and former prisoners of war in Indonesia, these relationships formed an archive of personal experience which informed postwar attitudes towards Indonesia.

Passive natives or active citizens?

The bank of wartime experiences helped in the development of a new rumour about Indonesia. After their energetic Independence campaigns, both in Indonesia and in Australia, Indonesians could no longer be perceived simply as indolent natives. The shift was so sudden, and so pervasive, that it can be traced in popular representations. Where before the war Frank Clune had depicted the 'natives' as quiet and servile, he represented postwar 'Indonesians' in a very different way.[108] In a postwar travelogue, *High Ho to London*, Clune no longer introduced Indonesians only as servants or waiters, but rather focussed on the nation's political movement. Rather than hinting at the presence of 'silent-footed sarong clad ghosts,' his travelogue allowed Indonesians to speak: indeed, Clune's travelogue included transcribed interviews with political leaders of the Indonesian Republic, including with Prime Minister Sjahrir.[109] Yet, even while perpetuating this discursive shift, Clune was not enthused by the overthrow of colonialism. The same assertiveness that had forced him to recognise that Indonesians were more than 'natives' discomfited him, appearing as the 'fanatical gleam of political ecstasy' by 'trigger-happy Boongs' [110]

Perceptions of Indonesia were changing so completely they demanded a new vocabulary. The changes taking place in Indonesia were typically addressed in the language of sleeping and waking. In *Near North*, journalist Alan Dower interpreted the Independence campaign as

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[105] Lingard, *Refugees and Rebels: Indonesian Exiles in Wartime Australia*, pp. 30-1.
[106] Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*, p. 55.
[107] Ibid., p. 56.
[108] Frank Clune, *To the Isles of Spice: A Vagabond Journey by Air from Botany Bay to Darwin, Bathurst Island, Timor, Java, Borneo, Celebes and French Indo-China* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944); Frank Clune, *High-Ho to London: Incidents and Interviews on a Leisurely Journey by Air from Australia to Britain* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1948), pp. 43, 48-9.
[109] Clune, *To the Isles of Spice*, p. 101; Clune, *High-Ho to London*, pp. 48-9.
[110] Clune, *High-Ho to London*, pp. 48-9; 69, 79.

Indonesia rising from a 'deep sleep.'[111] Where previously Indonesia had been imagined to be

indolent, by 1951, it was regularly being addressed as an area that was not only 'awakening,' but

also 'at our front door.'[112] These discursive shifts about Indonesia took place within broader

changes to the image of Asia as a whole. . As William Macmahon Ball announced in 1949, it was

'infinitely probable that in the decades of the future we shall find ourselves face to face with a

new Asia,' a vast powerful force which would determine Australia's political future.[113] As the

following chapter shows in more depth, the late 1940s and 1950s saw a more sustained

Australian focus on Asia that conceived of the whole region as having recently 'woken up.'

Along with the imagery of awakening, the most popular image was that of Asia as the 'continent

of tomorrow', or the 'world of tomorrow.'[114] Although opinions differed about what role

Australia should take in postwar Asia, it is evident that many Australians seemed to agree that

taking notice of the 'awakening' region had become imperative.

Along with the bank of wartime experience, this changing discourse affected Australian

attitudes towards Indonesia. The government's policy paradox was ended after the Labor

government officially declared its support for the Indonesian Republic in 1947, after which it

became 'the most prominent diplomatic protagonist of the Indonesian republic.'[115] Although the

mainstream press continued to oppose Independence, popular opinion was more evenly divided.

Gallup polls showed a clear preference for Dutch rule in December 1945, but had shifted to

reflect a 'picture of indecision,' split mainly on party lines, by August 1947.[116] By the late 1940s,

popular support began to swing towards Indonesia.[117] Despite a negative media campaign, the

changing rumour of Indonesia had engendered a distinct political effect.

Embodying the postcolonial shift

These changing discourses were enacted by a group of Australians who chose to travel to

Indonesia, in order to support the growth of the independent nation in the postwar period. The

first Australians to expatriate to Indonesia included women who had married Indonesian

evacuees during the war, and their children. At war's end, all Indonesians were deported under

the White Australia Policy, but the Australian government was initially unwilling to allow

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[111] Alan Dower, 'Holland in the Near North: Revolution in Black and White,' in Gilmore and Warner, eds., *Near North*, p. 144.
[112] Editorial, *Argus*, 6 January 1951.
[113] Macmahon Ball, cited in Lee, "Indonesia's Independence," p. 170.
[114] For example, see George Johnston, *Journey through Tomorrow* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire Pty. Ltd., 1947); 'Paul McGuire, 'Our Part in the Empire,' *The Argus*, 1 October 1945, p.2.
[115] George, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 167.
[116] Meaney, *Australia and the World*, pp. 537-9.
[117] Ibid., pp. 537-9.

Australians to expatriate to Indonesia. Despite repeated pleas, the Australian Department of Immigration forbade the departure of Australian war brides until late 1949.[118] This decision was justified on the basis that postwar Indonesia was too dangerous for Australian women; however, it is evident that decisions were underpinned by colonialist discourses, which decreed that white women could not be lowered to 'native' conditions, and associated fears that white women would 'have to live in native quarters in a kampong.'[119] As Minister for Immigration Arthur Calwell decreed, 'life in a native village would be just unthinkable' for Australian women.[120] However, it was only unthinkable for white women: seven 'Australian-born coloured' wives of Indonesians, along with their thirteen children, were allowed to leave for Java alongside their husbands in 1946.[121]

Although affective ties were the most immediate reason underpinning these women's desire to expatriate, some Australian wives of Indonesians were also motivated by the political situation in Indonesia. The most politically active of the Australian war-brides was Molly Warner. Born into a politically radical family, Warner had been avidly opposed to colonialism and racial segregation from an early age. She first began to pay serious attention to the political situation of Indonesia during the Pacific War, and became increasingly set in her anti-colonial views. Warner helped establish the Australia-Indonesia Association in order to increase social and cultural interaction between the two peoples, conceiving this as a first step towards closer relations at war's end. Warner became politically interested in the cause of Independence during her time at the Association, after social meetings with Indonesian radicals introduced her to Indonesia's political situation.[122] Warner was instantly attracted to their cause. As she later put it, 'these Indonesians were not only talking about the kind of society I had always idealised, they were soon in the midst of a revolution to try and get it. I would have been stupid not to have joined in.'[123] Her involvement with the cause led to her meeting political activist Mohammed Bondan, and the pair soon married. After she found out that her husband was to be deported at the end of the war, Molly Bondan persistently lobbied the Immigration authorities to allow her to leave for Indonesia. Apparently because they feared her radical influence as a political agitator in Australia, she was granted an exceptional exit visa in 1947.[124]

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[118] 'Grant of Travel facilities for Indonesia to Australian-born wives (of European race) of Indonesians repatriated to Indonesia', 1/12/49, NAA: A433, 1949/2/4823.
[119] 'Memorandum: Grant of Travel facilities for Indonesia to Australian-born wives (of European race) of Indonesians repatriated to Indonesia', undated, NAA: A433, 1949/2/4823.
[120] Arthur Calwell to E.J. Ward, 18 April 1947, NAA: A433, 1949/2/4823.
[121] 'Australian Wives of Indonesians', NAA: A433, 1949/2/4823.
[122] Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*, p. 21-3.
[123] Ibid., p. 23.
[124] 'Bondan, Mary Allethea,' NAA: A6119/19, 356.

Bondan was not the only Australian with an interest in assisting the postcolonial order in Indonesia. In 1950, university students John Bayly and Alan Hunt met with some Indonesian counterparts while attending an international student conference in India. Interested in the situation in Indonesia, they were soon informed that a its development was hampered by a severe skills shortage, which was made worse by the fact that the nation could not afford the high wages required to attract foreign experts. Sympathetic to the postcolonial cause, and wishing to involve Australians in the development of the newly-independent nations in their region, Bayly and Hunt returned to Australia filled with enthusiasm. With the support of the National Union of Australian University Students, they soon developed a blueprint for a volunteer program, by which Australian graduates would travel to Indonesia, to work within its public service at Indonesian rates of pay. The Volunteer Graduate Scheme (VGS) was born. The first Volunteer Graduate, a young Melbourne University political science graduate, Herb Feith, departed for Jakarta in 1951. Two more volunteers, Gwenda Rodda and Ollie McMichael, followed the next year. The radical scheme continued to attract interest, and within a decade, 35 Australians had travelled to Indonesia under the VGS.

These volunteers and other politically-minded expatriates were motivated and inspired by the new rumour of Indonesia as a politically vital place. They were impressed with the sophistication of Indonesia's political culture. Bondan claimed that 'Indonesians on the average [were] very politically minded,' in fact, 'their political awareness was on a higher average than that of people in many other countries.'[125] Feith was also impressed by the 'high ideals of the revolutionaries,' and the image of a politically vibrant Asian culture attracted him.[126] Further, postwar volunteers were fuelled by strongly anti-colonial beliefs, and an understanding that colonialism was not only political and economic, but also cultural. Colonialism 'basically consists of an attitude,' Bondan wrote in 1958, and 'it is on the basis of that attitude that exploitation, oppression, social ostracism, etc etc are possible.'[127] Recognising that colonialism was perpetuated by social, cultural and corporeal divisions as well as brute military and economic force, Bondan sought to express her anti-colonialism by ridding herself of any trappings of colonial culture. Once in Indonesia, she devoted herself to its political and cultural life, and worked for several government departments, always at local rates of pay. She also carefully structured her life along an Indonesian pattern, by living, eating and behaving in what she conceived of as an Indonesian style. At the same time as the BCOF deployment was attempting to construct a colonial culture in Japan, Bondan was eager to dismantle any sense of difference

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[125] Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*, p. 84, 97.
[126] Southall, *Indonesia Face to Face*, p. 32.
[127] Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*, pp. 173-4.

or superiority between Australians and Asians, in order to develop a distinctly postcolonial culture.

Bondan's views and behaviour influenced the early Volunteer Graduates. Feith began a correspondence with Bondan before his departure for Jakarta, and they remained in close contact for many years. Feith later referred to Bondan as a 'role model,' who 'showed me ways to relate to Indonesians of many kinds.'[128] Through Feith, Bondan's philosophy about postcolonial culture influenced the broader development of the VGS. By the early 1960s, VGS literature claimed that the scheme's primary purpose was 'identification' with Indonesian counterparts, which would help to overthrow the culture of colonialism.[129] While volunteers had to be highly skilled, the Organising Committee believed that 'our most important job...is just to live normally and naturally in the Indonesian world and to make friends, not standing on the sort of superiority ideas which so many of the Western community in Indonesia still practice.'[130] In an early account of the VGS, Ivan Southall enthused that 'since the Indonesian revolution, comparatively few people of Western birth have attained anything approaching 'identification' with the Indonesian way of life,' but the Australians volunteers had begun to overthrow colonialism by living 'on Indonesian terms with the Indonesians themselves.'[131] In the context of decolonisation, such behaviour was overtly political; it represented the polar opposite of the ideology of white man's prestige. This political element was made overt, so that a VGS manifesto claimed that 'by sharing in manual work, washing dishes, splashing down muddy kampong tracks and so on, one is protesting against the perpetuation of hierarchies fostered by feudalism and colonialism.'[132]

Their commitment to living a postcolonial life was particularly significant in the context of postwar Indonesia. Jakarta, in particular, had sustained severe wartime damage, which was only furthered by the long civil war and Dutch Police Actions which ensued after the declaration of independence. Much of Jakarta lay in rubble; electricity supply was haphazard, water shortages were common, and food supplies could not be relied on. A severe housing shortage forced people to share homes with several other families. Other Australian expatriates, including diplomats and journalists, found Indonesia difficult to live in. Arriving as a young diplomat in

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[128] Feith, "Molly Bondan: Pioneer, Mentor and Role Model," pp. 9-10.
[129] Overseas Service Bureau, *Bulletin of Overseas Vacancies* (no. 4, May, 1963), p. 4.
[130] Volunteer Graduate Association for Indonesia, *Living and Working in Indonesia* (Melbourne: Volunteer Graduate Association for Indonesia, 1962), p. 6
[131] Southall, *Indonesia Face to Face,* p. vii.
[132] Volunteer Graduate Association for Indonesia, *Living and Working in Indonesia*, p. 6.

1955, Neil Truscott thought that the 'living conditions were appallingly difficult.'[133] Two years later, his colleague Duncan Campbell agreed that Jakarta was 'a pretty appalling place.'[134] Despite their complaints, Truscott and Campbell lived a life of relative privilege, enjoying lifestyles far above those available to Volunteer Graduates.

Yet such difficulties were attractive to the volunteers, as they made the expression of their postcolonial ideals more overt. Making her way to Jakarta in 1947, Bondan was under no illusions about the discomforts of a city in the midst of a civil war. However, her wish to achieve parity with Indonesians led her to think 'that other people could live there and...I thought I would be able to live too.'[135] Bondan maintained this political desire to live in a postcolonial way throughout her life. Acquaintances with a similar political bent admired her lifestyle of 'austerity and self-denial.'[136] Other volunteers were similarly proud of their austerity, taking their physical discomfort as a symbol of postcolonial cooperation. At its heart, volunteering in Indonesia involved the conscious debunking of colonial culture, by the overt adoption of an Indonesian lifestyle. This involved willingly subjecting the Australian body to discomfort, in order to imprint it with Asian experience. In order to show the extent of their postcolonial enthusiasm, Volunteer Graduates proudly recounted being 'the first Europeans not only to accept but to ask for beds in Indonesian dormitories and places at communal tables,' and were also proud that other expatriates had considered this to be 'an affront to the dignity of the white race.'[137] The postcolonial project depended on the overthrow of such colonial culture, and the Volunteer Graduates enthusiastically imprinted their bodies with postcolonial meanings.

Volunteers' representations and the postcolonial legacy

Many volunteers were successful in their mission to identify with Indonesian society, as they conceived of it. Volunteers regularly extended their period of service beyond the initial two year contract. Affective ties of friendship and romance also convinced some volunteers to stay on long after their posts, and at least four young women from the program's first decade stayed on to make their lives in Indonesia after marrying Indonesian men.[138] Others developed a keen

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[133] "Interview with Neil Truscott" (Conducted by Michael Wilson, 23 March 1994. National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 2981/10).

[134] "Interview with Duncan Campbell" (Conducted by Michael Wilson, 1 February 1994. National Library of Australia: NLA TRC 2981/9).

[135] Cited in Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*, p. 59.

[136] John Legge, in Ibid., pp. ix-x.

[137] Southall, *Indonesia Face to Face*, p. 56.

[138] Volunteer Graduate Association for Indonesia, *An Account of the Scheme and of Life in Indonesia for Volunteer Graduates*, 4th ed. (Melbourne: Volunteer Graduate Association for Indonesia, 1962), pp. 9-10.

interest in elements of Indonesia's cultural or political life, and several formed life-long links to the nation.

Several of the most active postcolonial enthusiasts devoted the rest of their lives to representing a sympathetic view of Indonesia for a broader audience. Living in Indonesia until her death in 1990, Molly Bondan spent her life writing English-language propaganda for Indonesia. During a period as speech-writer for President Sukarno, her words reached millions worldwide. Her coordination of the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung in 1955, alongside Herb Feith, was particularly influential, and the conference has been widely acknowledged as a turning point for the status of newly postcolonial nations in the international system.[139] By helping organise this conference, Bondan and Feith were helping to broadcast the image of Indonesia as a politically mature postcolonial nation. Feith also retained strong links with Indonesia for the rest of his life. His doctoral thesis, published as *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* remains the definitive study of Indonesian politics in the 1950s. Feith also taught on Indonesian politics at Monash University from 1962 until he returned to Indonesia upon his retirement in 1990. Although Feith died in 2001, his estate continues the propagation of information about Indonesia through the Herb Feith Foundation, and the Herb Feith lectures held at Monash University every year.

Other postwar volunteers also publicised a positive view of Indonesia. Several of the most prominent Australian Indonesianists, including Ailsa Zainu'ddin and Jamie Mackie, also began their careers as Volunteer Graduates during the 1950s. Their many books on Indonesian history, politics, culture and food, conveyed the imprint of their postcolonial ideals to a broader readership. Mackie's leading role in the Immigration Reform Group also saw him gain wider renown, and his work with this group has been credited with fostering a movement that ultimately led to the demise of the White Australia policy.[140] Another former Volunteer Graduate who stayed on after marrying a local man, Joan Hardjono (nee Minogue) devoted her life to studying Indonesia, publishing both academic and popular books on the topic.[141] Writer Ivan Southall, who visited Indonesia in 1963, was so impressed with the work of the Volunteer

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[139] For example see J.A.C. Mackie, *Bandung 1955: Non-Alignment and Afro-Asian Solidarity* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2005). For Australia's reaction to the Bandung Conference, see David Walker, "Nervous Outsiders: Australia and the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 125 (2005), pp. 50-59.

[140] Gwenda Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005), pp. 122-8.

[141] Hardjono's academic career involves a specialisation on transmigration in Indonesia. Her works for a broader audience include Jean Hardjono, *Indonesia, Land and People* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1971); Hardjono and Warner, eds., *In Love with a Nation*.

Graduates that he too published a book on the scheme, which represented both the volunteers and Indonesians in a sympathetic way.[142]

Further, this group had a particularly strong influence on the development of volunteering as an organised form of people-to-people contact. The VGS gained the support of both the Australian and Indonesian governments in 1952. From this point on, the Commonwealth Government paid the Volunteer Graduates' travel and establishment costs, while the Indonesian government organised work placements within the public service. The scheme was the first of its kind, and provided a model for the British Volunteer Service Overseas program (inaugurated in 1958) and American Peace Corps (1961), among others. In Australia, the scheme was gradually broadened to include placements throughout Asia, the Pacific and Africa, and changed its name to the Overseas Service Bureau and then Australian Volunteers Abroad, until becoming Australian Volunteers International (AVI) in 1999. Since its inception, the program has deployed over 6000 Australian volunteers to developing nations around the world, with a particular focus on Asia.[143] The VGS/AVI model was also adapted to other government-sponsored volunteering programs, including Volunteers for International Development from Australia, Australian Business Volunteers and Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development. As the earliest example of how volunteering can convey distinct political messages, the VGS was central in the development of volunteering as an action through which Australians and other Westerners could support the development of postcolonial nations.

While the VGS developed as a grassroots organisation, the notion that Australia needed to become better integrated in the development of postcolonial Asia simultaneously received official approbation. After the election of the Coalition Menzies government in 1949, Minister for External Affairs Percy Spender introduced the Colombo Plan as a government-level scheme of development assistance from 1951. Although claiming a similar motivation to assist in international development, the government scheme differed from the VGS in significant ways. Most overtly, the Colombo Plan was not motivated by postcolonial ideals. In his recent study of the policy, Daniel Oakman has suggested that Spender developed the Colombo Plan not out of an enthusiasm for international development, but out of fear. Keeping in mind the axiom that 'no nation can escape its geography,' Spender began to plan for the Colombo Plan in order to neutralise the 'threats that seemed to emanate from Asia,' with the threat of Communism

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[142] Southall, *Indonesia Face to Face.*

[143] Australian Volunteers International, http://www.australianvolunteers.com/index.asp?menuid=100.030; accessed 13 November 2009.

foremost in his mind.[144] The resulting scheme was imprinted with Spender's negative preoccupations. Rather than promoting Australian 'identification' with the people across Asia, the Colombo Plan suggested that Asia needed to learn from Australia, and to strive to become more like the West. The greatest part of the scheme trained of Asian students in Australian universities; a secondary element sent Australian 'experts' for short-term posts in Asia. Early reports which fed into the creation of the scheme suggest that, as well as serving to neutralise the Communist threat, the Colombo Plan was formulated with the hopes that it would fulfil Australia's 'duty to advance the welfare of the native people,' and, as such, can be seen as functioning as an updated version of the White Man's Burden.[145] Thus, rather than aiming at the deconstruction of colonial culture like the VGS, the Colombo Plan was a 'complex mix of self-interest, condescension and humanitarianism.'[146]

Conclusion

The immediate postwar period saw many Australians reconsider their role within Asia. This chapter traced the development of two distinct ideas about how postwar Asia should develop, and the role that Australia should play within the region. The first model, held by the leadership and some soldiers of the BCOF deployment, posited that postwar Asia should continue along a colonial path, with only minor adjustments for the altered colonial style of the United States. The second model, held by a number of radical expatriates and volunteers to Indonesia, posited an opposing view, that the postwar world should see the end of the colonial system, and that Australia should play an instrumental role both in the devolution of colonialism, and in assisting the development of postcolonial nations.

In such a charged discursive context, placing one's body in the contact zones of de/colonisation took on political meanings. By travelling to Japan and Indonesia, Australians situated themselves within broader discussions about colonialism, decolonisation, and the shape of the Australia's relations with Asia. The comfort of soldiers in the BCOF deployment inscribed colonial meanings onto their bodies, which echoed the belief that Australia's role in the region should be that of dominant colonising power (or, at least, assistant to a colonising power). By expatriating to postcolonial Indonesia, and seeking integration into the Indonesian way of life, Volunteer Graduates enacted an alternative view of Australia's place in the postwar world. The

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[144] Daniel Oakman, *Facing Asia: A History of the Colombo Plan* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004), p. 1.
[145] Department of External Relations, cited in Ibid., p. 13.
[146] Ibid., p. 4.

privations they suffered in order to achieve 'identification' with Indonesians imprinted their bodies with distinctly postcolonial meanings.

The contrast between the two modes of travel and experience reveals the simultaneous co-existence of competing discourses about Asia, and about Australia's role in the region, in the postwar period. Despite their dramatic differences, the two phenomena shared one significant trait. Both models of expatriation ascribed political meanings to travel to Asia. Both groups involved themselves in the execution of Australian foreign policy, through the act of travel. By positioning travel as an action through which political views about Australia's policies towards Asia could be enacted, these two groups helped shift the meaning of travel. As the following chapter will show, travel to Asia continued to act as a significant site for political negotiation throughout the next twenty years and more, as the rhetoric of the Cold War began to suffuse leisure travel.

3

Meeting the Neighbours: The Politics and Business of Cold War Travel

The dominant historical interpretation of Australia's role in the Cold War argues that the period was dominated by fear: of Communism, of Asia, and of myriad other threats to the Australian 'way of life.' According to policy historians including T.B. Millar, Neville Meaney, Gregory Pemberton and David Maclean, fear of Asia directed Australia's search for support from its 'great and powerful friends,' Britain and the United States.[1] This view has most recently been restated by Anthony Burke, who argues that the period was dominated by Australia's search for security, especially from Asian communism.[2]

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[1] T.B. Millar, *Australia in Peace and War: External Relations 1788-1977* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), pp. 165-222; Neville Meaney, "Australia, the Great Powers and the Coming of the Cold War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 38, no. 3 (1992), esp. p. 324; Neville Meaney, *Australia's Changing Perception of Asia* (Sydney: The Japan Foundation, 1997), p. 5; Gregory Pemberton, *All the Way: Australia's Road to Vietnam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987); David McLean, "From British Colony to American Satellite? Australia and the USA During the Cold War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 52, no. 1 (2006), pp. 64-79.

[2] Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 96-125.

Similar arguments have dominated cultural histories of the Cold War period. Stephen Alomes, Mark Dober and Donna Hellier have argued that anxiety about Asia led many Australians to isolate themselves in domestic pursuits during the 1950s and into the 1960s.[3] John Chesterman has linked this personal isolationism with a continuing connection to Britishness, which, as Stuart Ward has shown, also dominated the Australian commercial culture.[4] The famously anxious speeches of Robert Menzies, Percy Spender and Arthur Calwell have been accepted as representative of broader thinking about Asia during this period.[5]

However, rather than hiding away from Asia, the Cold War period saw many Australians embark on a determined campaign to come to terms with it. Militarily, Australia participated in several conflicts in Asia, including the Malayan Emergency and Korean War from 1950; and Konfrontasi and the Vietnam War in 1962, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. DFAT's recent publication *Facing North* has argued that the1950s and 1960s saw 'a considerable expansion of positive Australian engagement with the region.'[6] Politically, Australia began to develop increasingly sophisticated diplomatic connections with Asian nations, and became involved in its first regional pact, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty (which became known as SEATO) which included Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan as well as the United States, in 1954. In trade terms, the early 1950s saw Australia shift away from Empire preferences, and towards expanding trade with Asia. Trade with Japan began to grow from the mid-1950s, and became increasingly important after Britain's announcement that it was seeking entry into the European Economic Community in 1961.[7] One year after this announcement, Japan had become Australia's major trading partner.[8] The increasing range of contacts saw Asia had become a favourite topic for discussion and debate across all levels of Australian society. In the context of rising prosperity, the 1950s and 1960s introduced Australians to a new way of knowing Asia, as leisure travel became an increasingly popular activity.

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[3] Stephen Alomes, Mark Dober, and Donna Hellier, "The Social Context of Postwar Conservatism," in *Australia's First Cold War, 1945 - 1953*, ed. Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), pp. 1 - 28.
[4] John Chesterman, "Natural-Born Subjects? Race and British Subjecthood in Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no. 1 (2005), pp. 30-39; Stuart Ward, "Sentiment and Self-Interest: The Imperial Ideal in Anglo-Australian Commercial Culture," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001), pp. 91-108.
[5] For such a treatment see Christopher Waters, "War, Decolonisation and Postwar Security," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia*, vol. 1. ed. David Goldsworthy (Carlton South, Vic: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Melbourne University Press, 2001), pp. 125-6; Alomes, Dober, and Hellier, "The Social Context of Postwar Conservatism.", pp. 8-9; Burke, *Fear of Security* , pp. 96-104.
[6] Peter Gifford, "The Cold War across Asia," in *Facing North*, vol. 1, p. 172.
[7] Roderic Pitty, "The Postwar Expansion of Trade with East Asia," in *Facing North*, vol.1, pp. 257-9.
[8] Ibid.

As White, Pesman and Walker have shown, Australians have long been inveterate travellers, and this is borne out in the growing desire for overseas travel in the postwar period.[9] As early as 1945, the *Australian Women's Weekly* reported that between 8,000 to 9,000 civilians were waiting for a passage to England, despite the high costs of passages resulting from a post-war transport shortage.[10] In 1947, 18,764 Australians departed on short-term visits overseas, such a surge that Australia suffered negative migration in that year.[11] The magazine *Australian Holiday* debuted in 1949, catering to a perceived rush, with 'travellers ... a little uncertain as to whether they're reacting from the curtailments of the last war, or getting in before the next.'[12] Most visits were to the United Kingdom and New Zealand. In 1950, Australians made almost 10,000 short-term trips to the United Kingdom, and a further 11,000 to New Zealand. By 1955, the United Kingdom attracted 15,177 Australians, closely followed by New Zealand with 13,343 visitors.[13] The choice of destination was influenced primarily by sentimental links of culture and family; in the case of New Zealand, its proximity to Australia's east coast rendered it a relatively inexpensive destination. Its government tourism office, the first of its kind in the world, had also promoted New Zealand as a leisure destination for several decades

Asia was not yet perceived as an attractive destination. In 1950, only a trickle of Australians set out for Asia. Five years later, only Singapore and Japan were attracting a significant number of short-term visitors, with 2,598 departures for Singapore and 1,811 to Japan, but these were well below the number travelling to the United Kingdom and New Zealand.[14] From the mid-1950s, the numbers of Australians travelling to Asia did begin to rise, albeit slowly at first. Singapore remained the most popular Asian destination for Australian tourists throughout the Cold War period. By 1960, over 6,000 Australians nominated Singapore as their primary overseas destination, a figure which rose to 11,665 in 1965, and 34,647 on the eve of the tourist boom in 1970.[15] Hong Kong was also a primary Asian destination for Australians. Qantas launched a fortnightly Sydney-Hong Kong flight in 1949, but the number of Australians visiting Hong Kong annually did not pass 1,000 until 1958.[16] Once this figure had been breached, however, the

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[9] Ros Pesman, David Walker, and Richard White, eds., *The Oxford Book of Australian Travel Writing* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[10] 'Hundreds want to go overseas,' *Australian Women's Weekly,* Vol. 13, No. 22 (17 November 1945), p. 20.

[11] *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia,* No. 37 (1946-1947), p. 1293. Short-term is defined as for periods of less than twelve months. This figure excludes the movement of troops during the 1940s.

[12] 'Australians Abroad,' *Australian Holiday,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (April – June 1949), p. 43.

[13] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin,* various issues.

[14] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin,* no. 73.

[15] This boom is the subject of Chapter 7. All figures from Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin,* various editions.

[16] *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia,* No. 38 (1951), pp. 199-200; Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin,* various editions.

growth was rapid: in 1960, 3,292 Australians disembarked in Hong Kong, growing to 7,429 in 1965 and 20,096 in 1970.[17] Japan also attracted Australian tourists, primarily travelling on 'Cherry Blossom' cruises. Apart from these three destinations, however, no Asian nation attracted a significant number of Australians until the late 1960s and early 1970s.[18]
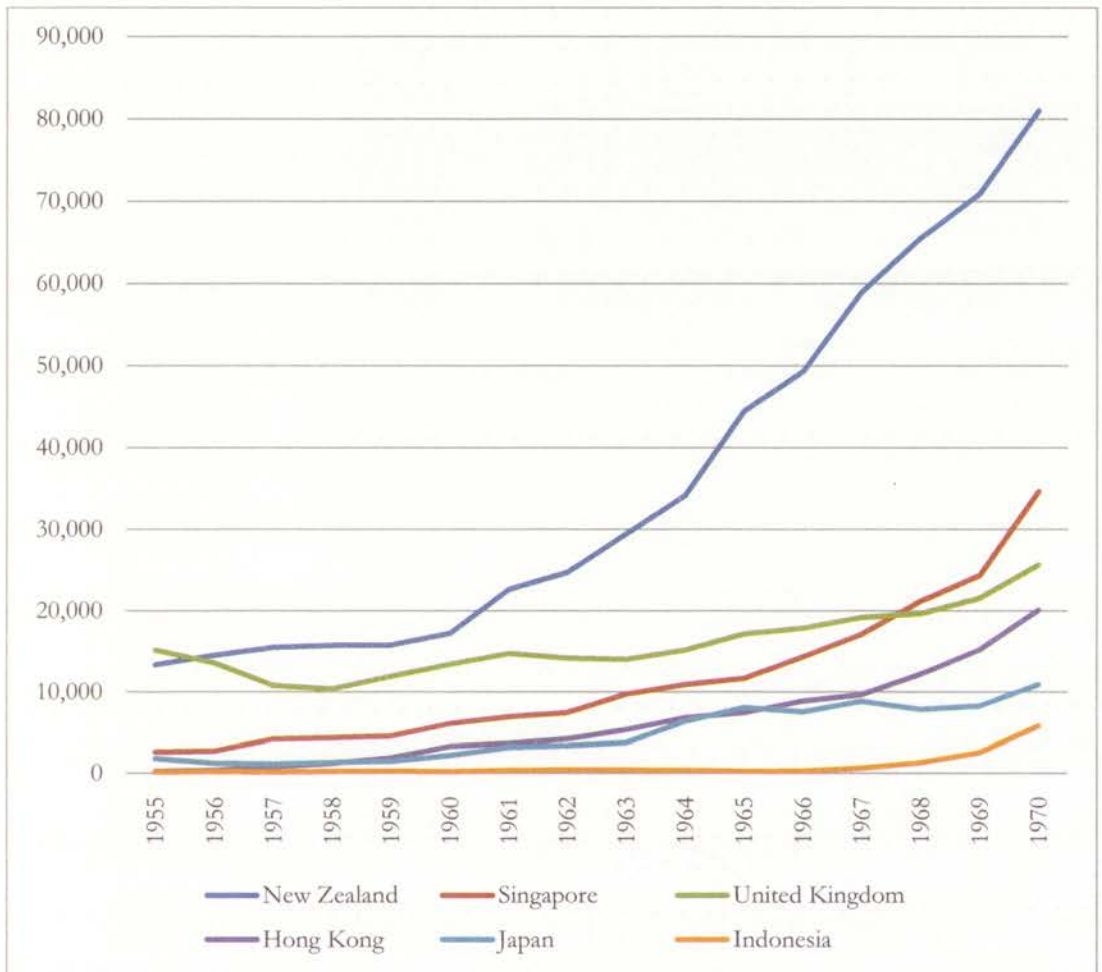
Figure 3.1: Short-term departures to selected destinations, 1955-1970
Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin*, various editions.

The relatively popular destinations of Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan are notable for their close historical ties to the West. Singapore was part of the British Empire until 1963, and Hong Kong remained firmly under British rule until 1997. Although Japan had recently proven itself a vicious enemy, the American and BCOF Occupation, which as the previous chapter has shown had a distinctly colonial character, had brought Japan firmly within the Western fold. Historical ties meant that these destinations were better-known, and seemed more familiar, than the rest of

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[17] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin*, various editions.
[18] Australian travel to Asia during these periods is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Asia. The closer sense of connection also served to make these destinations appear less foreign and less threatening than the rest of Asia. As businessman Alex Horne wrote during an Asian journey in 1947, 'it is comforting,' that Singapore is 'an outpost of the British Empire in the Far East.'[19] It became especially comforting in the context of the anti-Communist propaganda which pervaded Australia during the 1950s, which portrayed China as a frightening enemy, and encouraged fears of this most 'Oriental' foe. [20] In a context of heightened political tensions, Australians preferred to travel to Asian destinations which appeared less menacing. Far from being menacing, Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan were strong ideological allies.

Politics also affected Australian travel to Asia in other ways. Anti-communist wars and insurrections effectively barred travel to a vast swathe of Asia. The Malayan Emergency simmered throughout the 1950s, and less than 2,000 Australians travelled to Malaya (Malaysia from 1957) per year until 1968; a figure that is strikingly low compared to the staggering numbers reached only a few years later.[21] Simmering conflict in Indochina struck the region off mainstream travel itineraries for several decades. Indonesia's increasingly erratic political situation under Sukarno, and the ill-will it began to generate during the West New Guinea dispute, meant that it, too, was not an attractive mainstream destination until the late 1960s; although, as the previous chapter has shown, a small group of anti-colonial enthusiasts did travel to Indonesia throughout this period.[22] China was perhaps the greatest taboo for Australians throughout this period, although, as Chapter 4 outlines, it too attracted a small group of sympathetic travellers.[23]

Increasing economic ties between Australia and Asia had some influence on travel patterns. Developing trade links with East Asia saw companies send executives on business trips from the late 1940s. Initially, business travel restricted to the highest levels. Alex Horne, who made the 1947 journey mentioned above, was the head of a successful glove manufacturer. [24] Another frequent business traveller, Colin Syme (later Sir Colin), was a Director of mining conglomerate

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[19] Alex S. Horne, *I See the World* (Prospect, South Australia: self-published, 1947), p. 4.
[20] Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 125-81.
[21] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin*, various editions. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the travel boom from the early 1970s.
[22] For a full discussion of the development of Bali, see Chapter 7.
[23] The experiences of these travellers are examined in Chapter 4.
[24] Horne, *I See the World*, p. 7.

BHP.[25] Travelling in 1962, William Wade was the part-owner and Managing Director of engineering firm, PWA.[26]

The increasingly powerful tourism industry came to have a much more direct effect on Australian destination choices during the postwar and Cold War periods. Travel to England and Europe, particularly on the Qantas Empire Airways (QEA)/ British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) Kangaroo Route, was enthusiastically promoted throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. As the major stopovers on the Kangaroo Route, Singapore and Ceylon benefited from this promotion. Print advertisements exhorted Australians to fly to England on the 'most colourful route, *via the fascinating East.*'[27] A 1949 article in *Australian Holiday* detailed the 'chain of exciting places in between' Australia and England, 'places that might remain no more than exotic names on a map, were it not for the development of international air services.'[28] Singapore and Ceylon would have also had the significant (but unquantifiable) benefit of word-of-mouth promotion, as those who flew the Kangaroo Route shared their travel stories with friends and family.[29]

Finally, changes in airline technology made Asia an increasingly affordable destination. With the notable exception of Japan, more Australians flew, rather than sailed, to Asia from 1956, two years before the same milestone was reached for all overseas departures.[30] The introduction of jet aircraft in 1959 had a particular impact on Australian travel. By making overseas travel faster and cheaper, this development allowed travellers the opportunity to take short holidays that would previously have been spent in Australia, in Asia. It also allowed those who could not afford the fare to Europe or the United Kingdom the opportunity for international travel.

Nonetheless, Asia did not become a mainstream destination during the 1950s and 1960s. Rates of travel to Asia remained well below those to New Zealand. As this chapter goes on to explain, travel to Asia did become increasingly quotidian during the late 1960s; however, as Chapter 7 shows, it did not become mainstream until the early 1970s.

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[25] 'November – Thursday 7th', 'Diary: Visit Abroad (U.K. & Continent), 24 April to 20 November, 1946, *Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946 – 1985,* National Library of Australia, NLA MS 6498, Box 1.

[26] Edward Duyker, "William Glen Wade (1911-1983): A Biographical Memoir," *Sutherland Shire Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* 2 (1995), pp. 209-13.

[27] Full page advertisement, *Australian Holiday: National Quarterly of travel and touring,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (April – June 1949), p. 19, emphasis as in original.

[28] 'Airlines…Holiday Makers,' *Australian Holiday: National Quarterly of travel and touring,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (April – June 1949), p. 20.

[29] Ibid., p. 22.

[30] All figures from Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletin,* various issues.

Cold War Meanings

As Australians continued to debate their nation's place in a fast-changing world, the increasing bank of personal experience did begin to take on considerable importance. In the context of political upheaval, travel took on increasingly political meanings. The communist victory in China 1949 had brought the Cold War into the forefront of Australia's policies in Asia, a shift which was confirmed by Australia's involvement in anti-communist campaigns in Malaya and Korea. Although Australia's established labour tradition ensured that the Cold War rhetoric did not reach McCarthyist heights, most discussions in the public sphere assumed anti-Communist lines.[31]

However, anti-Communism did not necessarily equate to anti-Asian or isolationist sentiments. Recent scholarship of the Cold War in the United States has found that a perceived need to strengthen the non-Communist nations of Asia instigated an unofficial program of cultural engagement. Christina Klein has found that American cultural producers attempted to facilitate sentimental and emotional engagement between Americans and the people of non-Communist Asia between 1945 and 1961. In sympathetic accounts, they encouraged 'ordinary' Americans to read about, discuss and travel to Asia. In particular, they sought to foster cultural and sentimental ties with Asian peoples. In the long term, they believed, such affective ties would help bind Asia to the non-Communist world.[32] In his work on American travel to France, Christopher Endy has shown that travel and tourism were recognised by the United States government as particularly meaningful sites through which positive American engagement with Cold War allies could be fostered.[33]

A similar process is also evident in Australia. During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of cultural leaders began to exhort Australians to learn about and engage with non-Communist Asia. The shift towards Asia was not entirely novel. Some Australian intellectuals, particularly those associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Australian Institute for International Affairs, had begun to popularise the notion of closer political, economic and cultural engagement with Asia since the 1930s.[34] The postwar period saw political and public

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[31] Ann Curthoys and John Merritt, eds., *Australia's First Cold War, 1945 - 1953*, vol. 1 (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984); Ann Curthoys and John Merritt, eds., *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's First Cold War: 1945 - 1959*, vol. 2 (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

[32] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945 - 1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[33] Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[34] Nicholas Brown, "Australian Intellectuals and the Image of Asia, 1920 - 1960," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), p. 83; David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850 - 1939* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), pp. 210-226.

attention to the importance of Australian relations with Asia. George Johnston explained that he had titled his 1947 account of Asia *Journey through Tomorrow* because, for Australians, 'this great and sprawling continent, more certainly than any other continent, is the continent of tomorrow.'[35] As a result of an awareness of Asia's importance as an ideological battleground, Robin Gerster has identified 'a portentous sense of the importance of Asia...as the region which could determine national destiny.'[36]

The program of Asia-education was attempted on many fronts. Prue Torney-Parlicki has shown that several newspapers and magazines embarked on an overt program to redress Australia's ignorance about Asia in the postwar years.[37] John Legge has traced the rise of academic Asian Studies during the same period.[38] The general public also warmed to Asian topics. Nicholas Brown has claimed that 'the 1950s seems to be a distinct period in terms of the extent and character of community interest in the discussion of foreign affairs.' Brown notes that the focus was so sustained that Japan expert Peter Russo (himself a correspondent for the *Argus*) complained that 'even 'popular magazines' are giving space to the Asia upheaval,' often with little real understanding of the issues.[39] Rather than a period of determined isolation from Asia, the Cold War period saw one of the most widely reaching of what David Walker has identified as periodic rediscoveries of Australia's proximity to Asia.[40]

Travel Writing's Reach

Travel writing played a significant role in raising Australians' awareness of Asia. Travelogues were phenomenally popular in Cold War Australia. Travel writers including Frank Clune and Colin Simpson, Peter Pinney, Malcolm Oram, Peggy Warner and Ronald McKie all wrote Asian travelogues seeking to educate the 'ordinary' Australian about non-Communist Asia. Postwar travel accounts were entertaining and easy to read, but nonetheless presented detailed analyses of Asian politics and culture. Moreover, they were written for a distinctly Australian point of view. As such, they served as accessible forms of knowledge about places which featured heavily in news reports. Their capacity to educate was attractive, but travel writing was also popular as a form of entertainment, functioning as an imaginative substitute for real journeys at a time when

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[35] George Johnston, *Journey through Tomorrow* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire Pty. Ltd., 1947), p. 6.
[36] Robin Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia: An Anthology of Australian Literary Travelling to 'the East'* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 108.
[37] Prue Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia: War, Journalism and Australia's Neighbours, 1941 - 75* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000), p. 110.
[38] John Legge, "Asian Studies from Reconstruction to Deconstruction," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), p. 93.
[39] Brown, "Australian Intellectuals and the Image of Asia, 1920 – 1960," pp. 87, 90.
[40] Walker, *Anxious Nation*, p. 1.

the high cost of travel limited some Australians' access to Asia. Asian travelogues also had an element of novelty that rendered them attractive, and set them apart from the pre-war travelogues, which had mostly focussed on travel to Europe.

Frank Clune published his first Asian travelogue, *Sky High to Shanghai*, in 1938. It proved extremely popular, and soon sold out of its first edition of 10 000 copies, and two subsequent editions of 3,000 copies each. Its popularity encouraged Clune to publish twelve more Asian travelogues, the last of which, *Flight to Formosa*, was released in 1958.[41] Most of these debuted with print runs of 10 000 copies, and several were popular enough to elicit reprinting.[42] While Clune's books sold extremely well, his reach extended far beyond the number of copies sold. In a 1948 digest of information about Asia, journalist E.W. Tipping claimed that 'most of the bigger libraries report that his works usually constitute about fifty percent of the total borrowings from their Australian sections.'[43] If this weren't enough, Clune boasted that 'the thieving Chinese pirated an edition of *Sky High to Shanghai* and flooded the Orient with thousands of copies,' thus further spreading his influence.[44]

While Clune was staggeringly popular, his Asian travelogues formed only a fraction of his corpus, which spanned Australiana, popular history, biography, travelogues of Europe and New Zealand, and autobiography. Not every Clune title was a sales 'bonanza.'[45] His disappointments included *Somewhere in New Guinea*, which was decreed 'a flop' after selling only 7000 of a run of 10 000 copies, and *Hands Across the Pacific,* which sold only 9000 copies out of an edition of 15 000.[46] While travelogues about the Pacific failed to arouse the interest of Clune's readers, however, his Asian travelogues all boasted respectable sales.

Clune's popularity in the non-fiction market was challenged only by Colin Simpson's. Simpson had begun his career writing about Aboriginal and Pacific Island cultures, byt his focus shifted after his first Asian travelogue, *The Country Upstairs*, was published in 1956. It was immensely popular, selling nearly 50,000 copies by 1965, making it the most successful travel book ever published in Australia.[47] Simpson revised and re-released it several times over the next

[41] Frank Clune, *Flight to Formosa* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958). Note that some copies of *Flight to Formosa* were mistakenly inscribed 'first published in 1959.'
[42] Stephensen to Clune, 17 September 1946, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, Mitchell Library (henceforth ML) MSS 1284, Box 3.
[43] Robert J. Gilmore and Denis Warner, eds., *Near North: Australia and a Thousand Million Neighbours* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1948), pp. 45-6.
[44] Clune to Rex Igamells, 26 September 1952, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[45] Stephensen to Clune, 17 September 1946, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[46] Clune to Stephensen, 16 September 1953, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3. The term 'flop' here, of course, is relative, as even Clune's poorest performers outsold most books on the Australian market.
[47] Colin Simpson, *This Is Japan* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1975), p. v; Simpson to Isamu Igarashi (Executive Director, Japan National Tourist Organisation), 1 April 1974, in Papers of Colin Simpson, National Library of Australia (henceforth NLA), MS 5253, Folder 328.

two decades, including a substantial rewrite that resulted in the book's re-release under the new title, *This is Japan*, in 1975. While *The Country Upstairs* was his most popular Asian travelogue, Simpson also published *Asia's Bright Balconies* about Hong Kong, Macau and the Philippines in 1962, *Bali and Beyond* in 1972, and *Off to Asia*, detailing travel to Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Macao, in 1973.

In addition to the popular monographs, Asian travelogues were also broadcast through a variety of media. At the high point of his career, Frank Clune published a wealth of travel articles in Sydney's *Truth* newspaper and popular magazines including *Man*, *ABC Weekly* and *Smith's Weekly*. He also hosted a weekly half-hour radio travelogue, broadcast on 26 commercial stations across Australia.[48] Although he only counted Clune's appearances on eight networks, historian John Tebbutt has estimated Clune's radio audience at over a million Australians.[49] In 1948, Clune also launched the *Frank Clune Adventure Magazine*, aimed at a younger audience; however this venture was dogged by postwar paper shortages, and publication ceased after four issues. Clune's output could reach such superhuman proportions only with the help of his ghost-writer, the controversial writer and political figure P.R. 'Inky' Stephensen, who turned Clune's travel diaries and research notes into finished monographs, articles and radio scripts.[50]

Travel writing as Asia-educating

The reach of travel writing meant that it was particularly significant in shaping Australians' ideas about Asia. It is evident that travel writers were conscious of their roles as Asia-educators. Clune promoted his Asian travelogue as a factual education for those working and lower-middle class Australians who were concerned about Australia's future, but didn't have the patience or education to seek information from other, more 'highbrow' sources.[51] The subtitle to his final Asian travelogue, *Flight to Formosa*, presented it as the report of 'a holiday and fact-finding tour.'[52] Although *Flight to Formosa* was saturated with ideologically-biased comment, Clune claimed he was merely 'an unofficial fact-finder for the Australian public on the history and geography…of

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[48] Clune to Rex Igamells, 26 September 1952, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.

[49] John Tebbutt, "Frank Clune: Modernity and Popular National History," *Australian Journal of Communication* 24, no. 3 (1997), pp. 54; John Tebbutt, "The Travel Writer as Foreign Correspondent: Frank Clune and the ABC," *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2010), pp. 95-107.

[50] For more detail about the pair's working arrangements, see Craig Munro, *Inky Stephensen: Wild Man of Letters* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1992), pp. 251-67. Richard White has argued that Stephensen's role was less dramatic in Clune's travelogues than in his histories in White, "The Retreat from Adventure: Popular Travel Writing in the 1950s," *Australian Historical Studies* 28, no. 109 (1997), pp. 90 - 105.

[51] For a more detailed discussion of Clune as Asia-educator, see Agnieszka Sobocinska, "The Role of the 'Asia-Educator' in the Post-War Period: The Case of Frank Clune" in *Asia Reconstructed: Proceedings of the 16th Biennial Conference of the ASAA*, ed. Adrian Vickers and Margaret Hanlon (University of Wollongong: http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASAA/biennial-conference/2006/Sobocinska-Agnieszka-ASAA2006.pdf, 2006).

[52] Clune, *Flight to Formosa*.

all those countries nearer to us than Europe or America, which our official education system sometimes ignores.'[53] In presenting his political views as common-sense 'facts,' and his travelogue as an eyewitness account, Clune's *Flight to Formosa* was a counterpoint to the sympathetic accounts of Communist China which appeared in Australia from the early 1950s, which are discussed in the next chapter. Indeed, preparing to release *Flight to Formosa*, an executive at Angus & Robertson praised Clune, as 'with all the pressure that is being put on Australian writers, artists etc. by the communists, somebody should write a book which will no doubt bring in the great efforts...to arrest the movement of communism throughout South-East Asia.'[54]

Although Clune sought to present himself as an unbiased, common-sense purveyor of 'facts,' he was a determined Cold Warrior. As the next chapter shows in more detail, *Flight to Formosa* was the most strongly ideological of the anti-communist travelogues, and overtly exhorted the Australian people to support Taiwan in its stand against Communism. As well as being driven by politics, however, Clune was also motivated by the growing consumerism of the Cold War period. Clune was extremely astute when it came to sales, and was quick to recognise that Asia-education held popular appeal. Print advertisements for his 1947 *Song of India* emphasised that, 'at a time when India is torn by schisms of race and creed...It is important that...Australians should get to know something of the vast and varied scene that is India today.'[55] The marketing was successful, and journalist E.W. Tipping admitted that 'Frank Clune is by far the most popular Australian writer' on Asia, and had 'taught tens of thousands of Australians most of what they know about the Near North.'[56] By 1947, Clune could 'modestly' claim that 'my travellings through South and East Asia, Malaya and the Netherlands Indies, during the past ten years, have done something to open the eyes of Australians generally.'[57]

Colin Simpson also consciously crafted his travelogues to ideological demands. *The Country Upstairs* opened with a quote from Prime Minister Robert Menzies that, 'whatever our thoughts about the past...we have to live in the same world as Japan.' Again motivated both by ideology and profits, Simpson positioned himself as a figure who could educate the Australian public, to prepare them for the contact with Asia. Now that Japan was a strong ally in the Cold War, Simpson enthused that Australians lived 'not only in the same world but in the same eastern hemisphere, on the same side of Pacific street, in the same democratic block, in the same

[53] Ibid., p. vii.
[54] Angus and Robertson to Clune, 8 January 1958, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[55] Frank Clune, "Song of India (Advertisement)," *Frank Clune's Adventure Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1948), pp. 65.
[56] Gilmore and Warner, eds., *Near North* , p. 45-46
[57] Frank Clune, *Song of India* (Bombay: Thacker & Co. Ltd, 1947), p. 213.

regional House of Asia, where Australia is on the ground floor and Japan is the country upstairs.'[58] This recognition of proximity made it important that Australians 'know and understand the Japanese.'[59] As the Cold War progressed, Simpson's rhetoric about the need for Asia-education and engagement grew stronger. Writing on the non-Communist 'balconies' overlooking Communist China in 1962, Simpson wrote that 'there is surely an obligation to know the way other peoples live...and this is specially true of Australians and Asia.'[60]

A strategy for engagement: Asia as Neighbour

As Klein has shown, American cultural producers wishing to encourage engagement with non-Communist Asia developed a genre of sentimental personalism. This middlebrow genre encouraged readers to imagine foreign relations as a series of personal relationships based on sentiment.[61] In the American context, sentimental personalism was developed through the deployment of the language of community, compassion and friendship.[62] A similar process is evident in Australia. Whilst Australian accounts also worked within the mode of sentimental personalism, there were some distinctly Australian touches. In the Australian context, the dominant sentimental metaphor in relations with Asia was of neighbourliness. In 1941, Clune presented Indonesia (then still the Netherlands East Indies) as 'destined for ever to be our nearest neighbour.'[63] Six years later, he included India in the category of 'Near Neighbour,' and argued that, as 'Australia is India's neighbour for all time,' so 'the more we get together, the merrier we'll be.'[64] Popular foreign correspondents Robert Gilmore and Denis Warner subtitled their 1948 report on Asia, 'Australia and a thousand million neighbours.'[65] Warner's wife, Peggy also wrote of 'our nearest neighbours,' and 'the people next door' in a 1961account which arguably represented the highpoint of anti-communist sentimental personalism in Australia, *Asia is People*.[66] Taking slightly different slant, Colin Simpson presented Japan as the 'Country Upstairs' in his 1956 travelogue.[67]

The trope of neighbourliness was common across several different public arenas. It was used by politicians on both sides of the political divide, both in immigration policy and in

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[58] Author's note, Colin Simpson, *The Country Upstairs* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956), unpaginated.
[59] Ibid., p. 6.
[60] Colin Simpson, *Asia's Bright Balconies* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962), p. 34.
[61] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, pp. 14-15.
[62] Ibid., pp. 48-9, 79-85, 107.
[63] Frank Clune, *All Aboard for Singapore: A Trip by Qantas Flying Boat from Sydney to Malaya* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd., 1941), p. 223.
[64] Clune, *Song of India* , p. 16, 400.
[65] Gilmore and Warner, eds., *Near North*.
[66] Peggy Warner, *Asia Is People* (F.W. Cheshire: Melbourne, 1961), pp. 1, 5.
[67] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*.

diplomacy. Percy Spender deployed it in a typical way in 1951, when he claimed that 'we live side by side with the countries of South and South-East Asia, and we desire to be on good-neighbour terms with them.'[68] It was also commonly used in educational texts, as an awareness of Asian affairs was presented as increasingly necessary for Australian children. Textbooks on Asian countries were marketed at a 'need to amplify our knowledge of the Asian world close to our doors,' or as a *Look at our Neighbours.*[69] As the Western Australian Director-General of Education wrote in a preface to schoolbook on Japan, the country was 'another neighbour...whom we should learn to know better.'[70] The sentimental term even found its way into academic discussion of international relations, with the fifteenth conference of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, for example, revolving around the theme of *Australia's Northern Neighbours.*[71]

Such imagery was particularly appealing in the context of postwar suburbanisation. Judith Brett has argued that images of the home and homemaking were powerful forces during the 1950s, used by politicians to empower Australians into imagining they had agency in the working of the nation.[72] Like the rhetoric of the Good Neighbour Councils, in which migrants were rendered as 'neighbours' in order to personalise and domesticate the internal Other, the metaphor of neighbourliness was used to domesticate Australia's foreign relations within postwar discourse.[73]

The metaphor of neighbourliness was consciously postcolonial. During the Cold War, the imperative of winning Asian 'hearts and minds' began to overshadow colonialist notions. In this context, the term 'neighbour' implied an acceptance of equality, and acted as a disavowal of colonial tropes. However, it also carried a hint of reservation. Australians' focus on Asia as neighbour highlighted the fact that geography, and not sentiment, determined Australia's foreign relations. Asians were commonly presented as 'neighbours,' but in the ant-communist variant of the sentimental genre, rarely as 'friends.' Yet this was used to strengthen, and not detract, from the call for engagement; living so close to Asia made good relations within the neighbourhood a necessity for Australia's very survival.

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[68] Cited in Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Ltd., 1985), p. 562.

[69] N.J. Eley, *Look at Our Neighbours* (Stanmore, NSW: Australian Board of Missions, 1967); Maurice Lester, *Thailand: A Buddhist Kingdom in the New Asia* (Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1966).

[70] H.W. Dettinam, 'Preface', to Western Australia Education Department, *Japan: Land of the Chrysanthemum* (Perth: Government Printer, Western Australia, 1972).

[71] Edward P. Wolfers, ed., *Australia's Northern Neighbours: Independent or Dependent?* (West Melbourne: Australian Institute of International Affairs/ Thomas Nelson (Australia) Limited, 1976).

[72] Judith Brett, "Menzies' Forgotten People," *Meanjin* 43 (1984), p. 259.

[73] For a discussion of Good Neighbour Councils see Gwenda Tavan, "'Good Neighbours': Community Organisation, Migrant Assimilation and Australian Society and Culture, 1950/1961," *Australian Historical Studies* 28, no. 109 (1997), pp. 77-89; Gwenda Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005), pp. 71-88.

Further, writers such as Clune, Simpson and Warner used the notion of Asia as a 'neighbour' to their own advantage. If Australia's relations with Asia were predicated on neighbourliness, then ordinary, suburban Australians could imagine themselves as active participants in the relationship. If they were to be effective participants, 'ordinary' Australians needed to brush up on their knowledge and understanding of their neighbours. The positioning of 'ordinary' Australians as agents in foreign policy thus doubled as a particularly canny piece of marketing for Asia-educators in the Cold War period.

Changing the Rumour of Asia

While the presentation of Asians as neighbours aimed to personalise foreign policy, Australians' historical fear of Asians, alongside their paradoxical sense of racial superiority, presented a cogent barrier to engagement. In order to overcome these prejudices, Cold War travel writers utilised several strategies to guide their readers along a path from initial dislike, through a growing admiration for Asian ways, to an eventual enthusiasm for (non-communist) Asia. To facilitate the acceptance of Asian 'neighbours,' travel writers began to focus less on the exotic Otherness of Asian races and cultures, and instead highlighted the social and cultural characteristics shared by both Australia and Asia, as well as Asia's great economic potential.

These discursive shifts are clearly evident in Clune's eleven Asian travelogues, published over a period of twenty years. Before the Pacific War, Clune followed Orientalist conventions by portraying Japan and China as 'strange places...with strange people.'[74] To Clune, individual Japanese and Chinese had been less important than the 'vast yellow conglomerate of the Orient,' and the mysterious Oriental 'mind.'[75] Indeed, race was the central organising element of all Clune's early Asian travelogues. In the context of decolonisation, *Song of India* was organised entirely around the contrast between the prestige of White Men and the 'queerness' and irrationality of Indians, who, it seemed, had all had a 'touch of the sun.'[76]

However, as decolonisation proceeded apace, and as Communism began to supersede it as the most important regional issue for Australia, Clune was forced to abandon a world-view based on race. As the previous chapter has shown, Clune shifted representations of Indonesians, from those based on race to those based on politics, in the travelogues *To the Isles of Spice* and *High Ho to London*. In this new postwar world, Clune found himself in the strange position of having to

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[74] Frank Clune, *Sky High to Shanghai* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1939), p. 60.
[75] Ibid., pp. 167, 192, 234-5.
[76] Clune, *Song of India*, For examples of praise for India's White Men, see pp. 26-27, 242, 289, 302. For less flattering descriptions of Indian nationalists, see pp. 82, 119, 178, 188, 190-1, 369.

present some Asian peoples as able allies in the containment of Communism. The extent of this shift is evident in his *Ashes of Hiroshima*. The great majority of this text, written in 1948, was a diatribe against the Japanese, whom Clune repeatedly branded as 'stupid.'[77] However, in a postscript inserted after the Communist victory in China in 1949, Clune performed a volte-face. In the wake of this dramatic event, Clune exhorted Australians to engage with the Japanese, and to support them, in order to strengthen their defences against Communist influence. Throughout the 1950s, Clune's descriptions of Asia tended to be organised around politics, rather than race. In particular, in attempts to build Australian sympathy for non-communist Asians, Clune began to minimise the portrayal of cultural and social differences in his travelogues. This tendency reached its height in *Flight to Formosa*, in which Clune focussed on the Taiwanese Christian community, and explored the British colonial heritage of Hong Kong, which, as he pointed out, made this region's history very similar to Australia's.[78] When it came to describing Communist Asia, however, Clune reverted back to racial determinism as a means of highlighting difference, declaring that he stood with the 'free' world against the 'Mongols and Manchus' of Communist China.[79]

Simpson utilised a similar technique in *The Country Upstairs*. Although he had begun his journey with grave memories of Japan's brutal treatment of Australian POWs, Simpson returned home buoyed by the promise of the Japanese economy. Although he did not neglect discussion of Japanese racial characteristics and traditional culture, Simpson focussed the bulk of his travelogue on modern Japan, and the influence of the American and BCOF occupation. 'I feel sure that Japan, now, is disarmed of the idea of war,' he wrote, and had instead accepted the 'new set of values' which 'we have given.' He was particularly cheered that, 'though the samurai spirit of Japan now hangs like a broken arm, the commercial spirit of the nation is phoenix-like and invincible.'[80] While the ghost of militarism had been purged, Simpson warned that the threat of Communism remained, and Japan needed Australian help to defeat it. 'We may as well face the fact that if we let our attitudes be ruled by old hates and the bitterness...we can wither the growth of the democracy we have planted in Japan,' he wrote, closing his travelogue with a rallying cry for sentimental engagement.[81]

Simpson continued to emphasise similarities between Japan and Australia in revised editions of *The Country Upstairs*. The 1962 Second Edition marvelled at the rate of Japan's political and

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[77] See, for example, Frank Clune, *Ashes of Hiroshima* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950), pp. 37, 39, 60, 61-63, 129.
[78] Clune, *Flight to Formosa*.
[79] Ibid., p. viii.
[80] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 11.
[81] Ibid., p. 247.

economic advancement, and urged readers to shift their attitudes accordingly. 'How those winds of change do blow!' Simpson wrote in his introduction, 'history is happening so fast...that the attitudes taken in any book about any country can get out of date between the pen and the printer.'[82] As the political and economic imperative for closer engagement with the Japanese grew, so Simpson began to remove references to the negative past. A discussion of Japan's treatment of Australian POWs which had prefaced the first edition of *The Country Upstairs*, had disappeared by the second. Instead, Simpson focussed on the spectacular growth of the Japanese economy. Japan was Australia's best customer for wool, Simpson informed readers, 'with purchases almost twice the value of the United Kingdom's', for coal, copper, and manganese, iron and steel scrap, hides and skins, and almost as important for purchases of wheat, lead, tallow, sugar and zinc.[83] Strengthening the language of engagement, Simpson wrote that, 'with Britain about to enter the European Common Market,' Japan was 'a good friend at the right time.'[84]

Peggy Warner also emphasised the similarities between Asia and Australia in *Asia is People*. Seeking to evoke empathy and identification from Australian women, Warner focussed primarily on the personal and domestic lives of Asian women, in *Asia is People*.[85] Despite differences in race and culture, Warner intimated that a woman's lot was the same across the (non-Communist) world, and encouraged engagement on this intensely personal level. Although apparently far away from the world of politics, such sentimental exhortations for engagement functioned to empower Australian women, educating them about the need to engage with women like themselves, who, they were told, were on the front lines of the fight against Communism.

Thus, travel writing played a central role in introducing postwar audiences to Asia, and shifting traditional fears into more sympathetic attitudes. As with the American situation, these attempts to turn Australians' eyes towards Asia did not exist 'in a cause-and-effect relationship with the Cold War foreign policies pursued by [government]...rather, they served as a cultural space in which the ideologies undergirding those policies could be, at various moments, articulated, endorsed, questioned, softened and mystified.'[86] Informing the broader culture, these changed rumours helped prepare the ground for future government policies of engagement.

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[82] Preface to Colin Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, Revised and Enlarged ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962), unpaginated.
[83] Ibid., unpaginated.
[84] Ibid., unpaginated.
[85] Warner, *Asia Is People*, p. 4.
[86] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, pp. 8-9.

The influence of the travel industry

While politics underpinned the rhetoric of sentimental engagement in travel writing, the genre was also influenced by the burgeoning travel industry. The 1950s saw significant growth in the rates of (non-military) travel across the world. According to the World Tourism Organization, 25 million people took an overseas holiday in 1950, a figure which almost tripled over the following decade.[87] The introduction of jet aircraft in 1958, alongside growing postwar prosperity across the West, saw the number of overseas holiday-makers rocket to almost 166 million in 1970. The average growth rate for overseas travel during these twenty years was 9.9%, which outpaced even the major tourist booms of the 1970s and 1980s, which are the subjects of Chapter 7.[88]

The Australian travel industry shared in this growth.[89] At the forefront of development was Qantas Empire Airways. In addition to stops in Singapore and Colombo on its flagship Kangaroo Route, QEA launched a direct service to Japan (initially under charter to the RAAF) in 1947, and then a direct service to Hong Kong in 1949. Air transport was supplemented by cruise travel, which continued to be popular in the post-war period. A further range of travel and tourism businesses also developed during this time. Travel agencies, which began to flourish during this time, were largely reliant on bookings of international travel.[90] In addition, bank travel services, automobile club travel departments, and State Government Tourist Bureaus were heavily involved in sales of overseas travel.[91] The growth of Australia's outbound tourist industry also led to the growth of a tourist media. The *Holiday and Travel Monthly* magazine began operations in 1948, followed by *Australian Holiday* a year later. The *Sydney Morning Herald* launched a Holiday Travel supplement in 1953, and pages of travel advertisements became common in many metropolitan newspapers from the same period.

The growth of international tourism also saw the rise of national tourism organisations, which marketed overseas destinations directly to incoming markets. Two of the most powerful in Asia were the Singapore Tourism Board and the Hong Kong Tourist Association. Although Australia remained a relatively small source market throughout the 1950s and 1960s, both bodies were active in Australia, and co-ordinated tourism promotion campaigns.

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[87] World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics,* no. 41, 1988.
[88] John I. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism* (Melbourne: Hospitality Press, 1999), pp. 129-130.
[89] For accounts of the development of the tourism industry in Australia, with a particular focus on domestic and inbound tourism, see Ibid., pp. 149-169; Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia since 1870* (Carlton South, Vic.: Mienguyah Press, 2000), pp. 311-328; Richard White, *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 119-152.
[90] Davidson and Spearritt, *Holiday Business,* p. 327
[91] R. D. Piesse, 'Travel and Tourism,' special article in *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia,* no. 53 (1966), p. 1168.

From the 1950s, then, a significant industry had grown around Australian overseas travel. In addition to traditional forms of promotion, tourist corporations began to enlist the services of Australia's influential travel writers. Frank Clune pioneered this model of interaction. On his first trip to Asia Clune received free air travel from Imperial Airways, Qantas Empire Airways, and Airlines of Australia, as well as on-ground support from the South Manchurian Railway Company.[92] Indeed, every one of Clune's travelogues was subsidised by dozens of corporations and organisations, including (in addition to those mentioned above), B.O.A.C, Trans-Australia Airways, Carpenter Airlines, Guinea Airways, Dutch carrier K.L.M., Indian National Airways, Iberia Airways, British European Airways, Aer Lingus, Tasman Empire Airways, Holden, the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd, and Guinea Gold No Liability.[93]

Colin Simpson also amassed a list of sponsors to rival Clune's. Qantas paid for Simpson's two first class return flights to Japan, as well as one first class fare for his wife Claire, for research for *The Country Upstairs*. KLM paid for his and Claire's return travel to Tokyo, again in first class, to allow Simpson to write an updated edition in 1961; and Japan Airlines sponsored his 1974 visit. Domestic flights in Japan were provided by Japan Airlines and other carriers during all visits. On the ground, Simpson was guided by the Japanese Tourist Association, and he also took advantage of several complimentary tours offered by other firms. [94] Like Clune, every Simpson travelogue was underwritten by the travel industry. Of the airlines alone, Simpson garnered support from Qantas, KLM, Cathay Pacific, Aeroflot, Iberia, Scandinavian airliner SAS, Finnair, Alitalia, Thai International, Icelandair, Icelandic Airlines, Air India, Indian Airlines, Royal Nepal Airlines, Olympic Airlines and Garuda International Airways.[95] A long-lasting agreement with Inter-Continental hotels saw much of his accommodation provided gratis; if there was no Inter-Continental at Simpson's destination, alternative accommodation was usually laid on by national and regional tourist promotion authorities, who also took care of 'all transfers, tours, private cars with guides' and 'a good deal of other hospitality.'[96]

Simpson was also involved in promoting a subsidiary industry that was fast becoming essential to tourism: photography. *The Country Upstairs* opened with a colour 'pictorial introduction,' which showcased photographs taken on Fuji and Kodak film, including several

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[92] Clune, *Sky High to Shanghai*, p. vii.
[93] List compiled from the acknowledgments of Clune's various travelogues, as well as the Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3, and the Papers of Frank Clune, NLA MS 4951. See also Robert Dixon, *Prosthetic Gods: Travel, Representation and Colonial Governance* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), pp. 124-148.
[94] 'Air Travel: Contract Deals of Cost-Free Arrangements by National Tourist Organizations: Airline,' in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 327.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Simpson to M.J. Prajogo (Director General of Tourism, Djakarta), 24 November 1971, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 327.

negatives donated by the Fuji Photo Film Company. Many of the text's black-and-white photographs were donated by the Japan Tourist Association, or by the popular tourist publication *This is Japan* (the name of which Simpson appropriated for his 1975 updated edition of *The Country Upstairs*).[97] *Asia's Bright Balconies*, *Bali and Beyond* and *Off to Asia* all featured several pages of colour plates, which were paid for by the tourism promotions authorities of Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Macao and the Philippines.[98]

Corporate sponsorship had a profound influence on both Clune's and Simpson's travelogues. The continuing support of Qantas, for example, first bore fruit in Clune's dedication of *Sky High to Shanghai* to General Manager Hudson Fysh, whose formal studio photograph also served as the frontispiece to *High Ho to London*. The latter continued with a long passage detailing Qantas' role in the opening of the Australian frontier, its heroic contribution during the Pacific War, and its plans for future expansion. Fysh was sufficiently pleased to order 500 copies direct from the publisher.[99] Simpson also returned on sponsors' investments; as he assured Qantas in 1955: 'I will do my utmost to give you 'value.'[100] Simpson's deal with the airline resulted in a slavering advertisement in *The Country Upstairs*, which claimed that 'my state of bodily comfort...would have gratified a sybarite, just as the roast-duckling dinner that had been served and the glass of excellent burgundy that went with it ('Champagne or burgundy, sir? With the compliments of Qantas') would have satisfied a gourmet.'[101]

Simpson's desire to provide 'value' was such that some received manuscripts with the invitation to 'indicate any inaccuracies,' before the book's publication.[102] Sometimes, this had striking effects. Having funded the colour plates in *Bali and Beyond*, the Director of Tourism in Denpasar demanded Simpson remove all mention of the bloody anti-communist massacres which had taken place in Bali in 1965. While Simpson regretted that he 'cannot leave out all mention of the Communist pogroms,' he had, 'in deference to your wishes,' removed a reference that 'nowhere were these bloodier than in beautiful Bali,' as well as a reference to the estimated number of deaths.[103] The sponsorship also affected the content of Clune's books, too. By 1952, ghost-writer Stephensen warned Clune that his travelogues had 'too much tourist-publicity in

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[97] 'Illustrations', Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, unpaginated tter.
[98] Simpson to Enche Osman Siru (Director-General of Tourism, Malaysia), 2 June 1972 and Simpson to David Arnett (Macau Tourist Information Bureau), June 1972, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA, MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 326; Simpson to I.G.P. Rijasse (Director of Tourism, Bali), 23 May 1972, and Simpson to M.J. Prajogo, 24 November 1971, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 327.
[99] Stephensen to Clune, 9 March 1947, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[100] Simpson to E. Bennet-Bremner (Qantas Empire Airways), 26 September 1955, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 114, Folder 351.
[101] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 3.
[102] For example, see Simpson to Robert Tan Sin Nyen (Malacca Tourist Association), undated, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 326.
[103] Simpson to I.G.P. Rijasse, 23 May 1972, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 327.

them to be really good books.'[104] 'It's no use asking the public to pay for commercial publicity,' he continued in a letter, 'I mean, the propaganda has to be a bit subtle. Can't pile it on with a shovel.'[105]

Such close integration with the travel industry saw travel writers become travel spruikers. In addition to providing publicity for particular corporations, both Simpson and Clune promoted international travel in general. Richard White has argued that 'Clune particularly saw himself as a publicist for the tourist industry.'[106] As early as 1944, with the war still raging across Asia, Clune was promoting the ease, comfort and affordability of tourist travel. Summing up a week he had spent in Celebes, he enthused that 'it had cost me only twenty-five quid for one of the most marvellous weeks of sightseeing in my life - including £10 motor hire and all pasanggrahan and hotel expenses for two.'[107] Further, Clune encouraged readers that 'if you want to see it for yourself, you can KNILM up from Sydney in thirty-six hours.'[108] Simpson was also eager to assure readers that flying was safe, indeed, 'I feel safer in aircraft than in cars or on the sea.'[109]

Both writers highlighted the potential of travel to bring Australia closer to its Asian 'neighbours.' Clune wrote that 'speed, and yet more speed, links the continents of the globe, providing increased facilities for consultations and correspondence between the nations.'[110] Simpson, too, claimed that flying had brought Asia 'closer' to Australia. 'The flight-time from Sydney to Tokyo is now only twenty-four hours,' he wrote, and as a result, 'Australians simply could not ignore ninety million people who lived only a day away.'[111]

In this way, Clune and Simpson intertwined tourist promotion with calls for popular engagement. The intertwining of the two produced a strong pro-travel discourse, through which the tourism industry was posited as a major player in the Cold War.[112] The interaction of both political and economic interests in Cold War travel writing is most clearly evident in Simpson's correspondence with the Executive Director of the Japan National Tourist Organisation, Isamu Igarashi. Having received an offer of support for a further update of *The Country Upstairs* that was below his usual standards, Simpson reminded 'Igarashi-san' of his importance. He informed him

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[104] Stephensen to Clune, 4 July 1952, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[105] Stephensen to Clune, 23 July 1952, in Papers of P.R. Stephensen, ML MSS 1284, Box 3.
[106] White, "The Retreat from Adventure," p. 102.
[107] Frank Clune, *To the Isles of Spice: A Vagabond Journey by Air from Botany Bay to Darwin, Bathurst Island, Timor, Java, Borneo, Celebes and French Indo-China* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944), p. 265. It is unclear whether Clune bore the costs for this journey himself.
[108] Ibid., p. 311. KNILM., the Dutch transport corporation, is now known as KLM..
[109] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 3.
[110] Frank Clune, *High-Ho to London: Incidents and Interviews on a Leisurely Journey by Air from Australia to Britain* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1948), pp. 6-13.
[111] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 3.
[112] Endy has noted the close co-operation between American corporations, and especially Pan-Am Airways, and the United States government in developing and implementing Cold War policies. Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, pp. 37-50.

that, not only had the former chairman of Qantas confided that *The Country Upstairs* 'undoubtedly put traffic on our Tokyo service,' but, 'the most successful travel book every published in Australia,' Simpson claimed that it had helped 'to break down, over the years, anti-Japanese prejudices on the part of Australians.'[113]

This rhetoric of engagement was also actively pursued by the travel industry. By the mid-1960s, Cathay Pacific advertised its services by encouraging readers to 'Meet your neighbours via Cathay Pacific.'[114] The Singapore Tourism Board ran an 'Instant Asia' campaign throughout the late 1960s, which also utilised the discourse engagement in to attract Australian visitors. A widespread advertising and advertorial campaign in Australia's metropolitan dailies claimed that 'much of Australia's future lies with the nations and people of Asia', and encouraged Australians that 'we must learn to know them,' from the late 1960s.[115]

Politics and private enterprise both stood to gain from increased contacts between the peoples of Australia and Asia. Exhortations that Australians should travel to Asia functioned on a political level. By educating Australians about a region as important as Asia, travel writers such as Frank Clune, Colin Simpson and Peggy Warner positioned themselves at the forefront of postwar discussions about the 'problem' of Asia. In encouraging Australians to travel to Asia for political reasons, they proposed that international affairs were the concern of 'ordinary' Australians, and not of politicians and foreign ministers alone; and so empowered a broader section of Australian society to enter into debates about Australia's place in the world. Their accounts encouraged Australians to travel to Asia, in order to create affective ties with its people, and so bind it more firmly with the Western bloc. However, their political function was complicated by the growing power of consumerism, which also underpinned the production of their travelogues. Travel books about Asia sold well during the 1950s and 1960s, and major writers including Frank Clune and Colin Simpson increased their profit margins by aligning their writings with the interests of powerful players within the tourist industry. Asian travelogues therefore served the dual gods of ideology and consumerism. The results, which intertwined tourist promotion with calls for popular political engagement, imprinted leisure travel to Asia with political meanings.

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[113] Simpson to Isamu Igarashi, 1 April 1974, in Papers of Colin Simpson, NLA MS 5253, Box 110, Folder 328.
[114] 'Meet your neighbours via Cathay Pacific,' advertisement in Ches Gudenian and Barbara Cooper, *Travellers Digest*, 4th ed. (British Overseas Airways Corporation, 1965), p. 183.
[115] This quote from 'Singapore: Instant Asia', Sydney Morning Herald Advertising Feature, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1968, p. 11.

Orientalism reconceived

While this form of Cold War travel writing increasingly dominated the market in Australia, its mode of presentation, which emphasised neighbourliness and cultural similarity in order to promote popular engagement with Asia, was not hegemonic. Indeed, these new images co-existed with a range of Orientalist images and tropes carried over from the pre-war period, as well as the uniquely Australian bank of negative perceptions of Asia that had developed since the nineteenth century.

Thus, at the same time as Clune, Simpson and Warner were attempting to present Asia as a place that was very much like Australia, journalist and author George Johnston was unwilling to abandon long-held images of Asia as a place of mystery. Indeed, Johnston magnified rather than minimised the difference between Australia and Asia, even referring to Rudyard Kipling's maxim that 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,' as the 'truth.'[116] The sense of difference was so great that Johnston was overcome by the 'unfathomably dark depths of Asia,' into which he could cast 'merely the flimsiest of sounding-lines.'[117] Unable to grasp Asia, Johnston adopted the narrative technique of *tableau vivant*, or the descriptive list, to give a sense of the confusing conglomeration of difference.[118] Edward Said has identified the tableau vivant as evidence of the all-encompassing nature of Orientalism, by which 'each particle of the Orient told of its Orientalness,' creating a 'circular vision by which the details of Oriental life serve merely to reassert the Orientalness of the subject.'[119] This Orientalist technique remained a common feature of Australian travel writing, co-existing alongside the sentimental personalism of Clune, Simpson and Warner.[120] Adventure travel writer Peter Pinney was prolific in his use of the tableau vivant when describing his tramp through Asia, sometimes creating lists several pages long.[121] The tableau vivant was also a favourite technique of commercial writers. One article in *Australian Holiday* promoted the QEA/BOAC Kangaroo Route with a tableau vivant evoking Singapore's exoticism, with its

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[116] Johnston, *Journey through Tomorrow*, p. 68.
[117] Ibid., p. 5.
[118] A good example of the tableau vivant is in Ibid., p. 148.
[119] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed. (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 231, 247.
[120] Clune was prone to using the tableau vivant. See, for example, Clune, *To the Isles of Spice* , pp. 136, 178; Clune, *Song of India* , pp. 144-5, 171, 247, 304- 305; Clune, *High-Ho to London* , p. 48.
[121] See, for example, Peter Pinney, *Dust on My Shoes* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952), p. 115, 117, 223- 225.

Streets crowded with a mixture of races, colours, tongues, noises and smells; sampans on the river, tri-shaws on the roadways, taxi dancers in the cabarets, stalls displaying strange foods and stranger merchandise, with salesmen of every nationality east of Suez; neatly pig-tailed amahs and vividly hatted coolie women – a mad, fascinating vignette of the Orient.[122]

Travel marketing was predicated on exaggerating some difference in order to entice tourists to spend time and money on travel, while simultaneously eliminating difference in order to convince would-be travellers that their destinations were safe and enjoyable. Images of Oriental multiplicity and exoticism were selectively used as markers of difference, but the type of exoticism was strictly managed to reveal only its most positive face. This precarious balancing act is evident in a pamphlet promoting Japan Tours Service 1963 tours of Hong Kong and Japan. Like the QEA/BOAC advertisement, the pamphlet evoked the 'incredible Orient' as 'a wondrous and interesting region of charm, fascination and contrast,' and their tours, it promised, would be an 'Oriental adventure.' To counteract and tame the foreignness, however, it also promised tourists would be looked after by 'travel experts,' who had 'carefully planned and arranged' suitable itineraries. Indeed, Japan Tours Service claimed that 'the real fun of travel is when you travel as an expected guest without the worries of how to get around in foreign lands,' thus promising an exoticism that would be managed and rendered safe for the tourist.[123]

This balance between the exotic and the familiar also saw travel writers portray Asia as a place of contrast between ancient and modern, and East and West. Simpson was particularly fond describing the contrasts of a rapidly-modernising Japan. 'It was a city of contrasts, this Tokyo, with its tokonama scrolls and its television, its flower-arrangements and furious taxi-drivers,' he wrote in one of several comparable passages.[124] Contrast was also often evoked by Clune. 'It would take 700 writers 700 years to give a description of all the wonders, glories and pities of India,' Clune wrote in *Song of India*, if they were to capture the 'phantasmagoria' of 'everything in one, ancient, modern and futuristic existing side-by-side.'[125]

Notably, this Cold War tourist discourse presented diversity and contrast as exotic and positive, rather than threatening, aspects of Asia. Rather than an image of threatening chaos, Asia was rendered into 'phantasmagoria,' a moving image displayed for the pleasure of a viewer. Walter Benjamin posited the phantasmagoria as a metaphor for way in which images are

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[122] 'Airlines – Holiday Makers,' *Australian Holiday*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April – June 1949), p. 21.
[123] Japan Tours Service, pamphlet: 'Hong Kong and Japan: Two tours to Oriental Adventure. Depart by sea or air March 1963,' in National Library of Australia, 'Travel Ephemera Collection.'
[124] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 23. Simpson used similar imagery about Hong Kong in Simpson, *Asia's Bright Balconies*, pp. 51-60. Like the tableau vivant, the set-piece of contrast was utilised to the point of cliché for many years.
[125] Clune, *Song of India*, p. 247.

reworked in consumerist public culture.[126] Recent work by Andrew Jansson, building on John Urry's notion of a 'tourist gaze,' suggests that tourism images attract consumers because of their phantasmagorical function.[127] In portraying Asia as a phantasmagoria, travel writing helped integrate it into an emerging culture of consumerism in Australia, a phenomenon which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. It also served to neutralise the more confronting elements of Asia. By evoking the image of a phantasmagoria, Clune suggested that visitors to Asia could enjoy the diversity and contrasts of Asia, without becoming subsumed by them. After all, they were safe in the knowledge that theirs was only a holiday, and that home was only a quick, comfortable flight away. In presenting the exoticism of Asia within this altered, consumerist model, Cold War travel writers placed the tourist in a position of power over Asia, which was laid out for their viewing pleasure. The new rumour of Asia as a politically vital 'neighbour' therefore entered, rather than remade, a densely packed discursive space. Descriptions of a modernising, politically aware Asia co-existed with more traditional descriptions of Asia's classical culture, rendering Asia into a 'phantasmagoria' for the Australian visitor.

The Erotic Orient

While the 'East' had long been associated with the erotic in Orientalist discourse, the context of travel and tourism changed the way in which Asian sex was presented. Orientalist discourse presented Asian women as submissive, licentious and available, but also unpredictable, irrational and dangerous. David Walker has evoked these two poles in tracing Australian ideas about Asian women through the tropes of 'lilies and dragons.'[128] While the travel industry was eager to promote the former, it worked to negate the representational power of the latter. This discursive reshaping was evident in post-war travel advertising. In the late 1940s, QEA produced advertising for 'the East' featuring Gauguinesque scenes of alluring female bathers, juxtaposed with the aeroplane. Such advertising presented Asia as erotic and alluring, a 'colourful' diversion; but, importantly, one which the tourist could leave at any time.

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[126] Margaret Cohen, "Walter Benjamin's Phantasmagoria," *New German Critique*, no. 48 (1989), pp. 87-107.
[127] Andre Jansson, "Spatial Phantasmagoria: The Mediatization of Tourism Experience," *European Journal of Communication* 17, no. 4 (2002), pp. 429-43. See also John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2002).
[128] Walker, *Anxious Nation*, pp. 127-140.
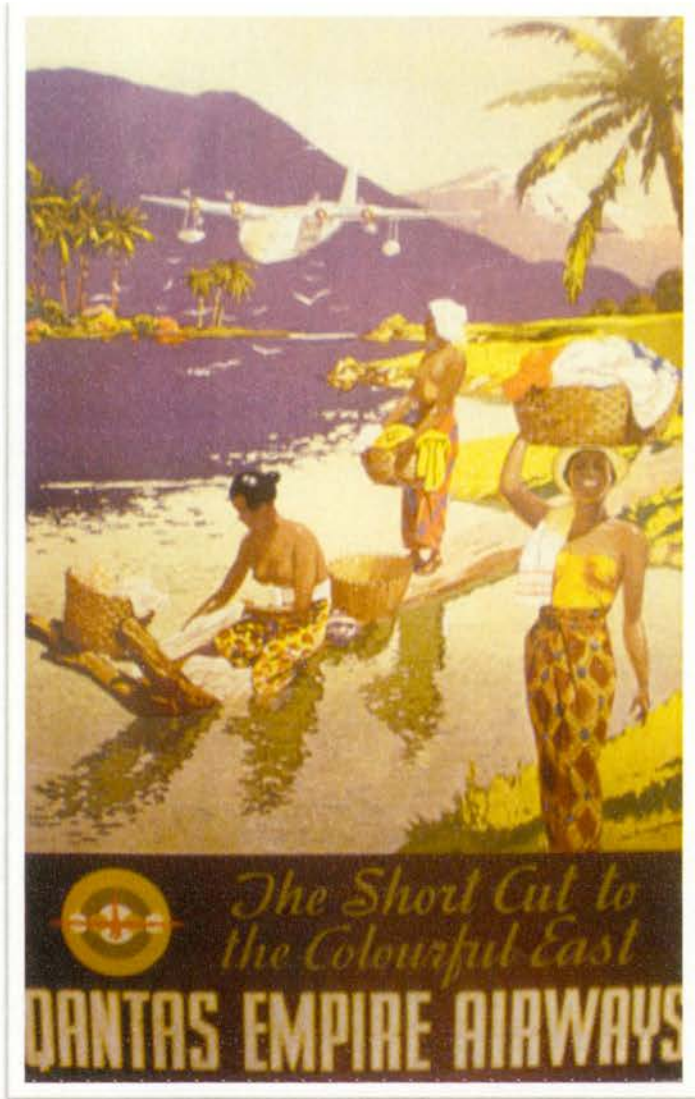
Figure 3.2: Qantas Empire Airways Advertisement, 'The Short Cut to the Colourful East,' circa 1940s. Source: Qantas Airways Ltd. *I Still Call Australia Home: The Qantas Story 1920-2005*. Bondi Junction, NSW: Focus Publishing, 2005, p. 119.

A similar style of eroticism also featured in Cold War travel writing. Richard White has posited that Simpson's *The Country Upstairs* 'can retrospectively be seen as promoting Asia as a site for sex tourism.'[129] The travelogue was, indeed, saturated with sex. It was heavily illustrated with photographs of topless Japanese revue girls and of Tokyo's red light district. In its text, Simpson described how, not long after landing in Tokyo, he had made his way to the Bar Lido, where he interviewed a Japanese bar girl about the most intimate details of her sex life. Indeed, the bar was the first place Simpson visited in Tokyo, and a suitable place to 'the research I had in

[129] White, "The Retreat from Adventure," p. 104.

mind': to discover how sex functioned in postwar Japan.[130] Above all, he was interested to discover how it functioned with white men, noting how and for how much a tourist could manoeuvre a woman into his bed. He noted the price for the Lido hostesses (¥7000, although, Simpson noted, 'she could probably be had for five,') for massage therapists at Japanese baths, for prostitutes, including 'geisha-style girls,' and for actual geisha, to whom Simpson devoted an entire chapter.[131]

Simpson's evocations of Asian sex, and its availability to the Western tourist, became increasingly explicit in his subsequent travelogues. Published in 1962, *Asia's Bright Balconies* saw Simpson making a full 'inspection of...enchantments for the roving male.'[132] By 1973, Simpson's details about Asia's 'libido circuit,' and his faithful recounting of the range and price of pleasures and 'perversions' on offer, did indeed render *Off to Asia* a guide for the budding sex tourist.[133] In fact, Simpson positioned his travelogue as such a guide, noting 'there is virtually no mention in the general tourist literature...of a whole area of sexual services,' and that he wanted to fill that gap.[134] As a result, *Off to Asia* presented a full catalogue of Asia's sexual services, with Simpson recommending the most 'eyeworthy' showgirl revues, noting which barber shops offered more than haircuts, and promoting the 'distinctively Singapore' attraction of Bugis Street.[135] This centre of transvestite, transsexual and intersex streetwalkers was so enticing that Simpson prepared a special reconnaissance to meet one of the 'panthers.'[136] He had hoped to take a topless photograph, but unfortunately Simpson fumbled with the camera amidst the excitement, and the photo failed. Instead, Simpson illustrated his text with photographs of transsexual prostitutes taken by others – including some that had recently appeared in Ronald McKie's *Singapore*. Like *Off to Asia,* McKie's travelogue had also described Singapore's sexual attractions in detail, and had even advised tourists that, if they had the slightest desire, it was simple to 'hire an attractive Chinese girl from one of the many social escort services that advertise in the *Straits Times*.'[137]

By portraying the Western male visitor as a sexual *flâneur*, gazing at and engaging the sexual services of Asian women at will, Simpson and McKie redeployed colonial notions of corporeal power in Asia. Although they evoked Asia as a space for illicit and even deviant sexuality, the commercial context of all the sex they described firmly placed the tourist in a position of control.

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[130] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, pp. 25-32.
[131] Ibid., pp. 30, 35, 137-9, 58-66.
[132] Simpson, *Asia's Bright Balconies* , pp. 87-94.
[133] Colin Simpson, *Off to Asia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1973), pp. 153-5.
[134] Ibid., pp. 156-8.
[135] Ibid., pp. 41-42.
[136] Ibid., p. 44.
[137] Ronald McKie, *Singapore* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972), p. 112.

With their tourist dollars, visitors could enjoy the kind of power over Asian bodies formerly enjoyed by colonisers. As such, these travel writers drew a link between colonial-era power and the power of the tourist-as-consumer in Asia. Further, by presenting Asian women as commodities to be purchased and enjoyed by the Western male, Simpson and McKie distanced them from associations with their more dangerous Orientalist cousins, the dragon ladies. In doing so, Simpson and McKie's representations tamed the Orient, presenting Australians with an image of Asian sexuality that functioned to confirm colonialist conceptions.

Simpson and McKie were not the only writers with a focus on sex when describing Asia. Peggy Warner's *Asia is People* was likewise saturated with sex. Her tale began inside a brothel, and Warner immediately moved to a discussion of the allure of Asian women. Written by the wife of a frequent Asia traveller, however, Warner's was a very different take on the phenomenon. She recounted that, as the couple planned their trip to Asia, some male friends had warned her husband that 'your wife will only spoil it for you.' This comment, along with what she saw of Asian women, led to a recurrent self-consciousness. 'With few exceptions,' Warner admitted, 'the women of Asian countries do leave us somewhat in the shade,' and will 'fill an ordinary western housewife with gloom because of their sheer desirability.'[138] Warner's tale was not, therefore, in the same vein as Simpson's, and she did not catalogue Asia's sexual highlights. Indeed, her portrayal of the sexualised Asian woman preceded a discussion of the ways in which women across Asia were embracing modernity – and feminism. Unlike Simpson, Hughes and McKie's voyeuristic depictions of the erotic Orient, Warner's travelogue retained its political purpose, and functioned as a non-communist counterpart to sympathetic feminist travelogues of Communist China which began to appear from the late 1950s, which are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.[139]

Thus, the Cold War introduced political meanings to Australians travel to Asia, presenting it as a way with which ordinary Australians could engage in foreign affairs, and ensure Australia's security from Communism. While this discourse was increasingly influential, it did not displace older rumours of Asia as a place of the exotic and erotic. Instead, the new political meanings, which focussed on travel to Asia through the framework of people's diplomacy in a Cold War context, co-existed alongside Orientalist images of Asia as a space of exotic multiplicity and of eroticism. However, both the political discourse and the tourism industry demanded that Asia be presented in an increasingly positive light. In order to present Asia in a non-threatening way, travel advertising and travel writing highlighted the power and control enjoyed by tourists. The

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[138] Warner, *Asia Is People*, p. 2.
[139] This genre is the subject of the following chapter.

exotic and the erotic were both commodified into a phantasmagoria over which the tourist held ultimate control. In evoking the tourist's power over Asian bodies, these representations co-opted colonial meanings, and reimposed them onto tourist experiences of Asia. As a result, Orientalist images were renegotiated, and presented in a new way which highlighted the tourist's power in a neocolonial system. These new understandings, of the tourist as an ambassador in a program of people's diplomacy, and as a consumer with the power to purchase a tourist product, had a significant influence on Australian experiences in Asia.

Rumour and experience

In the context of increased political interest in Asia, this wealth of rumour influenced Australian experiences in Asia. Many Australians looked at Asia through the prism of politics during their Cold War journeys. Back home, Asia had become a favourite subject for debate, and like Clune, some Australians conceived of their visits as opportunities for a personal fact-finding mission, allowing them a glimpse at the situation as it really stood Was the overpopulation as bad as the newspapers made it out to be? Were the people as poor as they had heard? And, most importantly, were these conditions causing the people to turn to communism, or anti-colonialism, or another radical ideology? Although many Australians went looking for political insights, most were not clear-eyed observers. Cold War concerns were typically negotiated within the unequal power relations of travel and tourism, which emphasised some elements of Asia and Asian lives, and obscured others. This was particularly pertinent in the colonial or post-colonial context of the destinations through which most travelled, in which privilege of travellers was structured along colonial lines. The resulting journeys reveal a complex interweaving of the personal and the political, and of rumour and experience, as Australians struggled to understand an Asia in upheaval.

In his anthology of Australian travel writing, Robin Gerster has suggested that hotels have played such a prominent role in Australian experiences of Asia that they can serve as a suitable metaphor for the entire phenomenon.[140] The hotel did loom large in the Cold War period, and often provided the unlikely first site for investigations of the local 'standard of living.' First impressions were usually good. When he visited Hong Kong in 1962, William Wade was overwhelmed by the luxury of his hotel, which he described in great detail in an audio-letter to his family.[141] It was 'absolutely fabulous,' he reported, with 'big, high chandeliers...and everything

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[140] Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia*, pp. 17-19.
[141] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.

you could possibly imagine.'[142] Alongside the fittings, Wade was most impressed by the service. 'There are servants everywhere,' he enthused, 'mostly men and boys, and very nice, all dressed in white suits, and they do everything for you.'[143] The standard of service also impressed other travellers, especially when contrasted to the more 'egalitarian' service one could expect back home. Indeed, a survey of tourists' experiences undertaken by the Hong Kong Tourist Association in 1965-66 found that 74% of Australians were very impressed by the standard of service in Hong Kong, the highest rating of any source market.[144] Writer Gordon Bleeck found his hotels in Japan offered 'real luxury,' which was 'just out of this world.' He particularly liked the 'smiling Japanese maid' who bought sweets and tea to his room.[145] Colin Simpson was also impressed with Japanese service, which extended to his maid taking his shoes off for him, and wrote that Japan has service 'the way wood has grain.'[146] For Australian travellers, then, the experience of Asia included extreme comfort.

After the opulence of their hotels, many Australians were often shocked by the conditions they saw on Asian streets. The taxi ride from the airport had done little to prepare Wade, who was shocked at the 'thousands of people' everywhere around him; indeed he could 'hardly find words to describe the number of people that are going in all directions.'[147] Like a great many others, Wade turned to stock phrases and images to express his bewilderment. In his audio-letter, he described Hong Kong as a 'thriving a mass of humanity, of people, just going in all directions,' a 'melee of people and buildings and signs and traffic running in all directions,' a 'colossal number of people,' and a 'terrific population.'[148] During a second Asian trip in 1963, Wade thought that 'it required this second visit to Tokyo to make me realise what a terrifically different city it is.' Again, he was most affected by the 'tremendous amount of people, a colossal amount of traffic, and the activity that is going on in the street. The lights, and the neon lights, and the amount of traffic, the tooting of horns, road construction work going on everywhere, streets up all over the place, wooden planks down, and off the main streets, hundreds and hundreds of these small streets, a mass of little lights and small shops and eating places and bars and all of course the signs in Japanese.'[149] In contrast to the plush atmosphere of comfortable hotels, Asia's crowded streets were often disconcerting for Australian visitors.

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[142] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Robert C. Hazell, "The Tourist Industry in Hong Kong, 1966," (Hong Kong: The Far Eastern Research Organisation for the Hong Kong Tourist Association, 1966), p. 28.
[145] Entry for Saturday, 25th March of 'Travel Diary, 1967,' in Papers of Gordon Clive Bleeck, NLA MS 9149, Box 3.
[146] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 10.
[147] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Tokyo 1963,' copy in author's possession.

Australians were also shocked by the obvious poverty co-existing with wealth. Wade was also struck by the contrast, explaining that the only way to describe Hong Kong was to 'talk about rags to riches.'[150] He noted that 'one has to be careful not to paint too glamorous a picture of Hong Kong,' as once a visitor wandered away from the main streets, 'the side streets seem to be so much poorer.'[151] Wade was most affected by beggars, and, as the father of three young girls, by young children living on the streets. 'The little ones look so pathetic,' he told his wife as they wandered around the streets, surrounded by the better-off citizens of Hong Kong, who, it seemed, did nothing but eat all day.[152] Passing through Manila on a business trip ten years later, Syme noted that, although the people appeared 'friendly, cheerful and clean,' there was 'great disparity between rich and poor.'[153]

Ideological concerns also sharpened tourists' gazes. Cold War reporting suggested that Asia's poverty and overcrowding made it ripe for Communist subversion.[154] At a time when Asian upheavals were often in the news, Australians hoped for some deeper insight into current affairs through their individual experiences. Shocked by the size of the crowds, the misery of shantytowns, and the persistence of beggars, some travellers began to think about why communism could prove attractive to locals. Docked in the Indonesian port of Surabaya during her cruise of Southeast Asia, prominent female barrister Joan Rosanove noticed that 'election posters are everywhere' – and many featured the 'Hammer & Sickle.' Later in Kuala Lumpur, Rosanove was perturbed to find that signs which indicated the '"End of White Area," meant that the "White Area" was cleared from [communist] bandits.' Hoping to discover something about communism's popularity with the common people, Rosanove made some inquiries about local conditions. 'The basic wage is five rupees a day (1/8d Australian) & about 90% are poor.' Travelling through Singapore in 1958, Colin Syme was also interested in the standard of living. In his travel diary, he jotted down facts and statistics about the island's land area and natural resources; about the population, its age and racial constitution, and prospects for employment; and recent political developments. Having discovered the extent of overcrowding and poverty, Syme was worried, and noted that Communist influence was increasing. More pressingly, Syme noted that the Singapore now had a Communist Mayor, and the radical People's Action Party was expected to win at the next elections.[155] Although Rosanove was in Asia for pleasure and

[150] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] 'Thursday, 13th January,' of 'Diary of Visit to Manila, January 12th - 19th, 1972 (Accompanied by Lady Syme),' in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 2, p. 2.
[154] See, for example, Denis Warner, *Reporting South-East Asia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1966).
[155] 'Overseas Diary, 1958. Mr. and Mrs. C.Y. Syme', in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 1, pp. 145-6.

Syme for business, both were clearly interested in developing a better understanding of the political situation across Asia.

As their itineraries took them to colonial or post-colonial nations, many travellers were interested in the political effects of colonialism, and whether the 'native' populations appeared to be dissatisfied with their colonial masters. Travelling through Malaya in 1958, Syme approvingly reported that 'Kuala Lumpur seems to have about it much less of the 'White Man's Burden' attitude than has Singapore,' and that 'Australians [were] said to be highly regarded.'[156] The lack of anti-colonial resentment also surprised Wade during his first visit to Hong Kong. 'Nobody is servile,' he assured his wife, 'no, nobody at all, not even the coolies.'[157] Wade's conception of servility obviously did not extend to the fine service he received at the Peninsula Hotel. Commenting in another context, Wade enthused that 'they do everything for you. When you come out in the morning they say good morning, and they open the door, then they press the button for the lift, they take you down in the lift, you go into the dining room, and another white clothed servant's there, and he opens the door, good morning everyone says, all good morning, good morning, good morning, and they're all very charming and very helpful and always have a smile.'[158]

The interest continued in post-colonial nations, as travellers attempted to gauge whether conditions had improved since independence. When her cruise ship docked in Jakarta, Rosanove went on a sightseeing tour with a business acquaintance of her husband's, an Indonesian by the name of Mr. Shebubaker. Driving around, Rosanove noted that 'Mr. S is proud to show' those buildings which had not been 'entirely built by the Dutch.' Her suspicions were confirmed when 'Mr. S. said the main population was better off than when the Dutch were here.'[159]

While all of Asia was considered at risk from Communist influence, Hong Kong's liminal position, as a British colony leased from the People's Republic of China, led to further questions. 'The only thing that one wonders about,' Wade noted, 'is the future of the whole place. Will the mainland of China ever repossess this section which is under lease? Or will they leave it as it is?'[160] The uncertainty of Hong Kong's future sharpened Wade's interest in the satisfaction of its citizens. Puzzled by the apparent contentment of Hong Kong's citizens despite their poverty, 'I've asked the question of some people, why that should be so. And they say, well, it's almost by

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[156] 'Overseas Diary, 1958. Mr. and Mrs. C.Y. Syme', in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, National Library of Australia, MS 6498, Box 1, pp. 145-6.
[157] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2,' copy in author's possession.
[158] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[159] Travel Diary, 1955, in Papers of Joan Mavis Rosanove, NLA MS 2414, Correspondence Folder.
[160] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2,' copy in author's possession.

comparison, because when they think of the people on the other side of the border, in many cases who are so much worse off than them, they realise that in many ways they are well off.'[161] Although Wade does not elaborate on whom he questioned, it is most likely they were well-educated, middle- or upper-class citizens, or were employed in the tourist sector. Speaking no Cantonese, and without an interpreter, Wade had no access to the political opinions of the subaltern classes – those who, according to Marxist theory, would be the engine driving a communist revolution. Further, although he ventured out into the side streets of Hong Kong and Kowloon to observe the poor, it appears that he never spoke to them; the only conversations with local people Wade recorded, apart from business contacts, were with hotel staff, his tailor, and one smartly dressed young man who sold tickets for the Hong Kong ferry. As this chapter goes on to show, his contacts with rickshaw men, the only lower-class people Wade remembered speaking to, did not go well at all. Indeed, the divisions imposed by the structures of travel and tourism prohibited Wade from making a meaningful analysis of Asia's political situation. Ironically, the same activity which had brought them to Asia prevented many from forging significant contacts with Asians.

Plush hotels and an itinerary of sightseeing tours also shielded tourists from the worst, skewing their conceptions of the Asian 'way of life.' During Wade's two visits in 1962 and 1963, Hong Kong was experiencing a severe water shortage, which necessitated the introduction of rationing.[162] Although Wade was on the lookout for signs of political unrest, the comfort of his existence at the Peninsula Hotel masked the extent of the crisis. Instead, the water shortage only served to confirm for him just how good the service really was in Hong Kong. Water was only available for four hours a day, but thanks to the efficiency of the courteous staff, Wade's bath and sink were always full. 'They don't miss a trick,' he explained, marvelling that the servants refilled his bath every time he left his room. Although the water shortage was a major cause of dissatisfaction in Cold War Hong Kong, Wade conceived of it only as an example of just how 'fabulous' the Peninsula Hotel really was.[163] Ironically, then, the comforts of the hotels could serve to mask the very Asian experience that Australian visitors sought, and dull their appreciation of political developments.

Of course, not all Australian visitors sought political understanding in Asia, and some did not connect Asia's poverty with broader political questions. During his visit to Hong Kong, writer Gordon Bleeck could not fail to notice the beggars, who surrounded him from the

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[161] Audio recordings, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' and 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2,' copies in author's possession.
[162] Ho Pui Yin, *Water for a Barren Rock: 150 Years of Water Supply in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2001), p. 182.
[163] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.

moment his cruise ship docked until the moment he departed. Indeed, Bleeck had been keen to photograph 'one of the incredible shanty towns on a hill opposite and in a valley below the road,' whilst in Hong Kong.[164] However, Bleeck did not associate the beggars with Asia's broader problems, and they did not lead him to ponder the attractions of communism. Rather, he considered Hong Kong's beggars only as they affected his holiday, and spent much of his time trying to avoid them. After taking photographs of peasant women in the fishing village of Aberdeen, he recounted in his diary, they 'wailed for money; one nearly took my finger off in her hurry to claw the dollar from me.'[165] During a visit to the New Territories, he was again displeased, writing that 'you pay 20c to enter, and once in this jail-like place of dark brick you're pounced upon by black-clad old harpies, with wide black hats, for a dollar to take their photos.'[166] It is evident that, while some visitors were deeply affected by the contrast between Asia's opulence and its poverty, and thought through the possible political repercussions of such poverty, others were unwilling to engage with these issues, and simply wished to enjoy their holidays.

A deeper engagement

As David Walker has found, 'the process of commenting upon other cultures and societies invariably involves a form of dialogue with the home culture.'[167] During this period, the experience of Asia led some travellers to reflect on Australian attitudes and policy. Cold War visits had a significant impact on some noted intellectuals. Mark McKenna has posited that a four-month visit to Indonesia and Singapore in 1955 saw Manning Clark develop his interpretation of Australian history. According to McKenna, Clark was regularly quizzed about Australia's policy in West New Guinea, its colonial exploitation of Papua New Guinea, and its White Australia policy, while visiting Singapore University. Initially on back foot, Clark slowly began to develop a narrative which appeared to satisfy both his questioners and himself. Eventually, Clark came to conceive of Australian history as one of emergence from colonial oppression towards an independent, nationalist movement; an argument that he developed throughout his seminal *History of Australia*.[168] Similarly, a visit to Southeast Asia in 1963 convinced Donald Horne that Australia must become adapted to 'Living with Asia,' and he made

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[164] Entry for Monday, 20 March 1967 of 'Travel Diary, 1967' in Papers of Gordon Clive Bleeck, National Library of Australia, NLA MS 9149, Box 3.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] David Walker, "National Narratives: Australia in Asia," *Media History* 8, no. 1 (2002), p. 68.
[168] Mark McKenna, 'Turning Away from Britain: Manning Clark, History, Public Intellectuals and the End of Empire in Australia,' paper presented to Sydney Sawyer Seminar, Session Five: Varieties of Empire in the Antipodes: Taking Over and Letting Go,' 30 October 2009, Holme & Sutherland Rooms, University of Sydney.

this one of *The Bulletin*'s 'central concerns' upon return.[169] The same trip convinced Horne that Australia was 'worth a book,' and a subsequent journey 'seemed to make it possible to evaluate my own country all over again – in the disorder of other people's reactions to it.' The result of this evaluation was *The Lucky Country*.[170] One of the leaders of the Immigration Reform Group, economics lecturer Kenneth Rivett, had become convinced of the need to alter Australia's immigration policy during a six-month visit to India in 1957, during which he too had encountered frequent criticisms about the White Australia policy.[171] As the last chapter has shown, the other founding member of the Immigration Reform Group, Jamie Mackie, had previously been a Volunteer Graduate in Indonesia.

Other Australian travellers were also forced to rethink their attitudes to the White Australia policy, whilst in Asia. During the 1950s, Australians became increasingly aware that the White Australia policy had made them unpopular in the region, and therefore endangered their role position as a good 'neighbour.'[172] Travellers were regularly confronted with direct questions about the White Australia policy. Upon arriving in India in 1946, Colin Syme was warned by the Australian Trade Commissioner, H.R. Gollan, that Indians did not like to hear reference to 'White Australia,' although he was also assured that Australia was 'popular in India despite our immigration policy.'[173] Later in the same trip, Syme was prodded by an Indian industrialist, Sir I. Singh, about 'Australia's policy of excluding Indians and...its big area and lack of population.'[174] Sixteen years later, Wade also reflected on the White Australia policy during his time in Asia. 'The whole thing makes one think,' he mused. Confronted with a modernising Asia, Wade had begun to seriously rethink elements of Australian policy. In particular, he began to think it 'strange' that the strictures of the White Australia policy forced Colombo Plan students to leave after graduation. Wade thought that 'we seem to be acting very foolishly...we're not ready to take advantage of the outstanding pupils that come out of our education system.' Having thought through the problem, Wade decided that 'I should think the right thing to do is for Australia to retain some of them, and then to use them.' Not only would this give Australia the benefit of these 'outstanding pupils,' but would also help secure Australia's place in the region. By acting as a bridge between East and West, Asian graduates could help in 'maintaining our sphere of influence in these countries... and then use their cooperation to have greater cooperation

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[169] Walker, "National Narratives: Australia in Asia," p. 69.
[170] Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1964), p. 7.
[171] Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia*, pp. 121-2.
[172] Ibid., p. 113.
[173] 'Visit Abroad (U.K. & Continent), 24 April to 20 November, 1946, in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 1, pp. 261-2.
[174] Ibid., p. 376.

between Australia and the eastern neighbours.'[175] Wade had always been politically conservative, yet a visit to Hong Kong had turned him against one of the keystones of Australian policy, which in 1962 was still supported by both major political parties, although the Democratic Labour Party had recently become the first to make support for non-European immigration a part of its platform.[176] By encouraging reflection both on the state of Asia, and also Australia's relations with its region, travel to Asia began to have significant impacts on the political views of some Australians in the Cold War period.

Other travellers were forced to rethink their understanding of modernity in Australia, in the light of a rapidly modernising Asia. Australians were increasingly impressed by Japanese technology from the mid-1950s. In his Tokyo hotel room in 1955, Simpson was transfixed by television 'while Australia, so typically, was still making up its mind whether the country could afford it.'[177] Twelve years later, Gordon Bleeck marvelled at the colour television in the lobby of his Toba hotel, at a time when this technology was only beginning to reach Australia.[178] William Wade was similarly impressed by Hong Kong, and reflected that Australia seemed backwards in comparison.[179] Sitting on a spotless Hong Kong ferry, Wade ruefully compared it to the Manly ferry, so that in hindsight, 'I could see how dirty it looked and how badly it was maintained.'[180] The realisation that Australia was actually more 'backward' than parts of Asia was a revelation; as Donald Horne wrote in 1964, it was hard to accept that 'Australia is not the most 'modern' nation in 'Asia'; Japan is.'[181] Thus, the experience of being in Asia, and seeing its rapid development, made Australians reflect on their own process of modernisation, at a key transitional period for Australia's economy.

Meeting the Neighbours

While Australians' re-evaluation of political issues was important, their personal interactions with Asians were also significant. Colonial-era social divisions based on race began to fall across Asia during the 1950s and 1960s, and 'natives' soon began to appear in first-class restaurants, hotels and even colonial clubs. Increasingly, Australian travellers met Asians on a personal or business level, and status hierarchies did not necessarily follow racial lines. In this changing

[175] Audio recording – 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2' copy in author's possession.
[176] For a description of Wade's political views, see Duyker, "William Glen Wade (1911-1983): A Biographical Memoir."
[177] Simpson, *The Country Upstairs*, p. 23.
[178] Entry for Saturday, 25 March of 'Travel Diary 1967,' in Papers of Gordon Clive Bleeck, NLA MS9149, Box 3.
[179] Audio recording – 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Horne, *The Lucky Country*, p. 100.

context, Australian visitors were forced to make increasingly complex decisions about personal associations based not only on race, but also wealth, influence and degree of modernisation.

On an early visit to India in 1946, Syme had categorised people by their race. Even educated moderns were evaluated in colonial terms, so a Ceylonese man he met flying from London to Bombay seemed to Syme to be 'cheeky and...full of wrong information.' Syme was also prone to generalising characteristics across races, stating, for instance, that 'the Indian is a poor technician and requires much supervision.'[182] However, even at this early stage, with India still a British colony, Syme's race-based status hierarchy was challenged by the power and prestige of Indian elites. J.R.D. Tata, patriarch of the manufacturing monolith Tata & Sons, evoked Syme's respect when the pair met at Tata's mansion. As a close business associate, and a man of immense influence and status, Tata was no mere 'native.' Accordingly, Syme never speculated about Tata's race in his diary, instead focussing on Tata's political ideas – particularly his opinion of the strength of the socialist movement – as discussed over tea. Rather than categorising Tata by race, Syme's careful notes about Tata's opinions, including his radical notion that the strength of socialism would see private enterprise become non-existent in India, signalled the extent of his respect.[183]

Although her 1955 visit was for pleasure, Joan Rosanove made a similar distinction between wealthy Asian moderns and the mass of 'natives.' In Penang, Rosanove met one of her husband's business acquaintances, a Miss Titi Ong, who took her on a tour of town. After being comfortably conveyed to a range of tourist sites in a car belonging to Titi Ong's cousin, Rosanove was invited to the fine home of a distant relation, and taken to a dinner of 'the most superb Chinese food we had ever tasted.' All in all, the acquaintance with Titi Ong had proven enjoyable, and Rosanove noted she had had a 'wonderful time' in Penang.[184] Asia's modern middle- and upper-classes were, therefore, worthy companions. When noted at all, their race was seen as adding an international glamour to travelling parties: as Rosanove wrote after drinks at a luxurious Surabaya hotel, 'we were a United Nations...Australians, Americans, Swiss, Dutch, Indonesians, Indians & Eurasians.'[185] Travellers' increasing contact with Asians reveal the weakening of colonial-era racial hierarchies, and suggest a broader shift in Australian attitudes to race.[186] However, the shift was only partial. Social and business contact was typically limited to a

[182] 'Visit Abroad (U.K. & Continent), 24 April to 20 November, 1946, in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 1, pp. 265-6.
[183] Ibid., pp. 263-4.
[184] Travel Diary, 1955, in Papers of Joan Mavis Rosanove, National Library of Australia, MS 2414, Correspondence Folder.
[185] Ibid.
[186] For a further discussion of this shift, see Tavan, *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia*, pp. 109-28.

modernised Asian elite, with a vast majority of the population still considered an undifferentiated mass of 'natives,' categorised by race.

Although this differentiation between 'natives' and elites points to shifting views about race, it also signals the fact that the nature and pace of travel typically limited the range and depth of acquaintances Australians could make. Many visitors simply did not have time to meet many people. Visits were typically short, and the demanding itineraries of both business and leisure travellers meant that visitors caught only the briefest glimpses of destinations and their inhabitants. Tourists on cruises were particularly rushed. A visitor survey conducted by the Hong Kong Tourist Association in 1966 found that visitors staying on cruise ships spent an average 2.5 days in Hong Kong, compared to the average 4.5 days for tourists staying in hotels.[187] Apart from time spent shopping during port visits, Rosanove glimpsed Asia from trishaws or taxis hired for hurried automobile tours. As a result of the rush, her impressions of Asian cultures and societies were haphazard, and occasionally misinformed.[188] The rush also meant that, unless a meeting had been organised beforehand, Rosanove had little contact with locals. One exception occurred when her cruise ship berthed at Belawan Deli, and 'natives' were allowed to come on board. Rather than welcoming the opportunity to meet her 'neighbours,' Rosanove was displeased that they were allowed to 'wander over the ship.' Although no contact was established, rumours soon began to circulate. Rosanove had heard whispers that the 'natives' all carried knives, and decided that 'whether they do or not they look menacing enough.' Afraid to leave her possessions unattended, Rosanove refused to disembark, and wrote in her diary that 'Belawan Deli is a place where you just shiver in spite of the heat.'[189]

Like Rosanove, most tourists had little significant contact with 'natives' apart from taxi-drivers, rickshaw-men and beggars. In these contacts, Australians were generally wary. Apart from his hotel staff, Wade's first encounter with the Chinese came when he hired a rickshaw 'boy' to take him to a business meeting in Hong Kong. After a great deal of confusion, it became evident that the 'boy' had taken him to the wrong place, resulting in a longer journey than expected. Recounting the story in an audio-letter, Wade explained that 'you're not supposed to give them more than one dollar,' and, although it is unclear where he had learnt this 'rule,' he had acted accordingly. The driver became 'excited,' and demanded two dollars, but Wade remained firm. 'You have to be so terribly careful,' he explained, 'because if you give them too much, they

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[187] Hazell, "The Tourist Industry in Hong Kong, 1966," p. 12.
[188] An example of the misunderstanding of Asian sites is evident in Rosanove's conflating of Islam and Buddhism in her description of a Johore 'mosque with the Bhudda [sic] of a thousand lights.' Her rushed glimpses and limited understanding did not, however, limit her from forming strong opinions, and she decreed the mosque 'a highly commercialised affair.' Travel Diary, 1955, in Papers of Joan Mavis Rosanove, NLA MS 2414, Correspondence Folder.
[189] Ibid.

don't take you up the right way at all.'[190] Again, it is unclear where he had imbued of this wisdom: this was, after all, his first ride in a rickshaw. Flying BOAC, Wade had been impressed with the reading material they had provided, even encouraging his wife to write to the company requesting an additional copy. BOAC's *Travellers Digest*, a guidebook to the destinations served by the airline, was first published in 1961. The 1965 edition very definitively stated that rickshaws charged a fixed fare of fifty cents for each five minutes, with a twenty cent tip, so it is likely that he had picked up his 'rules' here.[191] Wade kept this advice about dealing with 'natives' close to his heart, and continued to redeploy them throughout his journey. A few days later, 'thinking that I mustn't give him too much,' Wade paid a rickshaw driver twenty cents for a short trip. He met firm resistance, and a demand for two dollars. The ensuing conflict attracted a crowd, yet Wade was not willing to be advised by any of these 'natives.' Instead, he sought out an attendant at the ferry wharf. These attendants, Wade noted, were 'very superior chaps, dressed nicely and superior intelligence,' and therefore, did not count as a 'native.' The attendant advised Wade that 20 cents was not enough, so Wade gave the rickshaw driver $1, and told him that 'he didn't have a chance,' for more before walking away.'[192] Reminiscing, Wade noted that, 'of course the easiest way would've been to have paid him his silly old two dollars and gone but of course you just can't do that.[193]

As we have seen in this chapter, Wade was generally open to the idea of engagement with Asian 'neighbours.' Not only was he interested in the region's politics, and open to changing the White Australia policy, he also sought personal engagement with Asians. He was particularly kind to children, and attempted to foster contacts between the daughter of his Hong Kong tailor, and his three girls back in Australia. He also attempted to engage several servants in conversation.[194] Nonetheless, Wade regulated his behaviour with local people according to rumours and advice he had picked up in guidebooks, in travel literature, or by word-of-mouth, which he carefully abided. Significantly, the rules were no longer set by colonial concerns about prestige. In the Cold War era, this function had been appropriated by tourist literature. Although the source was different, the rules regulating visitors' behaviour served to create a divide between visitor and local, white and coloured, that functioned in much the same way.

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[190] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962,' copy in author's possession.
[191] Gudenian and Cooper, *Travellers Digest*, p. 188.
[192] Audio recording ,'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2,' copy in author's possession.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Audio recording, 'William Wade, Tokyo 1962,' copy in author's possession.

Acquisitive Pleasures

Although the Cold War discourse had begun to suffuse Asian travel with political meanings, not all Australians were concerned with politics on their Asian holidays. Indeed, rather than setting out on fact-finding missions, or to build closer affective ties with Asians, many Australian travellers spent most of their time in Asia shopping.

Shopping was by far the dominant experience of Australians in Asia. The Hong Kong Tourist Association report of 1966 revealed that 94% of Australians shopped during visits.[195] Indeed, the report found that 72% of Australians saw no sights in Hong Kong other than shops and restaurants, 7% more than the average for international visitors.[196] Hong Kong's reputation as a shopper's paradise was matched by Singapore's. Although similarly detailed statistics regarding Australians' shopping habits in Singapore are not available, travellers' accounts reveal that shopping was certainly their major activity. Japan, the third major destination for Australian travel during this period, also boasted a healthy reputation for shopping.

It is clear that Asia's shops were a major attraction for holiday-makers. Even before she had disembarked at the first port on her Southeast Asian cruise, Rosanove amused herself by composing a poem:

> 'We're on our way to Macassar
> The ship is approaching the shore
> Beaten silver, sandals, silks and lots of things we'll buy.'

Similarly, as the *Orcades* docked at Hong Kong in 1967, Bleeck wrote in his diary of having 'arrived at Hong Kong, a fabulous place for shoppers.'[197] Once their feet hit dry land, tourists set out to fulfil their acquisitive desires. Despite the hindrance of a strict spending limit imposed by Indonesian Customs, Rosanove collected an impressive array of items. The more significant purchases, noted in her diary, included a Panama hat, silver filigree jewellery, a bag and a pair of sandals in Macassar (only one, although her friend Frank bought six pairs and some colourful shirts); straw baskets and Philoshave razors (bought 'for a song') in Singapore; and some more filigree silver in Jakarta and Bali, alongside 'Bali head' carvings and batik sarongs. In the end, Rosanove bought so much she needed an extra suitcase. Bleeck was a similarly enthusiastic shopper. As soon as he disembarked in Hong Kong, 'off we went to the legendary Ah Chuck,' a tailor. After being fitted, it was off to King's Photo and Radio Co., where Bleeck bought an Omega watch, a Carousel projector and a movie camera. The shopping continued once they

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[195] Hazell, "The Tourist Industry in Hong Kong, 1966," p. 58.
[196] Ibid., p. 35.
[197] Entry for Sunday 19 March 1967 of 'Travel Diary 1967', in Papers of Gordon Clive Bleeck, NLA MS 9194, Box 3.

returned on board, as 'it was swarming with traders and looked like Paddy's Markets.' Bleeck purchased some clothes, before a trader convinced his party to disembark again, and head to the Power Shoe Co., where they bought a pair of suede shoes and boots. Still not satisfied, they headed to a 'Chinese shop' where Bleeck bought more clothing. After dinner, Bleeck's party was ready for more shopping, and purchased several pairs of slippers.[198]

Although he was in Asia for work, Wade was similarly consumed with shopping. 'There's so many shops, you can't imagine,' he told his wife. 'There's not just thousands of shops, there's tens of thousands of shops. And they're everywhere, all over the place, and some of them have the most delightful things, some beautiful, some things expensive, some things cheap.' He dubbed Hong Kong a 'shoppers' paradise,' and declared that 'you would need a lot of time to buy things and take your time and thoroughly enjoy buying.' Indeed, Wade was so taken with Hong Kong's shopping that he considered the possibility of a future holiday with his wife, which would be devoted to shopping, declaring that 'it would be a very very interesting and very...happy holiday.'[199] Other business travellers were similarly eager shoppers. On a short stop-over in Singapore in 1954, Colin Syme was taken to Change Alley, where, he noted, 'all sorts of bargains appear to be available.' After perusing some, he bought a pair of Japanese binoculars, and then looked over several stores selling 'oriental curios,' although it is unclear if he was tempted to purchase some himself.[200] A second journey to Singapore saw him purchase a fine leather satchel; and a 1963 visit to Japan resulted in the purchase of a Minolta camera.[201]

Indeed, shopping was so important as to define the Asian holiday for many Australians. Peggy Warner's travelogue is steeped with descriptions of her shopping 'like crazy.'[202] During her first Asian stop in Manila, Warner was consumed by a desire to purchase a pineapple-fibre shirt. She spent the flight to Japan planning further purchases. Once in Tokyo's department stores, she 'shopped almost hysterically,' rashly making 'stupid purchases' in a consumerist frenzy.[203]

Australian interests in the 1950s demanded greater economic interaction with Asia; after Britain's first attempt to join the European Economic Community in 1961, this became an urgent project to integrate with Asian markets. Australian consumerism in Asia can be viewed as a microcosm of this growing integration, by which Australians engaged financially with the

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[198] Entry for Sunday 19 March of 'Travel Diary 1967', in Papers of Gordon Clive Bleeck, NLA MS 9194, Box 3.
[199] Audio recording – 'William Wade, Hong Kong 1962 – Tape 2,' copy in author's possession.
[200] 'Overseas Trip – 24 August to 1 December 1954', in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 1, p. 156.
[201] 'Overseas Diary – 1958,' and 'Diary of a Visit to Manila, Japan & Hong Kong, 27th October - 17th November, 1963,' in Papers of Sir Colin York Syme, 1946-1985, NLA MS 6498, Box 2, p. 15.
[202] Warner, *Asia Is People*, p. 3.
[203] Ibid., p. 33.

region. It is also illustrative of the fact that, once in Asia, Australians were just as likely to pursue their own leisure rather than the ideals of engagement propagated by cultural producers. Although travellers may have sought insight into the more obvious political issues of the day, and perhaps conversed with some local elites, most Australians were, ultimately, in Asia to have a good time. Although most Australians did not come home with a sophisticated understanding of Asian people and cultures, they certainly did acquire a great deal of baggage.

Conclusion

The Cold War period saw travel experiences play a major role in shifting the 'rumour' of Asia. Cold War discourse, bolstered by the burgeoning tourist industry, led cultural producers to encourage 'ordinary' Australians to become involved in the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs, and engage with regional 'neighbours' by travelling to Asia. This engagement was made increasingly accessible with the development of fast and relatively inexpensive air links which effectively brought Asia closer, and made some Australians recognise themselves as part of a 'region.' As a result, Australian travellers kept their eyes open, looking for clues to the region's political future. While many expected to find underdevelopment, some were surprised by Asia's rapid growth, and the experience of Asia changed some of their conceptions not only of Asia but also of Australia. As such, travel to Asia could be a significant personal experience in the Cold War period.

Although visitors enjoyed learning about the political developments of their destinations, the 'engagement' engendered by travel was not necessarily deep. The pace of modern tourism rarely allowed visitors to develop an understanding of the cultural and political contexts underpinning their quick glimpses. Rather than the engagement exhorted by Cold War travel writers, many Australian travellers made little contact with Asians, and contacts were typically limited to selected elites, or to brief encounters with beggars, taxi-drivers and rickshaw-men. Indeed, rather than pursuing the cause of engagement, most Australians devoted their time in Asia to their own pleasure. The luxury of plush hotels delighted many visitors, as did their level of service. Stepping out of their hotels, travellers indulged in unrestrained shopping, which was a personal pleasure mirroring the benefits of national economic engagement with Asia. Although the Cold War discourse privileged 'hearts and minds,' and was therefore logically antithetical to colonialism, the experience of travel to Asia did structure some Australians' experiences according to (neo)colonial modes. Their comfort in plush hotels and the busy attentions of servants skewed the experiences of Asia, and indeed prevented the development of closer

engagement. Rushing in for several days' sightseeing or shopping, many Australians preferred to use their time of their own pleasure, rather than the development of affective ties.

Although the number of Australians travelling to Asia during the 1950s and early 1960s paled in comparison to the rates of the following decade, by 1968, more Australians were travelling to Singapore than the United Kingdom.[204] That this milestone had been achieved before the major tourist boom of the early 1970s suggests that the cultural groundwork for mass engagement with Asia had been laid by this time. A new rumour of Asia as an accessible destination for Australian holidays lent the region a quotidian air that was very different to the pre-war rumour of the exoticism and mystery of the Orient. Significantly, this reorientation of the rumour of Asia occurred before the period of political engagement with Asia, which is typically dated from the mid-1960s. [205] In this case, 'ordinary' Australians were at the forefront of broader shifts in political and cultural attitudes towards Asia, which occurred during this politically charged period.

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[204] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography – 1967 and 1968*, Bulletin no. 85, p. 89.
[205] The period of 'Reorientation' is identified as 'the period from the middle 1960s to the end of the 1970s' in David Goldsworthy et al., "Reorientation," in *Facing North*, vol. 1., pp. 310-71.

4

A Political Utopia: Australian 'Fellow-Travellers' in the People's Republic of China

The previous chapter outlined a type of Cold War rhetoric by which Australians were encouraged to visit Asia in order to create affective ties that would bind Asia to the Western bloc. However, the discourse of 'people's diplomacy' was also taken up by Australians seeking contact across the 'Bamboo Curtain' during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Hundreds of Australians travelled to the People's Republic of China (PRC) during this period, to witness communism first-hand, and to make personal and sentimental contacts with a much maligned 'neighbour.'

As shorthand, I use the term 'fellow-travellers,' as theorised by David Caute and Paul Hollander, to describe these travellers.[1] Although I borrow the term, I do so to stress the fact that they were ideologically-motivated *travellers*, rather than with the Cold War meanings with which the terms were imbued. Writing *The Fellow Travellers* in 1973, Caute noted that, although

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[1] David Caute, *The Fellow-Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society*, 4th ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1998).

the term had an integral utility, it had 'acquired an increasingly pejorative connotation,' and had come to be used as a label of abuse.[2] Caute's and Hollander's works only served to add to this pejorative sense; Hollander, in particular, painted fellow-travellers in harsh terms as idealistic dupes engaged in a 'political daydreaming.'[3] As a result, some recent scholarship has avoided the term altogether, with Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen's collection about Australian travellers to the Soviet Union proposing the alternative phrase, 'political tourists.'[4] Yet, I believe that this term has continued applicability.[5] Firstly, the writers, students, sportspeople and others whom I describe were not idle tourists; China's attractiveness as a travel destination in this period was almost entirely based on its political and social system. Secondly, they were fellow-travellers in the sense that they travelled to build international *fellowship* with the people of China. Utilising similar engagement discourses to their more conservative counterparts in Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan, most travelled to China seeking closer understanding between Australia and Asia. Many sought out distinctly sentimental and affective connections of fellowship and friendship. Thirdly, Chinese government policies meant that visitors were shepherded by politically-trained guides and cadres, who ensured that tourists only had access to positive experiences. Australians in China were not independent, but *fellow*-travellers following a guide's journey. As a result, their well-meaning attempts to build understanding between Australia and its powerful 'neighbour' were often commandeered by a political machine which presented a carefully stage-managed facsimile of China, performed expressly for their benefit. While highlighting the political nature of their journeys, my usage of the term 'fellow-traveller' holds none of the political loading of texts written within the context of the Cold War.

Australia's Political Context

The Chinese communist victory of October 1949 was followed two months later by the election of the conservative Menzies government in Australia. Anti-communism became an increasingly important plank in government policy, as Australia turned towards closer alliance with the United States.[6] After the Labor Party split of 1954, the Democratic Labor Party also

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[2] Caute, *The Fellow Travellers*, p. 2.
[3] Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, p. xcvii.
[4] Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen, *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2008).
[5] Recent scholarship which continues to use the term 'fellow-travellers,' although without the implicit disapproval of Caute and Hollander, includes John McNair, "Visiting the Future: Australian (Fellow-)Travellers in Soviet Russia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 46, no. 4 (2000), pp. 463-79; Agnieszka Sobocinska, "Australian Fellow-Travellers to China: Devotion and Deceit in the People's Republic," *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 3 (2008), pp. 323-34.
[6] Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally: A Study in Australian Foreign Policy* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), esp. pp. 44-55; 64-5.

developed a platform of emotive anti-communism. As Lachlan Strahan has noted, 'Australia and China were heading in opposite directions.'[7]

In Australia, the fear of Communism as an ideology and a political system was strengthened by long-standing anxieties about the racially inferior yet territorially ambitious 'yellow hordes.' David Walker has shown that Australia's anxieties were based on a foundation of fear about Chinese immigration and invasion.[8] This meeting of red and yellow led some Australians to perceive an immense threat. Until Australia's diplomatic recognition of China in 1972, conservative politicians and media portrayed China using frightening images of threatening waves and tsunamis, shadows and clouds; of raging seas, tornadoes, hurricanes and floods; of mutated giant octopi and dragons; and great insect swarms of ants, termites, spiders and bees.[9] Analysing the way China was evoked during the 1950s and 1960s, Strahan has argued that the racial and political anxiety, alongside the frightening images, combined to render China the most significant 'anti-utopia' of the period.[10] Perhaps the most common words used to describe Chinese in any number were 'teeming' or 'hordes.' In Australia, these words had roots in the anti-Chinese rhetoric of the nineteenth century.[11] Nearly every account of China on both sides of the ideological divide utilised one or both of these terms in reference to the Chinese. In doing so, they revealed the racial undercurrents to the political concerns of the Cold War.

It is clear that a significant portion of Australia's population was anxious about China. By the mid-1960s, almost three-quarters of Australians feared that Australia was under threat, with only America's military power keeping China at bay.[12] Roughly half the population believed that China presented a high or very high threat to Australia; conversely, however, 16% believed it presented no threat.[13] The general tenor of Cold War opinion appeared so strong to political scientist Coral Bell that, in 1970, she pondered whether a hatred of China was 'woven into the original fabric of Australian national attitudes.'[14]

However, not all Australians were influenced by the Menzies government's negative rhetoric. The Labor Party was less scathing in its attitudes towards China, and called for

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[7] Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 125.
[8] David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850 - 1939* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), pp. 36-49.
[9] Jonathan King, "A Big Gross Ogre, an Illiterate Giant," *Australian Outlook* 24, no. 3 (1970), p. 321; Strahan, *Australia's China*, pp. 128 - 159.
[10] Strahan, *Australia's China*, pp. 125-159.
[11] Walker, *Anxious Nation*, pp. 36-8.
[12] *Australian Gallup Polls* nos. 1820-1835, cited in Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty Ltd., 1985), pp. 695-6.
[13] King, "A Big Gross Ogre, an Illiterate Giant," pp. 321-2; Murray Goot, "Red, White and Brown: Australian Attitudes to the World since the Thirties," *Australian Outlook* 24, no. 2 (1970), p. 192.
[14] Coral Bell cited in Arthur Huck, "The Idea of 'China' in Australian Politics," *Australian Outlook* 24, no. 5 (1970), p. 309.

diplomatic recognition of the PRC from 1955. The fact that one of the nation's two major parties openly declared its support for normal relations with China, along with the (admittedly narrow) defeat of the referendum to dissolve the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) in 1951, belies claims that the 1950s and early 1960s were periods of unalloyed political conservatism and cultural conformity.[15]

Indeed, a substantial minority of Australians looked to China with equanimity, and others with enthusiasm and hope. Several reasons motivated Australian sympathy for the People's Republic. Firstly, some Australians remembered the positive images of China as a valiant ally broadcast during the Pacific War. Secondly, communist ideology exuded a legitimate appeal to many people around the world, as a well-theorised system aiming towards a more equitable society. Committed communists and socialists were a vocal base of support for the People's Republic, but there was also a broader interest from those who were inspired by Communism's promise, but not committed to the parties and organisations representing its cause. Thirdly long-standing images of China as a site of overcrowding and misery made the need for dramatic change appear necessary, in a way that it wasn't in Australia. Finally, some Australians believed that, in Communism, the Chinese people had finally found a system strong enough to expel the hated burden of imperialism. As Chapter 2 has shown, the wave of decolonisation that followed the Pacific War led some Australians to enthusiastically support the development of independent, post-colonial nations. Much of China's foreign relations relied on broadcasting Communism as an ideology intrinsically opposed to colonialism. Locally, the CPA was the most organised anti-colonial agitator, strengthening the association between communism and anti-colonialism.[16] Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai served as a particularly potent figure in the rhetoric of anti-colonial communism. The success of China's Communist Party was perceived by some Westerners as a signal that the Chinese people had determined to be rid of imperialism once and for all, and would mould a grim history into a successful post-colonial future. Inspired by a complex range of factors, some Australians wished to express their support, as well as see Chinese developments for themselves, by travelling to China during the Cold War.

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[15] A survey of the ways in which the 1950s in Australia is popularly conceived is in John Murphy and Judith Smart, "'Introduction' to Special Edition, 'the Forgotten Fifties'," *Australian Historical Studies* 28, no. 109 (1997), pp. 1-5.
[16] See, for example, Gerald Peel, *India and Australia: There Is a Solution!* (Sydney: Legal Rights Committee, circa 1943); Gerard Peel, *Quit India: Why Australians Should Support This Demand* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1946); Walter Blaschke, *Freedom for Malaya* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1948); Rupert Lockwood, *China: Our Neighbour* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1951); China Defence League, *In Guerrilla China* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1945); E.W. Campbell, *People's Victory in China* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1949).

Political Pilgrimages

Lachlan Strahan and Timothy Kendall have both analysed Australian fellow-travellers in the context of Australia's perceptions of China. Strahan has situated their travels within the context of a 'bedrock of archetypes' which structured Australian perceptions of China throughout the twentieth century.[17] Kendall has also traced Australian perceptions during this period, and by focussing on their fascination with the figure of Marco Polo, he argues that fellow-travellers were deeply influenced by traditional Orientalist rumours.[18] By maintaining a distinct focus on travel to China, these specialised studies can miss the similarities between fellow-travelling and other contemporary forms of travel to Asia; and indeed of the nature of travel as a whole. This chapter situates the fellow-travelling phenomenon alongside its conservative counterpart, discussed in the previous chapter. It also situates it within the broader tropes of travel culture and travel writing. In doing so, it explores ways in which fellow-travelling to China, while unique in some ways, fit into broader patterns of imagining, experiencing and representing Asia in mid-twentieth century Australia. It also traces the concrete impacts of the fellow-travellers' rhetoric, including on subsequent patterns of travel, and on developments in government policy.

The first Australians to travel to China following the revolution held strong ideological sympathies. Controversial left-wing journalist Wilfred Burchett, who had achieved fame after filing the first 'eyewitness' report of the devastation of Hiroshima, spent six months in China in 1951. Other political pilgrimages were made by members of the CPA. Strahan estimates that seventy CPA cadres were sent to Peking to study communist ideology during the 1950s, including prominent figures Eric and Laurie Aarons, John Sendy and Keith McEwen.[19] Uncommitted supporters of communism also made political pilgrimages to China. Prominent novelist Dymphna Cusack and her husband Norman Freehill lived in China for two years during the late 1950s, and returned again during the early 1960s. These travels were part of a broader pattern of ideologically-motivated travel: Cusack also made several visits to the USSR, as well as to Soviet satellite states including Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Along with her enthusiastic reports about communism in articles and lectures across Australia, this pattern of travel led the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to consider Cusack a communist sympathiser as early as 1950.[20]

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[17] Strahan, *Australia's China*, especially p. 3.
[18] Timothy Kendall, "Marco Polo, Orientalism and the Experience of China: Australian Travel Accounts of Mao's Republic," *Asian Studies Review* 28 (2004), pp. 373–89; Timothy Kendall, *Ways of Seeing China: From Yellow Peril to Shangrila* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005).
[19] Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 183. See also Eric Aarons, "As I Saw the Sixties," *Australian Left Review* no. 27 (1970), pp. 60-73.
[20] 'Ellen Dymphna Cusack,' National Archives of Australia (henceforth NAA), A6119: 1555.

Australian communists and sympathisers were not alone in their eagerness to see the workings of communism at first hand, nor was China unique as a destination for political tourists. Caute and Hollander have identified fellow-travellers from across the capitalist world, in particular Western Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States. Their travels took them to several communist and socialist nations; particularly the Soviet Union and China, but also to other socialist states in Eastern European as well as to Cuba and North Vietnam.

Strahan has drawn attention to the courage of those travelling to China during the 'McCarthyist atmosphere' of the Cold War.[21] Some of these early fellow-travellers did indeed endure great difficulties as a result of their desire to visit China. The Menzies government's non-recognition of the PRC rendered Australian passports invalid for China. Australians wishing to enter China had to apply for special permission, a request which could result in attention from ASIO. The Cold War also saw a strengthening of Ministerial discretion over Australian passports, which could now be refused or revoked if an individual's overseas movements were interpreted as endangering Australian foreign relations.[22] Travel to China could also hold more serious consequences, especially after the Chinese entry into the Korean War. Members of a 1952 delegation to a Peace Conference in Peking were assessed as travelling 'behind enemy lines,' and had their passports revoked.[23] The involvement of John Burton, the former Secretary of the Department of External Affairs and Labor candidate for the 1951 federal election, saw their journey receive widespread media coverage, most of which was negative.[24] Perhaps the greatest difficulties of all, however, were faced by Burchett. After his reports of the Korean War from the other side met with stern disapproval from the Menzies government, Burchett was prevented from renewing his passport for seventeen years, regaining it only upon the fall of the conservative government in 1972.

While some would-be fellow-travellers performed a type of self-censorship and stayed at home, many others did decide to travel to China. ASIO files were certainly kept, but many of the agency's targets were not aware that they were being tracked, and so would have been unlikely to change their behaviour. Further, the devolvement of the Korean War in 1953 took some of the intensity out of the debate, and rendered visits to China less taboo. In 1955, passport procedures were softened, and requests for passports to be validated for China were granted automatically,

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[21] Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 182.

[22] Jane Doulman and David Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection: A History of the Australian Passport* (Sydney: The Federation Press/Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2008), pp. 125-49.

[23] Phillip Deery and Craig McLean, "Behind Enemy Lines: Menzies, Evatt and Passports for Peking," *The Round Table* 92, no. 1 (2003), pp. 42-59; Doulman and Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection*, p. 144.

[24] Doulman and Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection*, pp. 139-45; Barbara Carter, "The Peace Movement in the 1950s," in *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's First Cold War, 1945 - 1959*, ed. Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 62.

as long as they were accompanied by a statement outlining the reasons for the journey.[25] As a result, the range of Australians travelling to China broadened, to include some visitors without links to organised communism. While few with determinedly right-wing views travelled to China during the Cold War, a number of Australians with broadly unaligned politics did. This number grew during the 1950s, and by the end of the 1960s, a significant proportion of those travelling to China held no deep connections to organised communism.

As the previous chapter has shown, the 1950s and 1960s saw a widespread interest in Australia's role in Asia. Whilst the conservative rhetoric of Clune, Simpson and Warner posited the nations of non-Communist Asia as vital destinations in which Australians cold learn about Asian neighbours, similar concerns could also inspire a visit to China. As Sheila Fitzpatrick has shown, many Australians had been drawn to the Soviet Union out of sheer curiosity about how Communism functioned, and what it actually looked like.[26] Propaganda from both sides presented Communists as entirely different creatures, remade in the crucible of revolution; and some Australians were eager to have a look at these creatures for themselves. Curiosity, as much as ideology, could draw Australians to China during the Cold War.

The first visit of Australians with no ideological ties was a delegation of eight prominent Anglicans, led by the Anglican Primate, Archbishop Howard Mowll, who travelled to China in 1956. Mowll returned from his visit declaring that, contrary to reports, 'the church was, in fact, very much alive' in the PRC, and that progress in all fields was being achieved at a staggering pace.[27] His enthusiastic pronouncements attracted significant media attention and sparked popular debate.[28] Although his visit attracted censure as well as praise, his authority and prestige rendered a journey to Communist China increasingly respectable. Another group which helped normalise fellow-travelling was the Australia China Society, formed in 1951 under the chairmanship of the Revered H. Aitkin and Professor C.P. Fitzgerald. The Australia China Society was constituted of those interested in Chinese culture and arts, as well as its politics. During the late 1950s and into the 1960s, the Australia China Society sent a number of delegations for official visits to China, as did mainstream political groups including the Labor Party and several trade unions.

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[25] Doulman and Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection*, p. 145.

[26] Fitzpatrick and Rasmussen, *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s*, pp. 1-39.

[27] 'Dr. Mowll was refused visa,' *The Age*, 7 January 1957, p. 3.

[28] Evidence of popular interest in the delegation, and conflicting views within the community, are evident in debates in the Letters pages of broadsheet newspapers, including the *Age*. See 'The Church in Red China: Visit of the Primate,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 11 January 1957, p. 2; 'Primate's Visit to Red China,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 15 January 1957, p. 2; 'Christians in China Today,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 24 January 1957, p. 2; 'R.C. Church in Red China,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 17 January 1957, p. 2.

These early journeys paved the way for many more Australian visits during the late 1950s and 1960s. Colin Mackerras and Edmund Fung have estimated that approximately 1,000 Australians visited the PRC before 1972.[29] Most travelled in delegations, by which groups of teachers, academics, engineers, unionists or farmers were 'invited' by a similar organisation in China, for the purpose of displaying local advancements in their field and encouraging fellowship across geographical and ideological divides. Others, including the prominent retailer Ken Myer, travelled in a private group.[30] Although most were not members of the CPA Party, Anne-Marie Brady has shown that foreigners were typically investigated by Chinese authorities, before an invitation was issued. Although tourists did not have to be ideological 'friends,' invitations to 'enemies' were rare during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.[31]

Most of those Australians who travelled to China during the Cold War were not committed Communists, and many held positions of some influence in the Australian mainstream. Myra Roper, who travelled to China fifteen times from the mid-1950s, was Principal of the Women's College at the University of Melbourne as well as a well-known radio and television personality. Despite her many visits and sympathetic accounts of China, it appears that Roper never attracted a dedicated ASIO file.[32] Neither did Maslyn Williams, despite an array of films and books about areas of interest to Australia, including Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, as well as China. Ron Wright was the Deputy Chancellor of the University of Melbourne when he travelled to China in 1972; his wife was Executive Director of the Myer Foundation. Ken Myer himself visited China in 1958, and his management of the Myer commercial chain certainly precludes too close an association with communism. Other fellow-travellers were unknown both to the security agencies and the general public, and it seems that some did not hold strong political views on departure. Many went to China simply because they opportunity had arisen, and they were curious to see a place so often in the news.

Many fellow-travellers utilised the same rhetoric of sentimental personalism as their conservative counterparts. Archbishop Mowll had urged Australians to 'befriend Asians' well before he set off to China.[33] In a newspaper profile, Cusack claimed that she travelled to Asia because Australians needed to 'accept the fact that we belong to Asia' and so 'we should enlarge

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[29] Cited in Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 296.
[30] *Interview with Kenneth Myer*, (Conducted by Heather Rusden, National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 2655, 1990-1992)
[31] Anne-Marie Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China: Managing Foreigners in the People's Republic* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2003), p. 19.
[32] For details of her fifteen visits, see Papers of Myra Roper, National Library of Australia (Henceforth NLA) MS 7711.
[33] 'Befriend Asians, Archbishop urges,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 1953, p. 4.

our policy into a peaceful good neighbourliness.'[34] Roper used a similar discourse, claiming that 'we have to get to know [China] better,' as 'we must learn to live in peace with China because she is so near and so powerful.'[35] Thus, the sentimental and affective language used by conservative travel writers during the Cold War found an echo in those Australians setting out for China. Rather than merely signalling a sympathy for communism, as Caute and Hollander have claimed, or an abiding Orientalist interest in China, as Strahan and Kendall imply, Australian fellow-travelling to China was but one manifestation of a broader Australian interest in, and concern about, Asia in the Cold War period.

Travelling to China

In the absence of normal diplomatic relations with many nations, the PRC placed a high priority on encouraging positive reports by unofficial visitors. Indeed, China was one of the first states to recognise tourism's capacity to shape the culture in which foreign relations took place. As a result, it tried to ensure that visitors returned home with positive impressions, which they could share with friends, or publish for a broader audience. Until the late-1970s, all visitors to China were carefully monitored and managed by the state bureaucracy. The Chinese policy of people's diplomacy, or *waishi*, was based on the Soviet *delegatsiya* system. Visas were typically only issued to delegations for the purpose of 'people's diplomacy' until the mid-1960s.[36] After this period, visitors no longer had to be invited, but could apply to be part of a general tourist party; but visits were conducted in much the same way.

To ensure that only positive impressions were broadcast, the Chinese government devised a complicated system whereby tourists were carefully guided to the most laudable sights, and distanced from more negative views. The system of delegation and official tours saw foreign visitors only pay for transport from their home countries to the border between China and Hong Kong at Shumchun. All internal arrangements were made by the Chinese state, which also paid for all expenses.

Of course, the Chinese were not the only nation to attempt to show visitors its best side. However, the difference between the Chinese system and other systems of cultural diplomacy was its reach. Every visitor to China was obliged to be with an official tour until the early-1980s. Visits were closely supervised by a team of specially-trained interpreters and cadres, so that even

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[34] Gumleaf brought her home!' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 14 February 1963 and 'She went to China for a chat,' *Melbourne Herald,* 19 February 1958 in 'Ellen Dymphna Cusack,' National Archives of Australia, A6119: 1555.
[35] 'Plea for more China contact,' *The Age,* 25 February 1964, p. 11.
[36] Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, pp. 2-3.

fluent Mandarin speakers had to conduct all conversations in English through their interpreter.[37] Sightseeing was conducted according to a meticulously planned itinerary designed to showcase the best of Communist China, and leave no time for anything else. Itineraries were programmed to be broad enough to give visitors the impression that they had seen everything there was to see in China. Specialists including doctors, teachers and agronomists, were usually taken to a site of particular interest for their field. Yet, as Brady has shown, tourists were only ever taken to show-pieces and model institutions, some of which were purpose-built to impress foreign visitors.[38] Commonly, tourists saw two or three major cities – usually Canton, Shanghai and Beijing – and one or two industrial towns. Myra Roper's itinerary for a June 1974 visit is representative. Her twenty-day visit included visits to model factories, hospitals, schools and universities, museums, theatres, Friendship Stores, workers' homes and towns with names such as 'Happy Village'.[39] The itinerary was so tight that not even an hour was set aside for rest or private recreation. On the day of her arrival in Kwangchow, Roper was taken to a five storey pagoda which had been converted into a museum. Having attentively made her way through each of the five floors, she was whisked away to a concert that continued late into the evening. The next day saw a visit to a school for the deaf & dumb, a Peasants' Institute and a Cultural Park, and the day after to a university, an Art Exhibition, an 'Old Temple' and a museum, all before a mid-afternoon departure for Peking.[40]

Visits followed a set pattern. Tourists, along with their personal translators and cadres, were driven to each site in a private car. On arrival, they were met by Party representatives, or, after the Cultural Revolution, by members of the organisation's Revolutionary Committee. They drank tea and took notes as their hosts related various facts and statistics to illustrate how things had improved since the Revolution. Tourists then inspected the institution, and were often treated to a show of propaganda. Visitors to schools, for example, typically watched student performances of revolutionary songs such as *The East is Red*. They were also ceaselessly applauded, hugged, and called 'Aunt' or 'Uncle', 'Grandma' or 'Grandpa' by groups of children, who were encouraged to be warm to overseas visitors. Aiming for sentimental engagement, fellow-travellers were invariably delighted. Maslyn Williams found his 'first captivation by the Chinese people was completed' at a visit to a primary school, where he became 'lost in a labyrinth of joy, going through group to group through living laneways of happy, clapping

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[37] Ibid., p. 93.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Dymphna Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958) p. 80.
[40] 'Programme', in Papers of Myra Roper, NLA MS 7711, Folder 4: Trip to China, 1974.

children."[41] Many visitors judged children to be the barometers of a society's success, and the boisterous youngsters convinced many visitors that Chinese Communism was a resounding success.

In the spirit of international co-operation, tourists were also invited to meet and converse with model workers and citizens. As Brady has shown, these meetings too were 'carefully scripted and controlled.'[42] All Chinese citizens had to be formally accredited before they could meet with foreigners. Australian fellow-travellers therefore only had contact with a small number of individuals, all of whom had been briefed on the current correct political line. As a result, conversations with 'ordinary' Chinese followed a distinct pattern, by which the Chinese provided testimony about the improvements which Communism had brought to their lives, often in strikingly similar language.

Fellow-travellers had little opportunity to see anything apart from these carefully stage-managed confections. Before 1979, only a few cities were open for foreigners, ensuring that areas of poverty or political unrest were never seen by foreign eyes. Further, the *waishi* system ensured that visitors had no access to dissenting views. On tours, foreigners ate in private dining rooms, travelled in private cars, and sat in specially designated sitting rooms at the theatre and opera. Friendship Hotels, miles from anywhere, were virtually free of Chinese, and, as taxis were nonexistent, they doubled as luxurious prisons. Further, the pace of their itineraries meant that even the most energetic traveller soon grew too tired to ask questions. If they did question something they saw, they were often rebuffed by their interpreters and guides, who gently reminded them that awkward questions were unworthy of their roles as cultural ambassadors. Thus although the rhetoric of 'people's diplomacy' was trumpeted by the Chinese, the state authorities retained strict controls over the foreign visitor's experience whilst in China.

Seeing is Believing

Fellow-travellers were, on the whole, eager to represent what they had seen to a broader audience. As Brady has found, China commonly targeted its invitations at writers and journalists, in line with its policy of 'using foreign strength to do propaganda work for China.'[43] However, even fellow-travellers with no literary pretensions often published a personal account upon their return, using the rhetoric that, having seen it for themselves, they were duty-bound to 'let

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[41] Maslyn Williams, *The East Is Red - the Chinese: A New Viewpoint* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), p. 41.
[42] Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, p. 93.
[43] Ibid., p. 19.

Australians know just what China today is really like.'[44] With the notion that first-hand experience had given them an insight into the 'real' China, they published dozens of books and articles, and delivered countless lectures, speeches and addresses.

'Eyewitness' accounts were particularly attractive because of the obvious distortions caused by propaganda and whitewash on both sides of the political divide. Placing themselves in opposition to this obfuscation, fellow-travellers emphasised that their personal experiences were unmediated, and were, therefore, way for readers to access the 'truth.' Fellow-travellers typically went to great lengths to convince readers that theirs was a factual, rather than ideological, account. In their account, for example, historian Colin Mackerras and language teacher Neale Hunter claimed it was difficult to really understand China without a personal encounter.[45] As Timothy Kendall has recognised, many fellow-travellers titled their accounts in a way that highlighted their role as eyewitnesses.[46] Many also prefaced their monographs with florid claims of political neutrality. John Jackson, who led an Australian table tennis team to China during the highly politicised 'ping pong diplomacy' phenomenon of 1971, claimed that the tour 'had no political significance to me personally.'[47] Meriel and R. Douglas Wright assured readers of *China: The New Neighbour* that they had gone to China with 'with open eyes, open ears and open minds.'[48] As a Labor MP, Leslie Haylen had a harder task in convincing readers of political neutrality, yet he too prefaced his 1959 account, *Chinese Journey*, with claims that 'I sought to please no man or party…I wanted it only to tell the truth, to give a fair report.'[49] Others presented their professional credentials and qualifications in, for example, medicine or education, in order to bolster their report on the progress of that field in Communist China.[50]

Aware that critical eyes would be cast on their narratives, fellow-travellers were eager to show that their experiences were credible. Myra Roper claimed that, from the start of her 1958 visit, she had determined to 'look round every corner, under every bed, sift every statement, check every claim.'[51] Evoking the authority lent by the latest technology, she assured readers that her account was based on copious notes, tape-recordings, photographs and film.[52] Similarly, the Wrights attested that their account was 'compiled from shorthand notes of facts, figures and

[44] John Jackson, *Ping Pong to China* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1971), p. 7.
[45] Colin Mackerras and Neale Hunter, *China Observed, 1964/1967* (Sydney: Thomas Nelson (Australia), 1967), p. 2.
[46] Kendall, *Ways of Seeing China*, p. 99.
[47] Jackson, *Ping Pong to China*, p. 5
[48] Meriel Wright and R. Douglas Wright, *China: The New Neighbour* (Dee Why West, N.S.W.: Tempo Books, 1973), pp. 7-8.
[49] Leslie Haylen, *Chinese Journey: The Republic Revisited* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1959), p. ix.
[50] For example, see the way each contributor is introduced in Tim Loh, Alan Marshall, and George et al. Slater, *China through Australian Eyes* (Canterbury, Victoria: New Democratic Publications, 1973).
[51] Myra Roper, *China: The Surprising Country* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p. 2.
[52] Ibid., p. 5.

verbatim conversations recorded principally at briefing and question and criticism sessions.'[53] Introducing *Ping Pong to China*, Jackson claimed to have had 'one definite thought on my approach to our Chinese tour, and this was to record everything I saw, heard or did in China.' To this end, he claimed he had taken notes for fifteen hours a day, emptying nine pens in the process. As if this was not enough, he also boasted that he had taken 500 photographs and seven reels of film.[54]

This frenzy of recording produced accounts riddled with names, dates, facts and, above all, statistics. Writing of the labour conditions for railway workers, for example, Burchett noted that the Railway Workers' Union had established 1871 clubs, 180 libraries, 36 theatrical groups, 103 schools, 26 rest homes, two sanatoria and hundreds of sports fields, choirs and smaller entertainment units to service its 450,000 workers.[55] Visiting a 'typical' village, Burchett noted that 80% of China's population of 475,000,000 people were peasants; that there were 700 families in the village, altogether 3,000 people; that the village land amounted to 10,770 mow (at six mow to an acre), of which exactly half had been owned by only 45 landlords before Liberation; that after the Agrarian Reform Law had been passed, this land was divided between 551 peasants, who also shared 20,000 pounds of grain.[56] At Number 2 Textile mill, Burchett revealed that production had increased from the Liberation-era 4,800 employees working 60,000 spindles and 2,100 looms, at an output of 3.9 yards per loom per hour, to now accommodate 7,200 workers, 100,000 spindles, 2,700 looms and an output of 4.7 yards per hour.[57] Similar statistical summaries of the slightest details of production followed his further excursions to the dockyards, the Feng Feng mine, the 'Dragon's Eyes' iron and steel mill and the Cultural Literary Institute, among others. Burchett's account provided the model for subsequent representations. Detailed statistical reports featured in many fellow-travellers' accounts, ostensibly providing evidence for the progress they described.

Working to the discourse that 'seeing is believing,' many fellow-travellers took it for granted that all of China was as happy as the 'Happy Village' they had seen. Roper claimed that the family she had visited at home were 'just an average family at an average meal.'[58] Similarly, Dr. Tim Loh, a surgeon visiting China in September 1972, wrote that he had 'no doubt' that other

[53] Wright and Wright, *China: The New Neighbour*, p. 7-8.
[54] Jackson, *Ping Pong to China*, p. 7.
[55] Wilfred Burchett, *China's Feet Unbound* (Melbourne: World Unity Publications, 1952), p. 36.
[56] Ibid., pp. 38-48
[57] Ibid., pp. 66-7.
[58] Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, p. 80.

hospitals and colleges of traditional medicine were as good as the ones he was shown.[59] Even Mackerras and Hunter, who resided in China for several years and attempted to present a more critical account in their 1967 *China Observed*, were not exempt from generalising from model institutions. While admitting that every one of the 'large number' of factories they had visited were showpieces, they claimed that, while some pieces were really all 'show,' other 'model' institutions 'can safely be taken as average'; this despite the fact that they had no opportunity to visit any institution that was not sanctioned by the government, and therefore no evidence on which to base their guess at a national 'average'.[60] Thus, fellow-travellers transferred their detailed knowledge of a single site, as gained through careful study, onto the country as a whole.

Extrapolating from single sites and personal experiences, fellow-travellers made grand pronouncements of all-encompassing change in China, in which miracles of construction and development were taking place, and even 'the very air seems different.'[61] This difference was seen as being so great that it had achieved nearly magical changes. Cusack reported that Communism had improved personal relationships. She related the statements of 'ordinary' women who enthused that, since Liberation, they were 'happier than [they] have ever been in our married life. My husband has changed completely.'[62] Several Australians also reported that Communism had cured China of social ills, so that drug abuse, child abuse, spousal abuse, divorce, abuse of the aged, the black market, prostitution, organised crime, teenage delinquency and even road accidents, disabilities and stomach ulcers were 'all but non-existent in China.'[63] For over thirty years, fellow-travellers also reported that Communism had eradicated theft. Set pieces of Chinese honesty featured a cast of over-zealous concierges who tracked visitors over thousands of miles to return old biros, used razors and worn slippers that travellers had discarded in hotel rubbish bins. Summing up such changes, Cusack claimed that China had experienced more than a revolution, which was 'too simple a term for what is happening here. It is resurrection.'[64]

In light of the highly politicised nature of their travel, of claims that both sides of the ideological divide were disseminating a false image through propaganda, and of what were still recent revelations about the dark reality underpinning Stalin's regime, fellow-travellers' claims to

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[59] Tim Loh, "Some Impressions of Chinese Medicine," in *China through Australian Eyes*, ed. Alan Marshall Tim Loh, George Slater et al. (Canterbury, Vic.: New Democratic Publications, 1973), p. 2.
[60] Mackerras and Hunter, *China Observed*, p. 5.
[61] Wilfred G. Burchett, *News from New China* (Banksia Park, Vic.: World Unity Publications, 1951), p. 3.
[62] Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, p. 118.
[63] For example, see George Slater, "Friendship and National Equality," in *China through Australian Eyes* (Canterbury, Vic.: New Democratic Publications, 1973), p. 82; Wright and Wright, *China: The New Neighbour*, p. 71; Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, p. 100. Quote is from Wright and Wright.
[64] Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, p. 87.

personal experience and empirical evidence were particularly fervent.[65] However, the process of reporting on China during the Cold War had many affinities with other, more mainstream forms of travel and travel writing. Richard White has pointed out that Australian travellers to China in the nineteenth century were similarly concerned with asserting that their accounts had 'the inestimable virtue of being the report of an 'eye-witness.'[66] In their volume on travel writing, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs found that 'the claim to empirical truthfulness [is] so crucial to travel stories of all kinds.'[67] Indeed, personal experience was lauded as a means towards greater insight by many travellers during this period. The travelogues and travel stories discussed in the previous chapter expressed a similar logic; they too had travelled to Asia to *see* the conditions for themselves, and to come to an understanding of Asia through their personal experiences. Thus, an insistence on the authority of personal experience was not unique to Australian fellow-travellers to China, but has been common to many travellers and travel writers, across time.

The claims to first-hand authority could also act as canny marketing, revealing a commercial motive that further complicated the experience of fellow-travelling. As the previous chapter has shown, Asia was an interesting topic for Australian readers during this period, and China, as a major player in the region's political developments, was perhaps more interesting than most. The best-written Australian fellow-travellers' accounts were published by respectable publishing houses including Heinemann in London and Angus & Robertson in Sydney, prestigious firms which could guarantee a sizable print run. Others were published by niche firms including Sun. Books about China were popular throughout the Cold War, and interest boomed following *rapprochement* in 1972, and the resulting turn to 'engagement.' Writing the preface to yet another personal account in 1979, Australia's first Ambassador to China, Stephen FitzGerald, noted that 'the world seems to have an insatiable appetite for books on China.'[68] Like Clune and Simpson, the more literary fellow-travellers repeatedly claimed they wrote their accounts in order to allow Australians to pierce beneath the distortions of propaganda. Yet, just like Clune and Simpson, self-interest could be a contributing factor which added an additional layer of complexity to fellow-travellers' accounts.

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[65] For an account of Australian fellow-travellers to the Soviet Union, see McNair, "Visiting the Future.", and Fitzpatrick and Rasmussen, *Political Tourists*.
[66] Richard White, "Australian Journalists, Travel Writing and China: James Hingston, the 'Vagabond' and G.E. Morrison," *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 2 (2008), p. 239.
[67] Peter Hulme and Tim Young, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-13.
[68] Beverley Hooper, *Inside Peking: A Personal Report* (London: Macdonald and Jane's Publishers Ltd., 1979), p. vii.

While statistics served as concrete evidence of China's progress, fellow-travellers were also careful to represent Chinese communism in personal and emotive terms. Several argued that the true meaning of China's revolution lay in the personal experiences of individuals, and particularly in the contrast in lives before and after 'Liberation.' Again setting the model, Burchett's description of his visit to a model village told the story of Mrs. Chang, who had been forced into concubinage before the Revolution, and who had just decided to commit suicide when rescued by a Communist cadre; of Chang Pao-han, who had been mistreated while slaving for a wealthy landowner, but was now head of the village co-operative; of Hu Yu-chieh, a child bride doomed to a life of slavery under her mother-in-law before the Women's Federation liberated and educated her; and of Chao Te-tai, a peasant who had previously worried about paying dowries for his two daughters, but was now so prosperous that he was had plenty to spare for his taxes.[69] Similar stories followed Burchett's visit to the Feng Feng mine, where Lo Yung-chin revealed that, where he had been so hungry he ate coal dust to stop the hunger pains before Liberation, he now ate half a kilo of pork every day.[70]

Following Burchett's example, many fellow-travellers presented the misery of Chinese lives before Liberation in highly emotive terms. Highlighting the iniquities of pre-Revolutionary China was a particular concern of the *waishi* policy, which considered this a suitable way to 'chasten foreigners and remind them of their guilt' in creating the conditions that were now being appeased by the Communists.[71] Reporting the testimony of their guides and other 'ordinary' Chinese, many fellow-travellers evoked the devastation which colonialism had wrought on Chinese living conditions, and on the nation's pride in emotive terms. 'In the past,' Cusack wrote, the conditions were so bad that the streets were littered with the bodies of those who had succumbed to cold and hunger. She also claimed that, before the revolution, the Chinese had not been allowed to gather water from wells, were restricted in their choice of clothing, were unhappy in arranged marriages, were always sick, and often had to make do with just one rag for washing and cleaning.[72] Similar portrayals featured in most accounts, usually as testimony from the 'ordinary' Chinese that the visitors had met during visits to factories and model villages, and were evoked to explain Communism's continuing appeal in China. Summing up, Burchett claimed colonialism had 'bit deep into the living body of China.'[73] As Williams reminded readers,

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[69] Burchett, *China's Feet Unbound*, pp. 38-52.
[70] Ibid., pp. 55-7.
[71] Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, p. 28.
[72] Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, pp. 56, 80, 118, 100, 115.
[73] Burchett, *China's Feet Unbound*, p. 11; Burchett, *News from New China*, p. 3.

'had the Western invaders been a little less rapacious...it is possible that Communists would not now be governing in China.'[74]

At its extreme, recognition that the 'West' had subjugated China led to a personal sense of contrition. During their 1971 tour, Meriel and R. Douglas Wright felt they 'represented a world which for more than a century had been hostile and brutal to China.'[75] Myra Roper was personally 'gratified' by a lack of colonialist attitudes in British relations with the PRC.[76] Although she maintained some intellectual distance herself, historian Beverley Hooper recounted studying under professors at Beijing University who, 'admittedly operating under severe ideological constraints,' focussed so strongly on the wrongs of Western imperialism in China that 'some Western students began feeling decidedly guilty for the sins of their imperialist predecessors.'[77] Of course, China had never been formally colonised by Western powers, and Australia had played little role in Shanghai's system of foreign concessions. Rather, the focus on Western imperialism was *waishi* policy aiming to present the PRC's 'Liberation' of colonial China in a more positive light. The extent to which Australian visitors accepted personal blame for the wrongs of colonial China reveals the power of the *waishi* policy on visitors to New China.

While colonialism's toll was blamed for the desperate situation which had led to Communism's victory in China, Australian fellow-travellers rarely mentioned Japanese imperialism – instead, they pointed the finger at Europe's system of trade preferences and land concessions. As a result, with the prompting of their guides and cadres, they took Shanghai, and not Nanking or Manchuria, as a symbolic space representing colonialism's dreadful toll. Shanghai carried a special significance to many Australian travellers, partly because of the mythical way in which pre-Revolutionary Shanghai was remembered in the West.[78] This city was conceived of as a place of extremes, embodying all the contradictions of China within its boundaries. Haylen claimed that Shanghai was a 'diadem of despair the white man had placed on the brow of China.'[79] Williams portrayed Shanghai as 'a duct through which these foreign traders (these gypsies) siphoned the lifeblood from almost half of China.[80] For Roper, the surface glitter of the Bund represented 'the misery of the many – hideous, almost unbelievable in its sub-humanity.'[81]

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[74] Williams, *The East Is Red*, pp. 210-211.
[75] Wright and Wright, *China: The New Neighbour*, p. 9
[76] "Miss Roper's Travel Diary - Instalment 2-A, October 29th, 1958, in Papers of Myra Roper, NLA MS 7711.
[77] Beverley Hooper, *China Stands Up: Ending the Western Presence, 1948-1950* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. viii.
[78] See Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 261.
[79] Haylen, *Chinese Journey*, p. 56.
[80] Williams, *The East Is Red*, pp. 210-211.
[81] Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, p. 141.

As Strahan has recognised, Shanghai was also evoked as an exemplar of what Communism had achieved.[82] The new Shanghai was the opposite of the old. As Haylen wrote, 'Shanghai revisited is an experience I am glad I didn't miss. The impact of the clean-up is terrific,' and the extent of change nothing less than 'a miracle.'[83] Working as an English-language teacher in Shanghai, Neale Hunter also claimed the 'rebirth of Shanghai after 1949 was something of a miracle.'[84] Cusack was similarly impressed with Shanghai, finding that Chinese lives had improved 'beyond description' following the revolution.[85] In travelogues shaped around the contrast of pre-Liberation miseries and Communist achievement, the transformation of Shanghai played a particularly symbolic role.

Again, fellow-travellers' descriptions of the misery of colonialism fall into broader As Christina Klein has outlined, the Cold War discourse of sentimental personalism pivoted around affect and emotion, and personal stories were its stock-in-trade.[86] At its most basic level, the concept of people-to-people relations, which, as the previous chapter has shown, had begun to shape ideas about travel and tourism in this period, was premised on connections being made with individuals across political and cultural divides. Fellow-travellers' dedication to recording the personal stories of the people they met, therefore, represents just one form of a broader trope. In the context of Cold War interest in Asia's political situation, the fellow-travellers' eager reporting of pre-Liberation experiences also functioned as a means to developing a greater understanding of communism's attraction in China. Like Syme's and Wade's attempts to determine whether Hong Kong or Singapore's conditions were bad enough to make communism attractive to the locals, the fellow-travellers' attempts to catalogue the misery of pre-Liberation China served to justify the Revolution, in hindsight.

A moving experience

Australian fellow-travellers were deeply affected by China's rapid improvement, and the language of emotion suffused their texts. As early as 1951, Burchett claimed that he had 'never experienced anything so moving as New China.'[87] More than two decades later, Terrill wrote that he had been 'moved by the social gains of the Chinese revolution,' and portrayed his journey

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[82] Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 264.
[83] Haylen, *Chinese Journey*, p. 64-65.
[84] Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal: An Eyewitness Account of the Cultural Revolution* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 8.
[85] Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, p. 100.
[86] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945 - 1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 19-60.
[87] Burchett, *News from New China*, p. i.

through China as a 'spiritual struggle.'[88] Roper was 'moved' by Young Pioneers' singing.[89] In addition, fellow-travellers' accounts focussed on the boundless desire for friendship and international fellowship of the Chinese people. Burchett portrayed his journey from Canton to Peking as a tableau of sentimental unity. He shared his compartment with a female soldier in the Red Army, who insisted on sharing her food with him, and a group of cadres, 'the cheerful, hard-working ambassadors of the government.'[90] Travellers from other compartments dropped in for probing conversations about living conditions in Australia, and shared their wish for international fellowship.[91] With the exception of one Japanese engineer, whose behaviour was 'sub-human as far as ordinary feelings are concerned,' the train's passengers 'behaved like one large family on a picnic,' so that 'it was the merriest and most interesting train trip I have taken anywhere in the world.'[92] This sentimental mode was picked up by subsequent fellow-travellers. Dymphna Cusack was a particularly enthusiastic proponent of international fellowship, peppering *Chinese Women Stand Up* with depictions of instant friendship and 'instinctive sympathy' between women living in different worlds.[93]

This language of emotional connection across cultural and political divides again aligns Australian fellow-travellers' accounts with the broader genre of Cold War middlebrow personalism. Like the travelogues of Hong Kong, Japan and Singapore discussed in the previous chapter, these accounts sought to involve ordinary Australians in the conduct of the nation's foreign policy.[94] Like Colin Simpson and Peggy Warner, fellow-travellers claimed they were building cross-cultural relationships and 'bridging the gulf' between Australia and Asia.[95] Roper explicitly stated her belief that, 'if this awareness of our common humanity were everywhere accepted, not as a sentimental concept but as the main cold, hard fact of international relations, the chances for peace would be brighter,' a sentiment that was quoted approvingly in the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s review of her book.[96] However, where Simpson and Warner imagined that sentimental 'bridges' were to be developed in order to stymie Communist influence, fellow-travellers hoped for more direct contact across the Bamboo Curtain. While the political inflection was different, ultimately the broader narrative – of the need to engage with Asia, and

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[88] Ross Terrill, *800,000,000: The Real China*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 20.
[89] 5 October, 21 October and 30 October 1958, in Miss Roper's Travel Diary – Instalment 4. Papers of Myra Roper, NLA MS 7711.
[90] Burchett, *China's Feet Unbound*, p. 28.
[91] Ibid., pp. 28-9.
[92] Ibid., p. 31.
[93] Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*. See for example, pp. 5, 13, 48.
[94] The genre of 'middlebrow personalism' was first discussed in Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*.
[95] "Papers of Helen Newton Turner," National Library of Australia: NLA MS 3897.
[96] Ailsa Zainu'ddin, 'Dragon Awakening,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1966, p. 23.

the need for individuals to become involved in the conduct of national foreign policy – remained the same.

Unlike the mainstream writers of the 1950s and 1960s, however, fellow-travellers wanted the Australia-China relationship to move beyond 'neighbourliness,' to 'friendship.'[97] This term had a long history of left-wing applications, and in China, was used primarily in the sense of 'strategic relationship,' without a stress on personal or intimate relations.[98] However, fellow-travellers did inflect the term with sentiment. Roper and Cusack interpreted 'friendship' in a distinctly sentimental way, much as the idea of 'neighbourliness' was used in the context of engagement with non-Communist Asia. Although it never gained the clichéd ubiquity of the trope of neighbourliness, the concept of China as Australia's 'friend' did become commonplace, and continued to colour political and academic appraisals of Australia's relations with China for many years.[99]

Explaining Communism's Dark Side

The emotional investment in China's progress, and the hope that 'ordinary' Australians would become more open to engagement with China, led many fellow-travellers to represent it in a thoroughly positive light. At times, some astute tourists did notice the overt propaganda effort of the *waishi* system, and began to ponder about the mediated nature of their experience. Williams, for example, dryly noted that he expected his interpreter to answer 'Amen' to a particularly 'correct' speech.[100] Yet, the sense of sentimental involvement with their subjects led most visitors to explain away the more grating elements of Communist China – particularly the regimentation and constant propaganda – in order to present a positive picture for a broader readership. An example of this process is found in the Wrights' account. Although they noted the omnipresence of Communist Party cadres, they were careful to neutralise their presence in their travelogue. Thus, they quickly explained that a cadre's function was not sinister, but rather 'appears to be largely managerial with strong emphasis on maintaining 'correct' political attitudes.' Recognising that 'correct political attitudes' sounded menacing, they further added that 'this should not be taken to mean a rigid imposition of political doctrine in the Western sense of the word. It is rather an encouragement to adhere to an unselfish devotion to the advancement

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[97] Note that fellow-travellers also used the trope of 'neighbourliness,' and the two terms could be deployed simultaneously. See, for example, Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, p. 9.

[98] Brady, *Making the Foreign Serve China*, pp. 7-8.

[99] Edward S.K. Fung and Colin Mackerras, *From Fear to Friendship: Australia's Policies Towards the People's Republic of China 1966-1982* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1985).

[100] Williams, *The East Is Red*, p. 154.

of the organisation, while never overlooking the welfare of its constituent members.'[101] Although the Wrights were effectively explaining away the totalitarian imposition of 'correct' doctrine, they were not doing so for purely ideological reasons. As previously noted, the Wrights were not committed communists, and would not normally be expected to support totalitarianism. Instead, the logic of travel writing itself dictated that, having seen China, and come to the sort of understanding that only first-hand experience could provide, fellow-travellers would now represent their personal insights to a broader audience, to share the knowledge which only 'being there' could bring.

A similar process is evident in fellow-travellers' attempts to normalise the more foreign-seeming aspects of Chinese sexual mores.[102] The only evidence Roper ever found that sex existed in China was in the number of babies and children; 'otherwise one might be tempted to suspect it had ceased to be.'[103] Certainly, she 'never once saw young people indulging in anything more passionate than handholding.'[104] Similarly, despite maintaining an alert watch for such intimacies, the Wrights 'did not see a man and woman exchange a loving gesture or even hold hands, let along put their arms around each other or kiss.'[105] The absence of sex, love and intimacy in China was strange, and fellow-travellers recognised that the lack of romantic and familial sentiment in China could appear shocking and unnatural to some Australians. However, they had seen it with their own eyes, and having heard so many touching stories of pre-Liberation misery, they knew that the Chinese were anything but unemotional. As a result, fellow-travellers developed several strategies to normalise the situation for an Australian audience. The first saw them attribute the difference to tradition and culture, claiming that the East had always been more reticent about sex than the West. Secondly, fellow-travellers attributed the lack of romance to a well-known political problem that lay outside of ideology, explaining that Chinese overpopulation was such that lovers had little chance of finding a quiet corner for romance. Thirdly, they presented it as a positive outcome of the communist ideology, claiming that the subjugation of personal desires for the public good was a touching symbol of the people's dedication to revolutionary principles. Some writers utilised all of these justifications, others resorted to only one or two, but an attempt to explain what they had seen, and to extrapolate out from their unique and individual experiences, was almost universal.

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[101] Wright and Wright, *China: The New Neighbour*, p. 8.
[102] Rare exceptions are in Cusack, *Chinese Women Speak*, p. 261, and Terrill, *800,000,000*, p. 36.
[103] Papers of Myra Roper, 1958 - 1981, NLA MS 7711, Box 1, Folder 9, p. 7. Roper makes a similar observation in Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, p. 86.
[104] Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, p. 86.
[105] Wright and Wright, *China: The New Neighbour*, p. 7.

The fellow-travellers' willingness to enter into the rhetoric and discourses of their hosts makes them appear uniquely duped, and Caute and Hollander, among others, have certainly forwarded this claim. However, again, part of their willingness to believe what they saw and heard, and find suitable explanations for it, stemmed from the nature of their visits. The political motivation for Cold War travel – with the underlying sense that people-to-people contacts were an important element that could lead to a broader diplomatic relationship – meant that their determination to present China in a positive light was part of their desire for international co-operation. Further, the fellow-travellers' accounts fit into broader patterns intrinsic to travel and travel writing. Travellers necessarily privilege first-hand experiences, and travel writers typically extrapolate out from those experiences, presenting their travels as a key to understanding broader issues. The manipulation of fellow-travellers' experiences by a canny government serves to highlight the fraught nature of all knowledge produced by travel and travel writing. The politicised context of Cold War travel, and the Chinese government's manipulation of travellers' perceptions, serves to accentuate the fallibility of travellers' experiences as a whole, rather than of this particular group of travellers, alone.

Thus, while their accounts appear naive, much of what the fellow-travellers said was as conditioned by the nature of travel, and of travel writing, as by ideology. As the previous chapter has shown, travellers to non-Communist Asian nations extrapolated about the 'standard of living,' or extent of political radicalism, from their unique experiences. This practice was enshrined in the genre of travel literature; indeed, as White has shown, the genre is largely premised on the notion that the traveller can inform readers about a destination, rather than about just their personal and unique experience of that destination.[106] As Paul Fussell explained, to be successful, travel writing must mediate between two poles: 'the individual physical things it describes, on the one hand, and the larger theme that it is "about," on the other.'[107] Extrapolation is central to all travel writing; however the political colouring of the fellow-travellers' accounts, and subsequent revelations that China was not the Utopia painted in fellow-travellers' accounts, makes the fallibility of the knowledge gained through travel and travel writing particularly obvious.[108]

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[106] White, "Australian Journalists, Travel Writing and China: James Hingston, the 'Vagabond' and G.E. Morrison."
[107] Paul Fussell, ed., *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), pp. 15-16.
[108] For an analysis of the ways in which the rumour of China changed after it was opened to independent and mass tourism, and again after the Tiananmen Square Massacre of 1989, see Chapter 7.

Broader Reception

Although the Chinese government's manipulation of fellow-travellers' is evident in hindsight, it wasn't so clear at the time. Australia's government and security agencies were vehemently anti-Communist, but broader society was more divided on the issue. Unlike the Australian intellectuals who travelled to the USSR during the 1920s and 1930s, many fellow-travellers to China received a relatively warm welcome upon their return.[109] As previously noted, many fellow-travellers occupied respectable positions. While radical figures such as Wilfred Burchett were treated punitively both by government and media, others were very much a part of the mainstream. The more literary of the fellow-travellers' accounts were reviewed in broadsheet dailies including the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*, sometimes by other fellow-travellers who, having seen a similar China themselves, reviewed their accounts positively. Other appraisals were less enthusiastic. *The Sun*'s review of Cusack's *Chinese Women Speak* claimed that, while 'from a literary point of view this book may easily rank as the best Dymphna Cusack has written,' its major weakness lay in the fact that, in Cusack's rendering, Chinese women 'all have the same vocabulary, use the same propaganda-flavoured phrases.' The reviewer noted that, whatever one thought of Communist China, 'eventually one becomes bored by Miss Cusack's unlimited enthusiasm, her myopic failure to find one tiny fault in this brave new world.'[110] Even generally sympathetic reviews similarly admitted that 'the book lacks balance,' and that it 'should have followed the traditional Chinese recipe of mixing sour with sweet.'[111]

The politically charged atmosphere of Cold War Australia, then, opened an avenue for a critique of the validity of 'first-hand' knowledge. Poorly written travelogues, in which the Chinese propaganda was handled with less sophistication, attracted negative reviews, which pointed out the contingent and mediated nature of the travellers' knowledge. The *Adelaide Advertiser* reviewed the Wrights' *China: Our New Neighbour*, and decreed it to be uncritical and overly trusting of 'what we are permitted to know from a brief neighbourly peek over the fence.'[112] Yet, despite occasional negative reviews, it is evident that there was no broader investigation of the validity of all travellers' accounts. Indeed, several fellow-travellers' accounts were recommended as 'general reading' in a mainstream geography text-book for secondary school students.[113] Further, the challenge to travellers' experiences did not extend beyond fellow-

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[109] For a discussion of the persecution of the Friends of the USSR, see Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality* (St. Leonards, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin, 1998), p. 368.

[110] 'Chinese Women Speak,' *The Sun* (Sydney), 14 January 1959, in 'Ellen Dymphna Cusack,' National Archives of Australia, NAA A6119: 1555.

[111] Joan Gillison, 'An Australian woman writer among Chinese women,' *The Age*, undated, in 'Ellen Dymphna Cusack,' National Archives of Australia, NAA A6119: 1555.

[112] Shirley Despoja, *Adelaide Advertiser*, 27 April 1974, cited in Kendall, "Marco Polo," p. 387.

[113] John West and Charles T. Goh, *Asians and Their Countries: China and India* (Sydney: William Brooks & Co., 1975), p. 5.

travellers' accounts, with few contemporary travelogues about other parts of the world subjected to similar epistemological challenges.

Although it is difficult to gauge the way readers received the fellow-travellers' accounts, there are subtle hints that suggest readers did not all accept their statements with complete equanimity. One critical faculty was applied to the copy of Roper's *China: The Surprising Country* held by the Fisher Library. Unhappy with Roper's enthusiastic praise of the Maoist state, and especially disgusted with her claims that this was 'a fair and objective record' of China, an anonymous reader voiced dissent by taking a pencil to the text. Notes such as 'a Stalinist's con trick' and 'you are a bloody liar' were scrawled alongside the prologue, thereby adding the shadow the reader felt was lacking in Roper's bright account.[114] Similar comments appeared in the margins of other accounts. A (different) reader of the Fisher Library's copy of Haylen's *Chinese Journey* also challenged the validity of travellers' experiences. Next to the statement that, 'China has many doors. They are all open,' for example, the reader added that this was only the case 'If your politics is right!'[115] Although not representative of the way in which all readers reacted to fellow-travellers' accounts, these furtive comments reveal that that readers were not always convinced by fellow-travellers' accounts, and at least some doubted the authority of personal experience in China. Thus, the clear-cut political and ideological split between left and right which mediated the reception of fellow-travellers' accounts allowed critical questions about the validity of travellers' experiences to be asked. Although astute readers questioned the veracity of fellow-travellers' experiences, the challenge to the authority of travel experiences was not terminal, and indeed the genre of Cold War travel writing continued to flourish on both sides of the ideological divide.

Anti-Communist travellers

The validity of fellow-travellers' accounts was also challenged by opposing experiences of China. Those who were unsympathetic to the communist cause did not typically travel to the People's Republic, discouraged by the threat that going 'behind enemy lines' posed to their reputation, or kept out by China's background checks. Instead, they travelled to the Republic of China (Taiwan), which also managed a system of 'People's Diplomacy.' As Strahan has shown, visitors on these tours, including politicians, trade union leaders and other influential figures, often despatched positive descriptions of Taiwan that functioned as a 'mirror-image' of the

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[114] Roper, *China: The Surprising Country*, Fisher Library barcode 0000000500022643, p. 1-7.
[115] Haylen, *Chinese Journey* p. 3.

fellow-travellers accounts.[116] Although reports on the success of Taiwan's capitalist economy were important, the central element of these alternative Cold War travelogues was to give voice to refugees from Communist China, who could undercut the authority of fellow-travellers by providing a very different account of the PRC, which was also based on (usually more extensive) personal experience.

The most popular anti-communist account was Frank Clune's *Flight to Formosa*. Although it has roots in the style of travelogue discussed in the previous chapter, this highly political travelogue also served as a more direct counter to fellow-travellers' accounts. Clune himself conceived of it as opposing the 'fantabulous fabrications' of 'the Reds.'[117] Attempting to position his as the authentic account of China, Clune resorted to similar claims of 'eyewitness' authority as the fellow-travellers themselves. 'The purpose of my visit to Formosa,' he wrote, 'was to find out the facts, by independent investigation on the spot.' To this end, he had 'explored every part of Formosa, and saw and heard what these pages describe.' Clune also brought his wife, 'Brown Eyes', to corroborate what he saw, and also to detail the 'feminine angle.'[118] Yet, just like the PRC's fellow-travellers, Clune found his critical faculties captive to ideological leanings. Despite the fact that Taiwan was under the firm dictatorship of General Chiang Kai Shek, and had held no elections since the Republic of China was proclaimed in 1949, Clune called it the 'land of democracy.'[119] Similarly, although Taiwan was guilty of many abuses itself, Clune pointed to the number of refugees from the PRC as evidence both of Taiwan's 'freedom' and mainland China's tyranny.

Although Clune presented Taiwan as a land of 'freedom,' the majority of *Flight to Formosa* was concerned with debunking the fellow-travellers' accounts. Following the conventions of many travelogues, the inside cover featured a map of areas discussed in the text. While the main islands and towns Clune had visited are detailed, the majority of the map was taken up by a giant and largely featureless mainland China, through which swept the banner, 'Red Terror Rules Here.' Although Clune had built his authority on the claims of 'first-hand' experience, this was clearly a deeply ideological text. Indeed, *Flight to Formosa* functioned less as an eyewitness report of the 'alternative New China,' than a journalistic report of the PRC's shortcomings, based on interviews with others claiming to have 'been there.' These reports, which presented a very different view of China by other 'eyewitnesses,' sought to destabilise the fellow-travellers' accounts.

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[116] See Strahan, *Australia's China*, pp. 209-232.
[117] Frank Clune, *Flight to Formosa* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958), p. viii.
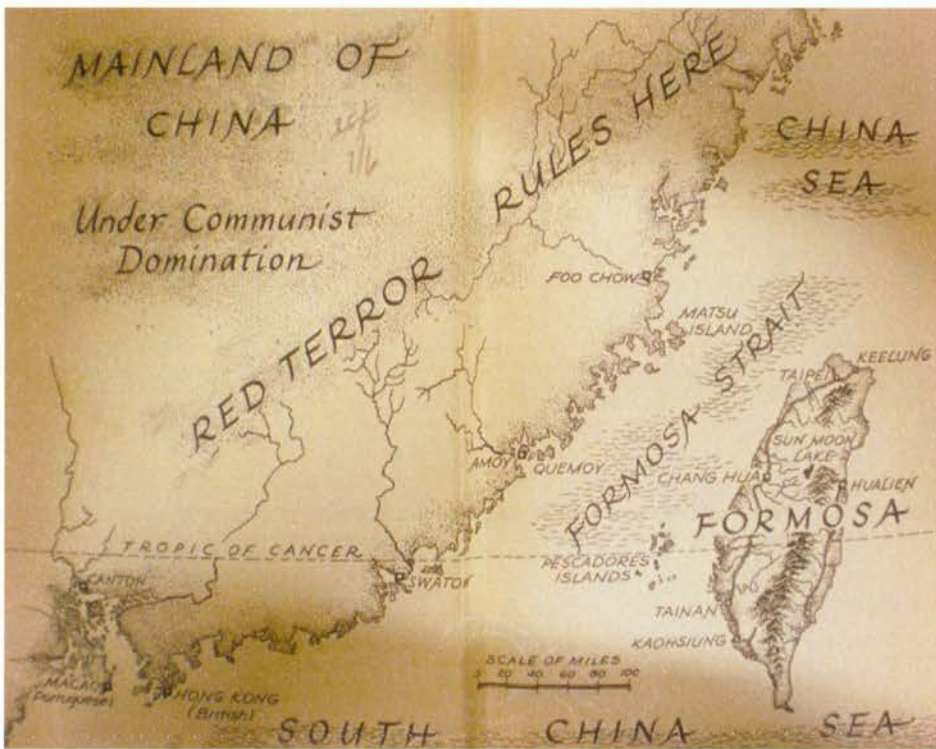[118] Ibid., pp. xvii-ix
[119] Ibid., p. ix.

Figure 4.1: Inside cover of Frank Clune's *Flight to Formosa*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1958.

Largely as a result of the travel restrictions applied by both Australia and China, and the effectiveness of the *waishi* system, very few negative 'eyewitness' reports emerged about the PRC itself. Yet, some dissenting accounts, also claiming their authority from personal experience, did challenge the fellow-travellers' dominance of the genre. Greg O'Dwyer's *Communist China: A Nation Enslaved*, based on a 1957 visit, was a rare example. Travelling as part of a National Union of Australian University Students delegation, O'Dwyer took his role as an 'eyewitness' very seriously. Like the fellow-travellers, O'Dwyer was treated to the same 'manifestations of friendship' as other fellow-travellers. However, rather than extrapolate from the testimony of select individuals, O'Dwyer drew his conclusions about China from glimpses of the 'masses' caught as he passed by in his private car or luxurious train carriage. Rather than finding the Chinese emotive and happy, O'Dwyer claimed that they were sombre, and he wrote of an eerie, oppressive silence on the streets. Rather than attempting to normalise the Communist Party's reach, O'Dwyer emphasised the strangeness of the constant propaganda. He was also disturbed by the lack of opposition in the PRC, evidenced by pliant trade unions which refused to strike, and by capitalists and political prisoners who refused to criticise the Party that had convicted them. Unlike other fellow-travellers, O'Dwyer also noted other elements of his visit, including the fact that the Communist authorities confiscated his passport while travelling.[120] Thus, while

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[120] Greg O'Dwyer, *Communist China: A Nation Enslaved* (n.k.: The Committee of One Million, 1957), pp. 5-33.

working to the same principles, and taking personal experience as the authority for his broader claims, O'Dwyer selected different experiences from which to extrapolate. Rather than accepting the experiences which his cadres presented as models, O'Dwyer located his 'real' China within the crowds and cityscapes he saw, but did not engage with, as he was driven from sight to sight.

While O'Dwyer's was an early dissenting account, the most significant challenge to the fellow-travellers' representations did not appear in Australia until the late-1970s, after Australia's diplomatic recognition of China.[121] Writing under the nom-de-plume of Simon Leys, Belgian academic Pierre Ryckmans (who had settled in Australia from 1970) set out to challenge fellow-travellers' experiences by exposing the complex 'shadow play' which prevented them from experiencing the 'real' China in his 1978 *Chinese Shadows*. Directly challenging the authority of the fellow-travellers' first-hand experiences, Leys' *Chinese Shadows*, argued that 'under the conditions in which foreign residents and visitors now live in the People's Republic of China, it is impossible to write anything but frivolities.'[122] While the authority of fellow-travellers' experiences had been probed before, Leys' account was devastating because it, too, claimed the authority of personal experience; indeed, if anything, Leys' extensive experience of China trumped that of visitors on short-term visits. Leys was a respected Sinologist who had had written *Chinese Shadows* while living in Beijing. Frustrated by the obstacles the Chinese government set for his research, Leys set out to reveal the intricacies of the state's system of control. In doing so, Leys effectively cut away fellow-travellers' claims to authority, based on the trope that 'seeing is believing.' Instead, Leys suggested that fellow-travellers 'who pretend they describe Chinese realities…only deceive their readers, or worse, delude themselves.'[123]

Leys' revelations influenced many subsequent 'eyewitness' accounts. *Chinese Shadows* reached a wide audience, and extensive extracts were syndicated in the *Age*. In its wake, visitors and other 'eyewitnesses' could no longer claim ignorance of the system of controls that bound their every move. Instead, the discourse of 'eyewitnesses' changed, and many expressly sought out what *The Age*'s Yvonne Preston called 'china [sic] shadows.'[124] 'Eyewitnesses' increasingly began to report on what was hidden, rather than what was revealed, and reports began to probe for 'the unnatural, inhuman reactions of a totalitarian society where people speak in slogans.'[125] The volte face, taken in the context of a broader Western *rapprochement* with China, polarised public opinion. Some letters to the *Age* praised *Chinese Shadows* as having 'done much to correct the

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[121] *Chinese Shadows* was not published in Australia until 1977, although it had originally been published (in French) in 1974.
[122] Simon Leys, *Chinese Shadows* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), p. x.
[123] Ibid., p. x.
[124] Yvonne Preston, 'Yes, there ARE China shadows,' *The Age*, 23 June 1978, p. 9.
[125] Ibid.

conventional wisdom that reigns in Australia regarding the nature of Chinese society under communist rule.'[126] Others refused to believe the veracity of Leys' account, and, following the convention set by decades of fellow-travellers' accounts, pitted their own authority as 'eyewitnesses' against his claims. Claiming that Leys' depiction of the 'day-to-day scene...is vicious nonsense,' J.A. Henderson claimed that, like 'thousands of intelligent visitors,' he had visited China himself, and had 'beheld a place of miracles.'[127] Similarly, Fred Archer insisted that, 'if the editor of 'The Age' took a trip to China to see for himself he wouldn't publish such mischievous drivel as Chinese Shadows.'[128] Thus, despite the significant challenge to the authority of the traveller and the eyewitness which had arisen in the wake of the fellow-travelling phenomenon, the long-established discourse that only 'seeing is believing' retained significant influence. Leys' *Chinese Shadows* did not overthrown the mode of eyewitnessing as a reliable way of accessing knowledge; rather, it merely altered the type of experience of the People's Republic that was privileged.

Effects on travellers

Australian travel restrictions to China eased as diplomatic relations improved after Gough Whitlam's recognition of China. Many of the Chinese restrictions were also relaxed at the same time. Approved travel retailers and charter companies were given permission to organise tour groups to China for profit from the mid-1970s, and background checks on tourists became less stringent. The promise of participating in people-to-people contacts, and therefore participating in the nation's foreign affairs, lured an increasing number of curious Australians to China. Coinciding with the Asian tourist boom which is described in Chapter 7, these shifts induced a broader range of Australians to travel to China for business and leisure. The extent of Australian interest in travel to China was such that even the conservative Farmers' and Graziers' Co-operative organised a Chinese visit for its members, in 1979.

Many tourists continued to believe that, in light of the conflicting reports they had heard, seeing China for themselves was the only way to get at the truth. Recognising the commercial opportunity provided by such ideas, tour companies and travel agencies advertised the 'chance for you to draw aside the mythical 'bamboo curtain' and see for yourself the emerging China of

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[126] Michael James, 'Leys' revolutionary theory challenged,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 22 June 1978, p. 10.
[127] J.A. Henderson, 'Studies distortion and defilement,' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 22 June 1978, p. 10.
[128] Fred Archer, 'Total joy of 'being there,'' Letters to the Editor, *The Age*, 28 June 1978, p. 10.

today.'[129] Australian tourists also continued in the mode established by fellow-travellers. Primed by previous accounts, wealthy hotelier Gordon Aldridge wrote that he was travelling to see 'the proper China which has been shrouded in mystery to us for so long,' when he departed on an organised tour in 1977. Similarly, echoing the politicisation of Asian travel as a form of 'engagement,' Aldridge claimed that he was there to 'meet 'the people'.'[130] These desires were increasingly catered for by a growing travel industry. A 1979 joint venture between Thomas Cook, Qantas and Ansett assured potential tourists that they would have 'ample time...to visit a commune, see an assembly-line factory, witness the enthusiasm of students...'[131] With the relaxing of travel regulations, the fellow-travellers' experience had become a commodity, which was eagerly sought by curious tourists.

Yet, some tourists were unsatisfied with the product, and were disappointed that even their own experiences did not allow them to see the 'real' China. The opening of China to tourism had not spelt the end of the *waishi* system. Tour groups could be organised by foreign agencies, but they were still conducted at the exclusive discretion of the state-run Luxingshe International Travel Service, which continued to plan their itineraries and accompanied tourists to each site. Three China Travel staff, for example, accompanied the Aldridges on their visit. Although they claimed that they were only there because 'they wanted to learn English,' it is evident that they monitored and guided the visitors' impressions, in much the same way as they had monitored those of fellow-travellers before them.[132] Aldridge's private manuscript, distributed to friends, demonstrates an awareness of the restrictions placed upon his movement that reveals the influence of Leys' recent publication. With a note of cynicism, Aldridge acknowledged the controlled nature of his visit, and its monotony, as one model site blurred into the next. By the end of his 15-day visit, Aldridge was even beginning to question the discourse of international fellowship. Having set out to 'meet the people,' Aldridge was disappointed by the rigorously-trained cadres and 'model citizens' he encountered. Instead of emotional connection, Aldridge wrote of 'the usual please come back and see us and bring back your family and your friends because we are friends of the Australian people' routine that he heard again and again, his disenchantment with state-sponsored tourism apparent.[133]

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[129] Brochure, 'China and Beyond: 1979 Tours to China, USSR and Europe', Thomas Cook, Qantas, Ansett Joint Venture, 1979, in "Papers of Paddy Pallin," (Mitchell Library: ML MSS 6016/ 2- 4X).
[130] Gordon Aldridge, "There Are Plenty of Wongs!! But Very Little Wrong in the People's Republic of China," Unpublished manuscript, in Papers of Paddy Pallin, Mitchell Library, Sydney; ML MSS 6016/2-4X, Box 3, 1977.
[131] Brochure, 'China and Beyond: 1979 Tours to China, USSR and Europe', Thomas Cook, Qantas, Ansett Joint Venture, 1979, in "Papers of Paddy Pallin."
[132] Aldridge, "There Are Plenty of Wongs..."
[133] Ibid.

Nonetheless, Australians eagerly took to visiting China, and by 1985, almost 80,000 Australians were making the journey each year. At this point, China was the fifth most popular destination in Asia for Australians, after the established holiday destinations of Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Thailand.[134] Ministerial visits and parliamentary 'study tours' became almost a matter of course for subsequent governments.[135] Despite the challenges to the discourse of 'seeing is believing,' Australians continued to set off for China in droves.

Effect on foreign policy

The fellow-travellers' enthusiastic rhetoric also had a concrete influence on the formation of government policy towards China. Although the strident anti-communism of Menzies was continued by Harold Holt and John Gorton in the late 1960s, the Opposition Labor Party took a very different view. In 1971, Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam visited China, where he met with several leading figures including Zhou Enlai. Whitlam was enthusiastic about what he saw, and the diplomatic recognition of China formed a key plank within his broader policy platform. In the *It's Time* speech delivered during the 1972 election campaign, Whitlam claimed that Australia had been 'given a second chance' following the foreign policy debacles of the Vietnam era, and promised a future of engagement with China.[136]

Following *rapprochement*, the effect of decades of priming by fellow-travellers' accounts became even clearer. As historian David Goldsworthy has noted, a widespread pro-Chinese sentiment animated Australian society during the 1970s and 1980s. This 'China Bubble' was characterised by a rash of visits by politicians and ministers on both sides of politics, as well as the heads of many private corporations.[137] A broad section of Australian society rushed to a whole-hearted embrace of all things Chinese with such enthusiasm that sexologist Bettina Arndt quipped that China evoked as much interest as sex in the 'Australian popular mind.'[138] Despite their problematic nature, the fellow-travellers' accounts had helped create the language through which *rapprochement* could occur. The diplomatic relationship was sealed by several Chinese visits, first by Whitlam, then Malcolm Fraser, and finally Bob Hawke, during which Prime Ministers

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[134] World Tourism Organization, 'Yearbook of Tourism Statistics,' no. 41, 1988. A full discussion of Australian travel to China in the 1980s follows in Chapter 7.
[135] Stephen FitzGerald, "Australia's China," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 24 (1990), p. 317.
[136] Gough Whitlam, 'It's Time for Leadership,' Policy Speech delivered at the Blacktown Civic Centre, Sydney, 13 November 1972, http://australianpolitics.com/elections/1972/72-11-13_it's-time.shtml, accessed 15 January 2010. See also Gough Whitlam, "Sino-Australian Diplomatic Relations," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 56, no. 3 (2002), p. 330.
[137] David Goldsworthy, "Regional Relations," in *Facing North: A Century of Engagement with Asia; Volume 2: 1970s to 2000*, ed. Peter Edwards and David Goldsworthy (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade/ Melbourne University Press, 2003), p. 141.
[138] FitzGerald, "Australia's China," p. 317.

broadly echoed the fellow-travellers' enthusiasm. In 1986, after several trips to China, Hawke announced that Australia was 'a firm friend of China.'[139] At another point, he declared that Australia had a 'very special relationship' with China.[140] The idealism of fellow-travellers' accounts from the late 1950s to the late 1970s retained a cultural space for the expression of a positive view of China. It created an alternative vocabulary through which China could be discussed, which highlighted its achievements rather than its dangers. Once the mainstream political culture shifted towards a more positive relationship with China, it began to inhabit this same space, and took on much of its language, as well as its sentiment. The adoption of this language by many within the Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke governments, as well as many within their respective Oppositions, suggests the tangible political effect which travel to Asia could have in Australia.

Conclusion

The sheer number of positive 'eyewitness' accounts reveals a deep well of Australian enthusiasm about the People's Republic of China, which is often overlooked in histories of the period. This enthusiasm provided an alternative archive of tropes and images through which China could be described, and thus had a significant effect on the changing political context of the 1970s. By developing an alternative vocabulary through which positive appraisals of Communist China could be expressed, the fellow-travellers prepared the cultural ground for the official 'friendship' of the following decades.

Despite this concrete political effect, scholars of fellow-travelling and of Australian relations with China agree that fellow-travellers were duped by 'Chinese shadows' in an extraordinary process which saw their ideological enthusiasm cloud their better judgment. However, seen in the broader context of Australian travel to Asia, and of the nature of travel and travel writing, their case was not so extraordinary after all. The trope of sentimental personalism discussed in this and the previous chapter privileged personal experience as a mode of getting to know about, and participating in, foreign affairs. Travellers to China, like their counterparts travelling to non-communist Asia, sought to find out something about the political state of their destinations, through personal experience. Both types of Cold War travellers, then, extrapolated from unique and personal experiences; and both turned on the notion that being an eyewitness, and seeing Asia first-hand, held more value that learning about it from a distance. Rather than a unique

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[139] Cited in Goldsworthy, "Regional Relations," p. 142.
[140] Cited in Strahan, *Australia's China*, p. 298.

example, the Cold War travellers on both sides of the ideological divide were in fact following a pattern which applies to travel and travel writing as a whole. The fellow-travellers of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s provide an excellent case study through which to investigate the effect of rumour on experience, of the contingency of travel experiences, and the false authority of travel writing.

5

Conflicted Territories II: Anti-Communist Wars in Asia and the (post)colonial order

The two previous chapters have shown the ways in which a desire for a greater Australian presence in Asia was enacted by individuals championing a cause of 'engagement' during the Cold War. However, their interest must be seen within the context of Australia's official response to the Cold War, which was largely characterised by anxiety. Australia played a key role in the Cold War in Asia from its earliest days. Australian UN observers instigated the military action that developed into the Korean War.[1] The Menzies government was also one of the first to deploy troops to this conflict.[2] Faced with an Asia that, without colonial control, appeared to be mired in turmoil, threat and uncertainty, Menzies instigated a strategy of forward defence. By insisting that conflicts over Communism were fought outside of Australia, this policy situated

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[1] Major Stuart Peach and Squadron Leader Bob Rankin were the only UN observers in South Korea before the North's attack on 25 June 1950. Their report provided the basis for the UN decision to intervene on the South Korean side. As the official historian of the conflict, Robert O'Neill, has found, this was 'one of the most consequential reconnaissances ever conducted by Australian service officers.' See Robert O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War, 1950-1953, Volume 1: Strategy and Diplomacy* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1981), pp. 12-15.

[2] Richard Trembath, *A Different Sort of War: Australians in Korea, 1950-53*. (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005), p. 88.

Australian lives as being more valuable than Asian. Under this policy, Australia deployed troops to the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960, Australian deployment from 1950), the Korean War (1950-1953), the Indonesian-Malaysian Confrontation (Konfrontasi, 1962-66) and the conflict in Indochina (1962-1973). The official justification pointed to the potential spread of Communist influence. However, as Anthony Burke has recently argued, US, British and Australian military activity in South East Asia held distinctly colonial meanings throughout the Cold War.[3] The Malayan Emergency saw Australia assist Britain in containing its colony until it could negotiate a favourable process for decolonisation. The Vietnam War, too, had distinctly colonial resonances, in that it was essentially an extension of the French colonial conflict of 1945-1954. Indeed, despite the profusion of discussion about communism – as chartered in the previous two chapters – it is evident that Australia's deployments to Asia were influenced in part by the continued resonance of colonial ideas.

Although relatively little attention has been paid to Australia's involvement in the Korean War, the Malayan Emergency and Konfrontasi, historians have long recognised the significance of Australia's involvement in Vietnam. Gregory Pemberton, David Lee and Moreen Dee have argued that the war's significance was in tying Australia to the United States' policy in the region, thus delaying the 'reorientation' of Australia's relations towards Asia.[4] Others, including Peter King and Jeffrey Grey, have argued the opposite point, that the Vietnam War confounded Australian faith in American benevolence, and therefore led to 'reorientation.'[5] In a similar vein, Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant argued that Australian governments 'learnt from the war that Australia simply had no alternative but to come to grips with its neighbouring region, and to try to define a positive relationship with it.'[6] Likewise, its official historian, Peter Edwards, believed the Vietnam War 'had a cathartic effect on Australian attitudes to Asia,' and led to the official policy of 'engagement' of the 1980s and 1990s.[7]

Social and cultural historians have also broadly agreed that the Vietnam War had a dramatic effect on 'ordinary' Australians' attitudes to Asia. Gregory Pemberton has argued that the war, and the anti-war protests it generated, led many Australians to question the racist discourses they

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[3] Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 107-112.

[4] Gregory Pemberton, *All the Way: Australia's Road to Vietnam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), pp. 329-339; David Lee and Moreen Dee, "Southeast Asian Conflicts," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1: 1901 to the 1970s*, ed. David Goldsworthy (South Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade/Melbourne University Press, 2001), pp. 282-4.

[5] Peter King, ed., *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), pp. 9-14; Jeffrey Grey, "Memory and Public Myth," in *Vietnam: War, Myth and Memory: Comparative Perspectives on Australia's War in Vietnam*, ed. Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), pp. 138-140.

[6] Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), p. 220.

[7] Peter Edwards, *A Nation at War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1997), p. 340-1.

had previously accepted.[8] Robin Gerster has claimed that 'involvement in Vietnam created the cultural circumstances for [Australia's] contemporary embrace of Asia.'[9] While this overlooks the significance of other contacts with Asia in creating a longer-term shift in Australian attitudes to Asia, it is representative of many historians' views. Arguments about the pivotal role of Vietnam reveal the generational biases of baby boomer historians. Contemporary views considered the anti-Vietnam War protest movement to be the 'One Great Youth Unifier' or 'the collective rebellion of a generation.'[10] Attributing an instantaneous cultural 'shift' from racist to non-racist and colonial to post-colonial attitudes to the influence of the Vietnam War may be simplistic, but is symptomatic of many historians' ongoing belief in these contemporary views.

Indeed, the Vietnam War did not 'unify' a generation into adopting pro-Asian views. A majority of Australian youth initially supported Australian participation in the war; further, racist and colonial attitudes continued in post-Vietnam Australia.[11] In a more considered argument, John Murphy has recognised that, rather than causing a total shift away from colonialist attitudes, the Vietnam War served to strengthen Orientalist notions about a unified 'Asia,' which possessed a unique 'essence.'[12]

The dominance of the view that the Vietnam War changed Australian perceptions of Asia has led to several attempts to document personal experiences of the conflict, in order to identify the cause of changes. This has resulted in a slew of oral histories of soldiers, including Stuart Rintoul's *Ashes of Vietnam* and Gary McKay's *Vietnam Fragments*.[13] More recent efforts have broadened the field by looking at the experience of non-combat personnel in oral history collections including Siobhan McHugh's *Minefields and Miniskirts*, Narelle Biedermann's *Tears on my Pillow* and Gary McKay's *Bullets, Beans and Bandages*; and of the anti-war movement back in Australia, as in Greg Langley's *A Decade of Dissent*.[14] While entering the lived experience of individual Australians in Vietnam, these oral histories tend to emphasise the peculiar conditions of war and ignore the connections between individual experience and the broader culture. By doing so, they often overlook the ways in which personal experience was influenced by, and in

[8] Gregory Pemberton, *Vietnam Remembered* (Sydney: New Holland, 2002), p. 233-4.
[9] Robin Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia: An Anthology of Australian Literary Travelling to 'the East'* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 5.
[10] Richard Neville, *Play Power* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p. 19; Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: The Sixties and Australia* (South Yarra, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1991), p. 46.
[11] Agnieszka Sobocinska, "'Youth in Revolt': Perceptions of Australian Youth During the 1950s and 1960s " (Honours Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Sydney, 2004), pp. 81-96.
[12] John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993), p. 277.
[13] Stuart Rintoul, *Ashes of Vietnam: Australian Voices* (Richmond, Vic.: William Heinemann, 1987); Gary McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).
[14] Siobhan McHugh, *Minefields and Miniskirts: Australian Women and the Vietnam War* (South Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2005); Narelle Biedermann, *Tears on My Pillow: Australian Nurses in Vietnam* (Sydney: Random House, 2004); Gary McKay, *Bullets, Beans and Bandages: Australians at War in Viet Nam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999); Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Homefront* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).

turn influenced, broader conceptions of Asia and Asians. By focussing on the fraught experience of war, these mostly sympathetic accounts also neglect to investigate personal interactions between Australians and Vietnamese, to ascertain whether Australians in Vietnam personified a shift away from colonial culture.

This chapter examines a broader range of experience, by following those 'concerned' individuals who travelled to Vietnam as part of the media contingent, or for civil and humanitarian aid projects. It traces the development of the sentimental trope under conflict conditions, and shows how it influenced official policies of foreign policy by tracing its influence on the growth of foreign aid and development assistance. This chapter also complicates the Cold War archive of Asian experience, by tracing the experiences of Australian soldiers in Vietnam, with a particular focus on their perceptions of, attitudes to, and experiences with the Vietnamese. In doing so, it challenges the central position of the Vietnam War in the historiography of Australian attitudes to Asia, arguing that experiences of the war were more varied and more complex than is typically recognised.

Sentimentalism in war

Rather than existing as a discrete event, the Vietnam War arose from the broader Cold War culture. By the time Australian soldiers were deployed in 1962, the Cold War engagement narrative was an established genre. Of the three most significant examples of sentimental personalism on the anti-Communist side, Colin Simpson's *The Country Upstairs* had been published in 1956, Frank Clune's *Flight to Formosa* in 1958, and Peggy Warner's *Asia is People* in 1962. On the pro-Communist side, Wilfred Burchett's *China's Feet Unbound* had been released in 1952 and Dymphna Cusack's *Chinese Women Stand Up* in 1958. The genre retained currency throughout the conflict. Simpson's *The Country Upstairs* was re-released in 1962 and again in 1965, and *Asia's Bright Balconies* was published in 1962. Myra Roper's *China: The Surprising Country* was published in 1966, and Maslyn Williams' *The East is Red* followed the next year. As Chapter 3 revealed, the 1960s also saw the first significant sustained rise in the numbers of Australians travelling to Asia, as the introduction of jet aircraft, supported by the encouraging rhetoric of the engagement discourse, led more Australians to choose Asia as a destination for leisure and business.

Some reports from Vietnam were part of the broader Cold War culture. From the late-1950s, an influential group of left-wing journalists travelled to North Vietnam, to report the

conflict from the 'other side.' Journalists including Wilfred Burchett and Malcolm Salmon produced reports and full-length accounts which aimed to counter the negative press of communist victory in North Vietnam. These fell firmly within the genre of sentimental personalism. Salmon's wife, Lorraine Salmon, also published travelogues of her time in North Vietnam, which, like Peggy Warner's and Dymphna Cusack's accounts, cultivated a deeply sentimental focus on women's issues. Poet Len Fox and writer Mona Brand also produced sympathetic accounts of the Vietnamese after a period of residence in Hanoi. Although the number of fellow-travellers to Vietnam was far smaller than their counterparts travelling to China, they broadcast their views widely, both within the left-wing press and, occasionally, in the mainstream media.[15] Several published their full-length accounts with the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Hanoi. Malcolm Salmon wrote for the Communist Party's newspaper, *Tribune*, and Burchett was a freelance journalist with regular publications in France's left-wing newspaper, *Ce Soir*. As the war became a matter for mainstream discussion with the deployment of conscripts in 1965, some also began to publicise their views more widely.

Like many of those Asian travellers discussed in the two previous chapters, these writers utilised the genre of sentimental personalism in order to encourage Australians to make emotive connections with the Vietnamese as people. Burchett's reporting in Vietnam followed the tone of his earlier work in China and Korea. As a journalist and political travel writer, Burchett routinely invoked the authority of the eyewitness. As Chapter 4 has shown, the rhetoric of eyewitnessing was particularly utilised when attempting to convey an image of the Other that differed from the non-Communist mainstream. 'There is no substitute for looking at things on the spot,' Burchett claimed, 'especially if you are going to write on burning international issues of the day on which the public urgently needs to be informed.'[16] In his accounts, *My Visit to the Liberated Zones of South Vietnam* and *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War*, Burchett claimed that the mass of propaganda surrounding the Vietnam conflict was so great that only personal experience could be trusted. 'If I had heard this in Hanoi or Moscow,' he wrote, 'I would have had difficulty in swallowing it. But I was living the reality of this situation week after week, month after month. An ambition to get close to reality had rarely been so completely satisfied as in that period...These were the real moments of truth, every minute, every hour, every day living demonstrations of what People's War was all about.'[17]

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[15] For an explanation of the way the term, 'fellow-traveller' is used in this thesis, see Chapter 4.
[16] George Burchett and Nick Shimmin, eds., *Memoirs of a Rebel Journalist: The Autobiography of Wilfred Burchett* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005), p. 135.
[17] Ibid., pp. 533-4.

Burchett was not alone in emphasising personal experience as a key to understanding the Vietnamese conflict. Malcolm Salmon had lived in Hanoi during the late-1950s, and had previously published a historical introduction to the South East Asian revolutionary movements. As the Vietnam conflict unfurled, however, Salmon increasingly characterised himself not as an expert, but as an eyewitness observer, whose authority came from having seen the impacts of American and Australian military policy on Vietnamese civilians, first-hand.[18] Salmon leveraged his experience as an eyewitness within the political debate surrounding the situation in Vietnam. In 1967, he wrote open letters to the Prime Minister, Harold Holt, protesting Australia's involvement in the military deployment to Vietnam, and particularly the air-bombing of urban targets in North Vietnam. In his letter, he declared that, 'as one of the very few Australians who have had a recent opportunity to examine what this bombing policy looks like on the ground in North Vietnam, I feel it is my duty to make known to you, and to as many Australians as I can reach, something of what I learnt.'[19] Salmon went on to publish a pamphlet, *North Vietnam: A First Hand Account of the Blitz*, which described the devastation that carpet bombing had wrought on both the rural and urban populations of Vietnam, in order to bring his experiences to a broader public.

Salmon's faith in the importance of eyewitnessing, travel and people-to-people contracts led him to suspect the Australian government's motivations in limiting Australian travel to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. 'Every Australian passport issued these days is stamped NOT VALID FOR NORTH VIETNAM,' he wrote in 1969. 'It is the one part of the world for which our passports are not endorsed,' and he could not help wondering whether this was 'out of concern for [the] safety of Australian citizens at large in a land which is being bombed day and night by our American allies? Or is it at least partly because the Government has no desire to expose Australians to the truth of North Vietnamese attitudes to the war, to the world and to ourselves?'[20] The editor of the influential religious newssheet, *The Anglican*, Francis James (who had been part of Archbishop Mowll's 1956 delegation to China) also suspected the government's motivations in restricting people-to-people contacts. Upon returning from North Vietnam in the mid-1960s, he wondered that Australia was willing to allow its citizens to travel to Saigon, 'a dirty, rich old whore, full of brothels, clip joints masquerading as night clubs, extortion and other

[18] Malcolm Salmon, *Focus on Indo-China* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961).
[19] Malcolm Salmon, 'Vietnam: An open letter to Prime Minister Holt', in Papers of the Salmon Family, 1927-1986, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 6105, Box 2/5: Correspondence 1967 re visit to Vietnam.
[20] Malcolm Salmon, *North Vietnam: A First Hand Account of the Blitz* (Sydney: Tribune Publications, 1969), pp. 15-16.

rackets, sandbags, barbed wire, rackets of every imaginable kind,' but not to Hanoi, which was 'a pure, somewhat puritanical virgin.'[21]

Like their counterparts in China, fellow-travellers to Vietnam utilised the trope of sentimental personalism to create affective ties between Australian readers and the Vietnamese resistance fighters, and also to convince Australian readers of their own responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy. Many of their texts resemble others within the genre, as discussed in the previous two chapters. Len Fox published two books based on his experiences living in Hanoi during the late 1950s. Fox believed that 'it was necessary to write in more human terms,' and utilised sentimental tropes in his accounts *Friendly Vietnam* and *Vietnam Neighbours*.[22] One of Malcolm Salmon's pamphlets about South East Asia was entitled *Friends and Neighbours*.[23] Lorraine Salmon followed a similar trope in her account of life in North Vietnam, *Pig Meets Dog*. Claiming that she was writing in order to 'present these people as they are in their everyday life,' Salmon set out to dispel images of the Vietnamese as 'communist hordes', positing instead that 'wherever they may be, people are people.'[24] In her account, *Daughters of Vietnam*, Mona Brand built on the genre of socialist feminist sentimentalism.[25] Released in 1958, Brand's account was contemporaneous with Dymphna Cusack's *Chinese Women Stand Up*, and preceded the major anti-communist feminist sentimentalist text, Peggy Warner's *Asia is People*, by three years. A pioneer of the genre in Australia, Burchett's account of the Liberation National Front (LNF) was also heavily tainted with sentimental personalism.[26] Indeed, Burchett claimed that the guerrillas were motivated by a sentimental humanism, describing it as a form of 'revolutionary humanitarianism' which had arisen because the LNF had been 'moved' by the suffering of their fellow men, with whom they strove to build relationships of 'deep mutual affection and respect.'[27] Burchett also presented his own experience amongst the guerrillas through the sentimental trope. Having spent several months with the LNF in the jungles of both North and South Vietnam, Burchett

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[21] Francis James, 'St. Francis in Hanoi', *Oz*, no. 25 (January 1966), pp. 4-5.

[22] Len Fox, *Friendly Vietnam* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Press, 1958); Len Fox, *Vietnam Neighbours: Poems* (Potts Point, Sydney: self-published, 1966).

[23] Malcolm Salmon, *Friends and Neighbours - an Introduction to South-East Asia* (Sydney: Current Books, 1964).

[24] Lorraine Salmon, *Pig Follows Dog* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960), p. 7. For an analysis of middlebrow personalism in the American context see Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945 - 1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 19-60.

[25] Mona Brand, *Daughters of Vietnam* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958). For discussion of the sentimental tropes of 'neighbourliness' and 'friendliness' in relations with Asia, and the feminist strain of sentimental personalism, see Chapters 3 & 4 above.

[26] Wilfred Burchett, *My Visit to the Liberated Zones of South Vietnam* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1966), especially p. 51.

[27] Ibid., pp. 24-6.

was so moved he proclaimed his visit to South Vietnam as 'the greatest event in my life in general.'[28]

As well as demystifying the communist Other, these accounts had a concrete political aim, in that they sought to discredit the Western involvement in Vietnam. As well as highlighting the humanity of the communist guerrillas, Burchett's account discredited the United States' strategy of building strategic hamlets, by highlighting the suffering it had inflicted on Vietnamese civilians. The strategic hamlet program involved the forcible relocation of villages to 'safe' territory under the control of the United States and South Vietnamese Armies. Once the villages had been physically moved, they were cordoned off from potential VC contact, surrounded with barbed wire and placed under strict regulations including curfews. Refusing to use the euphemistic term 'hamlet,' Burchett utilised the emotive image of the Nazi concentration camp, instead. Walking into a strategic hamlet, Burchett reported that the 'people came to me to pour out the story of their sufferings.'[29] Describing the lot of the Vietnamese under American domination, he wrote of villagers who were so emaciated that they looked 'like an Auschwitz victim,' after existing in 'the living death that life in this glorified concentration camp represented.'[30] Burchett also focussed on the sufferings the war had imposed on Vietnam's minority groups. With the full support of the Americans, Burchett reported, Diemist troops had instigated a brutal campaign of murder across the minority regions. Gruesome and indiscriminate killings were employed as a matter of course, and those who weren't killed were forced behind the barbed wire of strategic hamlets.[31] In all, Burchett used the emotive term 'tragedy' to describe the fate of Vietnam's minority groups.[32]

The left-wing reporting of the Vietnam War occurred firmly within the context of broader patterns of Cold War reporting. The trope of sentimental personalism, employed on both sides of the ideological divide during the 1950s and 1960s, was an attractive mode through which interested writers could seek to involve 'ordinary' Australians in the foreign policy of their nation. By focussing on individuals through the language of sentiment, these writers sought to highlight the humanity of the 'enemy,' as well as the suffering of the ordinary people under conditions of war.

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[28] Ibid., p. 11.
[29] Ibid., p. 13.
[30] Wilfred G. Burchett, *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War*, 3rd ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1968), pp. 37-8.
[31] Burchett, *My Visit to the Liberated Zones of South Vietnam*, pp. 32-9.
[32] Ibid., p. 31.

Foreign Aid and the Sentimental Mode

Although Burchett and Salmon never reached a mainstream audience, the trope of sentimental personalism did have a broader impact on the way the Vietnam War was construed in Australia. The ideological basis for the conflict inherently foregrounded considerations about Vietnamese 'hearts and minds.' Attempting to quash the negative press which the Vietnam conflict had attracted from left-wing critics including Burchett and Salmon, the Australian military attempted to publicise its involvement in Vietnam as a humanitarian, as well as military, mission. In doing so, the Australian Army and the Department of External Affairs adopted the sentimental trope as a means to garner popular support for the Vietnam deployment.

The earliest military response to the plight of the Vietnamese people came under the guise of the Australian Army's Civil Aid program. In a January 1963 report, Minister for External Affairs Garfield Barwick recommended a 'stepped-up' Australian aid effort. This earliest deployment of aid was motivated less by humanitarian concerns, but rather 'in view of the importance of South Vietnam to the Western position in South-East Asia and to Australia's forward defence strategy, and of our interest in developing a special relationship with the United States as a partner in collective defence in the area.'[33] At this early stage, government and 'emergency' funding was not calculated in humanitarian terms. Much of Australia's SEATO-administered aid was actually 'defence support aid,' earmarked largely for purchase of barbed wire for strategic hamlets. As such it in fact military funding, masquerading as foreign aid.[34]

By 1967, when Minister for External Affairs Paul Hasluck increased Australian aid to Vietnam, the rhetoric had changed. Now, Hasluck highlighted that the purpose of foreign aid was 'to present to Asian opinion a constructive and humanitarian side to the Australian involvement in Vietnam.'[35] A publicity drive in 1966-7 focussed on the provision of aid by Australian soldiers, with official photographs depicting troops solicitously caring for the wellbeing of Vietnamese civilians. The Civil Aid Program became a major element in the Australian government's public relations campaign surrounding the Vietnam conflict, and photographs of Australian soldiers assisting Vietnamese routinely accompanied reports of the Australian military presence. As Rachel Stevens shows, major metropolitan broadsheets in the

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[33] 'South Vietnam – Civil Aid Program', National Archives of Australia (henceforth NAA): A4940, C4641.
[34] 'SEATO Aid Programme, Estimated Expenditure 1962/1963,' in 'South Vietnam – Civil Aid programme,' NAA: A4940, C4641.
[35] Paul Hasluck, 'Non-military aid to Vietnam – Decision 40', NAA: A5842, 52, p. 10.

early years of the war tended to portray the 'diggers' as being engaged in 'noble humanitarianism,' by publishing photographs of soldiers assisting and engaging the Vietnamese.[36]

Figure 5.1: 'Military Photographs: Aid to Vietnamese Community,' circa. 1966.
National Archives of Australia, NAA: B5919, 2479. Used with Permission.

As Christina Klein has shown, the same rhetoric of sentimental personalism which underpinned travelogues to Asia during the Cold War also entered discussions of charity and aid, particularly through the concept of 'adopting' or sponsoring a child in the Third World.[37] This type of rhetoric is evident in the Australian Army's publicity campaign. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 are framed around a sentimental narrative. Figure 5.2, in particular, depicts Australian troops as concerned and compassionate, gazing beneficently at a child being fed from Australian-donated Heinz canned goods. The description which accompanied the photograph claimed that the 'children of Dong Chua orphanage, Saigon, have been "adopted" by the Australian Army as part of its Civil Action programme in South Vietnam.'[38] The framing of the relationship between

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[36] Rachel Stevens, "'Captured by Kindness': Australian Press Representations of the Vietnam War, 1965-1970," *History Australia* 3, no. 2 (2006), p. 45.5-45.6.
[37] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, pp., 143-190.
[38] CUN/66/769/VN, NAA: B5919, 2479.

Australian troops and Vietnamese civilians through the trope of familial (and in particular paternal) relationships imbued the Army's publicity with sentimental meanings.

Figure 5.2: 'Military Photographs: Aid to Vietnamese Community,' circa. 1966.
National Archives of Australia, NAA: B5919, 2479. Used with Permission.

As well as a form of response to critical appraisals of about the war's impact on Vietnamese civilians, the Army's turn towards highlighting the humanitarian elements of its deployment through sentimental tropes was part of a transnational shift. Akira Iriye has identified a growing popular conception of the world as a 'global community' during the 1960s, particularly crystallising around issues arising from the conflict in Vietnam.[39] The issues of poverty reduction and economic development were brought into mainstream political discussion by the United Nations' declaration of the 1960s as the Decade of Development. According to Iriye, this

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[39] Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 114.

engendered a sense of 'transnational connectedness' that ultimately led to strong growth in official development assistance programs offered by developed nations.[40]

Australia was part of this trend, as revealed by the sharp growth of its overseas aid portfolio. The official aid budget, as managed by the Department of External Affairs, grew by nearly 90 percent between 1963-4 and 1968-9, with bilateral aid trebling.[41] Overseas aid grew to such importance that it required its own government agency, and the Australian Development Assistance Agency (now AusAID) was established in 1974. Non-military aid to Vietnam experienced particularly dramatic growth, increasing by more than 70 percent from 1965-66 to 1966-67, with economic development, skills training and medical aid programs coming to the fore of the aid agenda.[42] An expert Australian surgical team was posted to Long Xuyen in 1964, and the project was soon expanded to cover three additional teams, one each in Bien Hoa, Vung Tau and Phuoc Le.[43] An estimated 460 Australian civilians, including doctors, nurses and other medical professionals, served at these hospitals before the program was recalled along with Australian troops in 1972.[44]

The Vietnam War period also saw a surge in the number of national and transnational non-government organisations (NGOs) dedicated to humanitarian relief, developmental assistance and the protection of human rights.[45] In Australia, Australian Catholic Relief, Project Concern Australia, the Asian Aid Organisation, World Vision Australia and AUSTCARE were among the many NGOs to begin operations during the period of Australia's military involvement in Vietnam.[46] Established NGOs, including Community Aid Abroad and the Red Cross Society of Australia, experienced a period of substantial growth and interest during this period, too.[47] Indeed, so many NGOs began working in Vietnam that an Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) was established in 1965 to co-ordinate their activities. Initially, ACFOA's operations focussed exclusively on assistance to Vietnam, before expanding its activities to cover all overseas assistance in the late 1960s.[48] By highlighting the humanitarian impacts of the Australian deployment to Vietnam, the trope of sentimental personalism led to a sustained interest in the

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[40] Ibid., p. 114.
[41] Richard H. Snape, Lisa Gropp, and Tas Luttrell, *Australian Trade Policy, 1965-1997: A Documentary History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998), p. 548.
[42] Department of External Affairs, *External Aid Bulletin*, no. 15, December 1968, pp. 3-9.
[43] Sydney Sunderland, "Report: Australian Civilian Medical Aid to Viet-Nam," (Faculty of Medicine, University of Melbourne, 1969), p. 11.
[44] McHugh, *Minefields and Miniskirts*, p. 14.
[45] For a further discussion of the growth of NGOs worldwide, see Iriye, *Global Community*, especially pp. 96-125.
[46] Susan Blackburn, *Practical Visionaries: A Study of Community Aid Abroad* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1993), pp. 359-360.
[47] Ibid., p. 23, 42-43.
[48] Australian Council for International Development, 'History,' http://www.acfid.asn.au/about-acfid/history, accessed 13 March 2009.

amelioration of crisis in the 'Third World.' This interest had a significant impact on the growth of Australia's governmental and non-governmental foreign aid program, from the 1960s.

The Aid Deployment

The increase in aid delivery saw hundreds of Australians devote their services to Vietnam's development, for both military and non-government agencies. These included experts and volunteers in various fields, including medicine, agriculture, transport, communications and education.[49] The nature of their work meant that humanitarian workers had a range of close contacts with Vietnamese at all levels. Civil Aid-sponsored Field Hospitals treated Vietnamese and Cambodian soldiers, and occasionally, even captured Viet Cong (VC) fighters.[50] Medical staff also made close contacts with the staff and villagers they worked amongst. RAAF Sergeant Medical Orderly Phil Latimer, based at Vung Tau, became close with the local community, and shared in much of their day-to-day life.[51] Other significant contacts were made on a more sentimental level. The 8th Field Ambulance in Vung Tau nursed a young orphan boy back to health, then temporarily 'adopted' him until orders forced his removal.[52] A surgeon at the same hospital, Marshall Barr, even began an intensive course in the Vietnamese language, in an attempt to improve his ability to communicate with the local community.[53] Nurse Susan Terry also made a close connection with her interpreter, Lien, and sought closer connections with the local community by offering English language courses.[54] As a result of their sustained contact, some Australians in Vietnam as part of the aid detachment had closer person-to-person contact with Asian civilians, on a daily and relatively long-term basis, than many other Cold War travellers.

Although Civil Aid workers developed a range of contacts with the Vietnamese, their status as Officers in the Australian Army prevented many cross-cultural relationships becoming too close. The amount of work to be done also impacted on Civil Aid workers' relationships. The gulf between Australians working for Civil Aid and their Vietnamese counterparts was further widened by widespread resentment and conflict resulting from the shifts in authority brought on by the military program. Australian doctors (and sometimes nurses) often took it as a matter of

[49] Department of External Affairs, *External Aid Bulletin*, no. 15, December 1968, p. 4.
[50] 'Di Lawrence at the bedside of a VC POW patient in the intensive care unit,' Biedermann, *Tears on My Pillow*, p.n.k., See also Mary Purser in McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War*, p. 226.
[51] Phil Latimer, cited in McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War*, p. 174.
[52] Terrie Ross in Biedermann, *Tears on My Pillow*, p. 115; Marshall Barr, *Surgery, Sand and Saigon Tea: An Australian Army Doctor in Viet Nam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2001), pp. 183-4.
[53] Barr, *Surgery, Sand and Saigon Tea: An Australian Army Doctor in Viet Nam*, p. 95.
[54] Susan Terry, *House of Love: Life in a Vietnamese Hospital* (Melbourne: Landsdowne Press, 1966).

course that they would have authority over local medical staff, who often resented the intrusion. In a report on the medical Civil Aid program, Dr. Sydney Sunderland noted that conflict was rife. Australians complained that their counterparts were incompetent and often absent; the Vietnamese complained that Australians interfered with their own responsibilities.[55] In fact, Sunderland found that 'the general impression is that the Australians are welcome only because they relieve the local doctors of their public hospital duties for which they continue to be paid.'[56] In the face of such conflict, many Australians found it easier to work separately from their Vietnamese counterparts, and functioned within all-Australian teams.

Those Australians working outside of the government's Civil Aid programs faced fewer institutional restrictions, and often worked closely with Vietnamese supervisors, co-workers and assistants. The close contact occasionally resulted in genuine friendships with Vietnamese. Initially working with NGO Project Concern, and later with US and South Vietnamese government aid agencies and multilateral organisations including UNICEF, Iris Roser made several intense friendships, including a particularly close one with her interpreter, Vinnie, which lasted for several years.[57]

Some of these contacts were framed by sentimental ideas, which shaped many aid workers' conceptions about Vietnam. After working with civilian casualties of the war, Terry turned to sentimental language to describe the 'bravery and courage beyond belief' of the Vietnamese, amidst the broader context of 'unending tragedy, death and sorrow, broken lives, broken families, widows and orphans, pain and suffering, physical and mental torment.'[58] In her memoir, *House of Love*, published almost immediately upon her return to Australia, Terry framed her growing understanding of the Vietnamese through the sentimental trope. Upon arrival, she wrote, she had been informed that 'the word 'compassion' does not appear in the Vietnamese dictionary.' However, after months of working alongside Vietnamese doctors and nurses, she discovered that their brusque attitudes were a mask which protected them from the tragedies unfolding in the hospital on a daily basis.[59] Roser also portrayed her experiences through the sentimental trope. During her deployment, Roser worked closely with many minorities, particularly the Montagnards of South Vietnam. Her narrative functioned as the account of a

[55] Sunderland, "Report: Australian Civilian Medical Aid to Viet-Nam," p. 12.
[56] Ibid., p. 16.
[57] Iris Mary Roser, *Ba Rose: My Years in Vietnam, 1968-1971* (Sydney and London: Pan Books, 1991), p. x.
[58] Terry, *House of Love*, p. 68.
[59] Ibid., p. 34.

developing cross-cultural understanding with the Montagnards, who were presented in an overwhelmingly positive way.[60]

However, not all Australians involved in humanitarian activity perceived the Vietnamese through the sentimental mode of personal engagement; indeed, considered the Vietnamese only as an amorphous mass, rather than as individuals. Although she spent over eight years running an orphanage in Vietnam, Rosemary Taylor's memoir reveals little in the way of personal engagement with individual Vietnamese.[61] Instead, Taylor conceived of the Vietnamese as an undifferentiated group, and attempted to penetrate what she considered to be unified 'Vietnamese attitudes.' Taylor's experience with aid work led her to develop a view that the Vietnamese were heartless. Unlike Terry, who had come to a deeper understanding of the brusque exteriors of some colleagues, Taylor found that the 'calm acceptance of, or indifference to, death was the most difficult aspect of Vietnamese attitudes to come to terms with.' She believed that 'there was no good reason for it,' as 'at that time Vietnam touched the conscience of the world and there was no shortage of food, clothing or shelter.' Summing up, Taylor decided that 'the missing ingredient seemed to be love and care.'[62] Her account, therefore, revealed a striking absence of sentimentalism in an attitude which translated into her aid work. Having no faith in the Vietnamese, Taylor organised a program to adopt Vietnamese children to families and individuals in Europe, America and Australia. This resulted in some very rushed and undocumented adoptions, which Taylor defended by insisting that life with any 'European' family was better than life in Vietnam.[63]

Despite the lack of sentimental personalism in her account, it is evident that Taylor operated within a broader context shaped by this trope. Many Australians adopted children from Vietnam, an act which signalled a deep willingness to engage with Vietnamese on a personal level, and to assist in Vietnam's humanitarian crisis. One high profile case saw Lance Barnard, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition Labor Party, adopt a Vietnamese girl in 1971.[64] Australians' willingness to assist the Vietnamese humanitarian crisis is further evident in the adoptions organised in the wake of the emergency Baby Lifts, organised by Taylor, which brought hundreds of Vietnamese children to Australia in 1972. As Christina Klein has shown, the adoption of Asian children

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[60] Roser, *Ba Rose*, pp. 50-1, 141-2.
[61] Rosemary Taylor, *Orphans of War: Work with the Abandoned Children of Vietnam, 1967-1975* (London: William Collins Sons & Co., 1988).
[62] Ibid., p. 32.
[63] From 1968 to 1972 Taylor's organisation organised 1132 adoptions despite a lack of registration as an adoption agency. It also organised adoptions of children without adequate immigration clearance, and to foster and adoptive families (both in Vietnam and in receiving countries) who had not been fully vetted as suitable. For further details, see Ibid.
[64] R.L. Harry to Lance Barnard, 12 November 1970; and Lance Barnard to R.L. Harry, 25 November 1970, in *Papers of Lance Barnard, 1919-1997*, National Library of Australia, NLA MS 7774.

allowed concerned Americans to enact sentimental engagement with Asia during the Cold War, albeit in a way that preserved the hierarchies of race in the parent-child relationship.[65] The fact that Australian families adopted Vietnamese children suggests a similarly strong sense of connection to the humanitarian tragedy in Vietnam, and a willingness to actively assist in its amelioration. It also reveals a fundamental rejection of racism, and reflects the shift in the practice of the White Australia policy that had taken place by the 1970s. The aid detachment in Vietnam, then, had significant affinities with the trope of sentimental personalism, and some Australians began to enact their sense of community with Asia and Asians on a very deep level.

Whilst few Australians travelled to Vietnam in order to assist the local population, and few adopted Vietnamese children, a broader constituency donated to the many aid agencies and NGOs functioning in Vietnam. Many NGOs launched large-scale publicity drives to raise awareness and funds for their campaigns, bringing the sector into the public eye. Notably, these included an appeal for clothing by the Australian Red Cross society in 1966-7, an appeal for donations to Bien Hoa Hospital by the Australian Jaycees in 1968, and an appeal for milk for Rosemary Taylor's heavily publicised adoption program in 1972. This last appeal attracted such a tremendous amount of donations that the agency was overwhelmed, and requested Australians to stop sending aid.[66] In addition, several major newspapers including the *Age* and the *Australian* orchestrated popular appeals for donations to support the Vietnamese humanitarian crisis in 1968. As Torney-Parlicki has noted, the advertising campaigns prominently featured images of suffering Vietnamese children.[67] Much of the advertising also utilised the language and imagery of sentimental personalism, in order to build a personal connection between Australian donors and the tragedy in Vietnam.[68] The publicity was such that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, N.H. Bowen, perceived a growth in the 'awareness of many Australians of the problems of the developing countries' in the early 1970s, resulting in some US$18.7 million being donated by private individuals to fund overseas relief and development projects run by various NGOs.[69] Thus, while few became personally involved in the provision of aid themselves, many Australians revealed an increasing sense of global community, by donating to aid agencies, which promoted their activities through the trope of sentimental personalism.

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[65] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, pp. 174-9.
[66] Taylor, *Orphans of War*, pp. 96-7.
[67] Prue Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia: War, Journalism and Australia's Neighbours, 1941 - 75* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000), pp. 229-30.
[68] Ibid., pp. 227-33.
[69] Nigel Bowen, *Australian Foreign Aid: Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Nigel Bowen, Q.C., M.P.* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1972), p. ix.

Thus, the discourse of sentimental personalism, as deployed by 'eyewitnesses,' affected a broader audience. Although reports of the humanitarian impact on the war did have tangible effects, however, they never dominated the mainstream news cycle. The nature of news coverage of the Vietnam War has attracted a great deal of academic analysis and debate, and most accounts agree that, although critical and sentimental reports occasionally featured in the mainstream media, the majority of Australian reports focussed on the war's progress from the strategic and military, rather than the personal and sentimental, viewpoint.[70] Much of this resulted from what Trish Payne has analysed as a particular 'understanding of newsworthiness that places the words and actions of key political [and military] sources...prominently on news pages.'[71] Most reports placed a premium on military movements, political contexts and strategic repercussions, while minimising human interest stories. As a result, as Torney-Parlicki has shown, much of the media coverage of the Vietnam War was typified by 'an undifferentiated view of the Vietnamese people in general,' which functioned as the discursive opposite of sentimental personalism.[72]

This impersonal style of reporting dominated the mainstream press despite the ideological basis underpinning the conflict. Early in the war, reporter Denis Warner claimed that, as a conflict based on communism's appeal, victory 'will go to the side that commands the friendship of the people.'[73] Despite the recognition of the importance of Vietnamese 'hearts and minds,' many conservative reporters, including Warner, were unwilling to engage with the people themselves, placing their accounts in direct contrast to those of Burchett and the Salmons in North Vietnam; Cusack, Roper and Williams in China; and Simpson, Clune and Warner in non-communist East and Southeast Asia.

Indeed, much mainstream reporting and writing about Vietnam is notable for the absence of the sentimental personalism so evident in contemporary civilian accounts of Asia. Unlike the denizens of Hong Kong, Singapore or Beijing, the people in Vietnam were often represented as unsophisticated and, despite the large urban populations of Saigon and other centres, as 'peasants.' They were assumed to have little understanding of the war surrounding them; and, as such, were beneath the interest of foreign visitors. Although he paid lip service to the battle for

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[70] Trish Payne, *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2007); Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, pp. 183-209; Alan Knight, *Reporting the Orient: Australian Correspondents in Asia* (n.k.: Xlibris, 2000), pp. 62-9.

[71] Payne, *War and Words: The Australian Press and the Vietnam War*, p. 12.

[72] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 190.

[73] 'Too old to make friends, October 1962,' in Denis Warner, *Reporting South-East Asia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1966), p. 218.

hearts and minds, Warner wrote of the Vietnamese as stock figures, or as a generic mass, rather than as individuals. Warner's reports were dotted with interchangeable references to 'the unsophisticated,' or 'the average Vietnamese,' or to 'the ignorant peasant.'[74] Far from portraying the personal meanings behind Cold War conflicts, Warner was prone to claiming that the Vietnamese 'peasants' were too simple to understand the Cold War divides wracking their countryHe was not alone, and as Torney-Parlicki found, 'what was noticeably absent...was any attempt by an Australian journalist to explore and document the effects of the war on civilian lives.'[75] As a result, much conservative and mainstream reporting presented the Vietnamese as a mass, which it often patronisingly cast as an ignorant peasantry, rather than as individuals with an interest in the fate of their country.[76]

This departure from the trope of sentimental personalism was partly caused by the context of war reporting. Torney-Parlicki has argued that the generic reporting resulted from the United States' firm management of news information, alongside the physical discomforts of reporting in Vietnam.[77] Alan Knight has highlighted the role of the correspondents' culture in Saigon, which functioned as 'an exclusive club,' and retained a colonial-style distance between journalists and locals, as a further reason for the impersonal style.[78] Further, the day-to-day mode of war reporting was not conducive to sentimental personalism, a genre which flourished in longer accounts such as travelogues and full-length reports. While in-depth portraits of individuals and cross-cultural contact were more difficult to achieve in shorter pieces, the task was not impossible. As was shown in Chapter 4, sympathetic and sentimental accounts of China were published as short pieces in the mainstream media by fellow-travellers including Dymphna Cusack and Myra Roper. The mainstream reporting of the Vietnam War, therefore, signals a significant departure from the discourse of sentimental personalism as a model for Australian engagement with Asia. Although the genre had a significant effect in motivating Australian interest in the provision of foreign aid, it never dominated mainstream accounts of war.

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[74] See, for example, 'The many-fronted war, September 1952,' and 'Too old to make friends, October 1962' in Ibid. , pp. 215, 221.
[75] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 227.
[76] See, for example, Michael Wall, 'Apathy is the enemy for the Americans,' *The Australian*, 26 February 1966, p. 9; Ward Just, 'Inscrutable Vietnam – the country no one really knows...,' *The Australian*, 17 November 1967, p. 9.
[77] Torney-Parlicki, *Somewhere in Asia*, p. 190.
[78] Knight, *Reporting the Orient: Australian Correspondents in Asia*, pp. 62-9.

The trope of sentimental personalism had little resonance with many of the soldiers who served in the Vietnam War, either. Unlike the politically-motivated travel writers, and the (often) politically sophisticated travellers of the Cold War period, many of the soldiers who served in Vietnam had little interest in the broader socio-political causes of the conflict, and few had given thought to the political condition of the Vietnamese people. Nearly 60,000 Australian soldiers served in Vietnam between 1962 and 1973, 15,542 of whom were conscripts. At twenty, the average age of the deployment was lower than in previous conflicts.[79] Those who were conscripted had little choice in the matter. Most of those who had not signed up had not done so out of concern for the development of the Cold War in Asia. Instead, like their forefathers in the Pacific War, many had signed up out of a sense of duty, or were lured by the promise of travel and adventure.[80] Many recruits openly admitted they had 'heard very little of, or knew nothing of Vietnam.'[81] Some did not even realise Vietnam was a country, or confused it with other Asian nations.[82] Recruits were also ignorant of the differences between Asian peoples, with at least one young man believing that Vietnam was populated by 'Japs.'[83] Other recruits in both combat and non-combat roles admitted that 'I couldn't tell a Japanese from a Chinese or a Vietnamese', as 'all Orientals looked alike to me.'[84] Not all soldiers were entirely ignorant about the Cold War in Asia, and were genuinely concerned that, if they weren't stopped, communists would 'travel down through Asia [until] one day they'd be on our shores.'[85] Yet, even those motivated by political and ideological considerations were, like the Menzies government, more focussed on a military containment of the Communist threat, rather than with a containment achieved by sentimental and affective ties. At the outbreak of the war, then, Vietnam had not been woven into rumour for many soldiers.

With few preconceptions, soldiers' impressions of Vietnam and the Vietnamese were, therefore, almost entirely built from personal experience as members of a military unit. For those servicemen who served as 'grunts' and spent most of their time patrolling, these experiences

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[79] McKay, *Bullets, Beans and Bandages*, pp. 23-4; Janine Hiddlestone, "Continuing the Great Adventure? Australian Servicemen and the Vietnam War," *Linq* 31, no. 1 (2004), p. 13.

[80] Hiddlestone, "Continuing the Great Adventure?", p. 16. See also 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, Australian War Memorial (henceforth AWM) MSS 1045, pp. 447-8,

[81] Interview with Barry Peterson (AATTV): Archive No. 2589, http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2049.aspx, viewed 15 December 2008.

[82] Robin Gerster, "Asian Destinies/Destinations: The Vietnam Tour," *Australian Studies* 10 (1996), pp. 61-69., p. 63; Langley, *Decade of Dissent*, pp. 76-7.

[83] Langley, *Decade of Dissent*, pp. 76-7. See also 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 457.

[84] Graeme Mann, *The Vietnam War on a Tourist Visa* (Gordon, NSW: Mini Publishing, 2006), p. 25; 'National Service Experience in Vietnam,' in Papers of Mike Fernando, AWM PR 91/180.

[85] Interview with Bob Grandin (RAAF): Archive 2572, http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2032.aspx, accessed 15 December 2008.

revolved around twin poles of discomfort and fear. The day-to-day routine of jungle patrolling was often boring and could be extremely uncomfortable. Yet the nature of guerrilla warfare meant that attack could come at any time, and constant tension underpinned the boredom. When an attack occurred, the result was often tragic: 496 Australian soldiers died, and a further 2,398 were injured, during Australia's involvement in Vietnam.[86] Seeing fellow soldiers become casualties of war was extremely traumatic and reinforced the constant threat faced by patrol troops. As a result, many soldiers found patrolling an intense experience, which 'was total and absolute, its essence was life and death.'[87]

A major cause of tension was the inability to differentiate between allies and enemies. Even 'friendly' villages could harbour Viet Cong fighters, and many patrol soldiers recounted stories of trusted Vietnamese informants and friends who had turned out to be VC informers. As a result, contacts between Australians and Vietnamese villagers were often circumscribed by suspicion and fear on both sides. Even contacts with children, who readily flocked to soldiers in the hope of receiving food or money, were suspected, and stories about grenade-throwing children 'served as a grim reminder that not all VC wore black pyjamas and carried AK47s.'[88] Australian suspicions extended to their South Vietnamese allies. Many soldiers 'would not have been surprised' to discover their allies were 'part time VC,' and this attitude naturally limited co-operation with their counterparts.[89] Soldiers were shaken by the 'betrayals,' and many came to ask themselves, 'So who could one trust? The answer to that was obviously "no-one."'[90] This sense of mistrust, allied with older stereotypes of Asians as 'inscrutable,' could result in a tangible sense of 'continuous tension.'[91]

Australian soldiers also had a distinct experience of power in Vietnam. Under the crisis conditions of war, soldiers had extraordinary authority over civilians. Australian strategy in Vietnam relied on keeping villages secured from VC contact, in order to limit the guerrillas' logistical support, and to secure villagers from the ideological influences of communism. Australians regularly patrolled villages in order to ensure their integrity had not been breached. As part of this, villagers' homes were thoroughly searched, and soldiers had authority to confiscate anything they considered to be contraband. In order to ensure that villages weren't feeding VC guerrillas, soldiers were to decide how much rice a village was likely to eat in a given

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[86] Ian Grant, *A Dictionary of Australian Military History* (Sydney: Random Houses, 1992), p. 381.
[87] Neil Matthews, 'The obscure and the everyday', in Keith Maddock, ed., *Memories of Vietnam* (Milsons Point, NSW: Random House, 1991), p. 131.
[88] Papers of Able Seaman Anthony Leonard Ey, AWM PR 01634.
[89] Ibid. See also 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. i.
[90] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, pp. 563-4.
[91] Interview with Sandy MacGregor (Engineers 1 RAR): Archive 2584, http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2044.aspx, accessed d 15 December 2008.

period, and dispose of any excess. As a result, Australians regularly confiscated surplus rice, which could otherwise have been eaten or sold for profit. While soldiers had been given the authority to do this under the extraordinary conditions of guerrilla warfare, their power was not always appreciated by villagers. As a result, the few direct contacts between Australians and Vietnamese were often circumscribed by anger, misunderstanding and fear. Soldiers recognised that some villagers were 'not pleased about our presence,' and were 'obviously not too happy about being saved from Communism.'[92]

Unlike the case with civilian travellers to Cold War Asia, who privileged the personal and sentimental contacts they made with locals on both sides of the Bamboo Curtain, many Australian soldiers responded to these tense negotiations of power by limiting their contacts with Vietnamese people.[93] When contact could not be avoided, many soldiers reacted by forcing their authority onto the Vietnamese, in order to maintain control of an uneasy situation. As Jason Greville wrote in a letter home, 'it is very difficult to tell VC from the Vietnamese,' so 'when out on OP and you see any body with a rifle you let them have it as very suspicious [sic].'[94] The more self-reflective soldiers recognised that this callousness was antithetical to their stated mission of protecting the Vietnamese against exploitation and aggression.[95] One soldier remembered feeling like a thief as he confiscated 'excess' rice from families' stores.[96] Others felt guilty when political demands dictated they pull out of 'friendly' areas, knowing that they were leaving villages exposed to VC reprisals.[97] Further, strategies and commands regularly changed, leaving soldiers questioning the competence of their superiors, and the logic of their actions.[98] The confusion led some soldiers to question their involvement in Vietnam, and added further to the strain and tension of patrolling.

Many were not eager to engage with the Vietnamese, anyway. Australian soldiers were commonly repelled by what they saw of the Vietnamese in their daily environment. They

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[92] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, pnk.; Robin Harris, 'The New Breed', in Maddock, ed., *Memories of Vietnam*, p. 38.
[93] Interview with Adrian Roberts, (1st APC Squadron): Archive 2558, http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2019.aspx, accessed 15 December 2008.
[94] Papers of Jason Neville (Gnr 105th Field Battery), AWM PR 91/069.
[95] See, for example, Stan Sutherland, *In This Man's Army: A Vietnam War Memoir* (Yackandandah, Vic.: Self-published, 2007), pp. 118-9.
[96] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, Australian War Memorial, AWM MSS 1045, pnk. See also 'Village Search' in 'Vietnam 1962-71' in Papers of R Andrews and T Pleace, Australian War Memorial, AWM MSS 1288.
[97] McKay, *Bullets, Beans and Bandages*, pp. 188-191.
[98] Greg Lockhart, "Into Battle: Counter-Revolution," in *Vietnam Remembered*, ed. Gregory Pemberton (Sydney: New Holland, 1996),pp. 38-59., pp. 46-58; Jane Ross, "Australian Soldiers in Vietnam: Product and Performance," in *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War*, ed. Peter King (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983), p. 80; Frank Frost, "Australia's War in Vietnam," in *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War*, ed. Peter King (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 63-71.

disapproved of the villages, in which 'there is trash & filth everywhere you look.'[99] The smell of villages, in particular, repelled the Australians, and many soldiers 'couldn't understand' how the Vietnamese could live in a place that smelt so putrid that it 'nearly made me throw up.'[100] Vietnamese modes of waste disposal, including the disposal of human waste, were noted with incredulity as 'filthy.'[101] The lack of modern sanitation was considered to be a sign of Vietnamese backwardness and cultural inferiority, and a barrier to further communication.

Revulsion and distrust combined to create a broad anti-Vietnamese racism. With civilian contacts circumscribed, this racism was most vehemently demonstrated in dealings with local allies, including the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). Despite the fact that they were in Vietnam to support and co-operate with the local authorities, Australians had little respect for their allies, and complained that the ARVN was slow, lazy and undisciplined, 'like thirteen or fourteen year olds back home.'[102] As Stan Sutherland explained, they were 'extremely disappointing. Here are we Australians, over here in Vietnam, trying our hardest to assist them remain free...and it's hard to deal with' their lack of enthusiasm.[103]

When allied with the negative impressions gained from operations, these impressions served to imbue Australian soldiers with an overwhelmingly negative image of Vietnamese people and places. As Robin Harris remembered, 'there was a consensus opinion that this was the arsehole of the earth.'[104] Soldiers represented their dissatisfaction with Vietnam to a broader audience in letters to friends and family back in Australia. In a letter home, Bombardier Peter Groves complained that 'I'm sick and tired of this place...'[105] and that it 'is the end of the world.'[106] Private Joe Lavery called Vietnam a 'god forsaken hole' in letters to his family.[107] Poetry was also a favourite mode of performative expression for soldiers, and the anonymous poem, 'I've had my share of rubber trees,' was popular amongst serving soldiers. It reveals the connection many soldiers made between the negative experiences they had while serving in Vietnam, and the image of Vietnam itself that they developed as a result:

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[99] Papers of Bombardier Peter W Groves (105th Field Battery, RAA, ADF), AWM PR 86/248 – Folder 1.
[100] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 495.
[101] For incredulous and emotional reactions to Vietnamese urination and defecation, see 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 497-8; Gary McKay, *In Good Company: One Man's War in Vietnam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998), p. 72; Papers of Bombardier Peter W Groves (105th Field Battery, RAA, ADF), AWM PR 86/248 –Folder 1.
[102] Sutherland, *In This Man's Army*, p. 205. See also McKay, *Vietnam Fragments: An Oral History of Australians at War*, pp. 231-7.
[103] Sutherland, *In This Man's Army*, p. 217.
[104] Robin Harris, 'The New Breed', in Maddock, ed., *Memories of Vietnam*, p. 34.
[105] Papers of Bombardier Peter W Groves (105th Field Battery, RAA, ADF), AWM PR 86/248 – Folder 1.
[106] Ibid.
[107] 'Vietnam Letters', in Papers of the Lavery Family – World War II and Vietnam, AWM PR 01487/1, Folder 10.

I've had me share of rubber trees,
And screaming sergeant majors
And livin like a mongrel dog
In those stuffed out canvas cages
Had me share of screamin' jets
And whoopin' bloody rickets,
Beetles in me under dacks
Bull ants in me pockets,
Had me share of mud'n'slush
And rainin' like a bastard,
And when it rains it rains here mate
A fortnight once it lasted.
'Ad me share of crawlin' things
And human ones is with em
Bitin' round your tender spots
And at the bosses bum they're sniffin.
I've had me share of sweaty gear
And rashes on me belly
And watchin' Yankee football
On the stuffed out canteen telly
Had me share of dippin' out
On sex and lovin' and boozin'
Yeah I'm in this bloody place
But it sure wasn't my choosin'
Had this bloody place Vietnam
And a war that aint fair dinkum.
Had the swamps, and chook house towns
Where everythin' is stinkin
Had me share of countin' days
And boots with ten foot laces.
I've had me share, I've had it mate
And up all them foreign places.'[108]

Culture of impunity

The stress of service, allied with a general disdain for the Vietnamese, led many Australians to act with little regard for local rules. Australians regularly refused to heed the civilian police, who were rumoured to be corrupt and overly brutal. Giving them the demeaning name 'white mice,' Australian soldiers routinely flouted their authority. The experience of the Clearance Diving Team, a highly skilled unit, is revealing. The Diving Team had a particular hatred for 'official thugs,' and 'really despised these corrupt and totally evil little bastards.' On seeing one of

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[108] Anonymous, 'I've had my share of rubber trees', AWM MSS 0870.

the 'white mice' arrest a woman on suspicion of prostitution, one of the Team, Anthony Ey, threatened the policeman at gunpoint. After a tense confrontation, the woman was released.[109] Australians had no authority over Vietnam's civilian administration; however, some soldiers were loath to accept the authority of a people whom they held as corrupt and untrustworthy, as well as social and cultural inferiors, and instead imposed their own power onto the Vietnamese.

The culture of impunity is also evident in other activities. Holding no respect for local regulations, Australians were notoriously fast and dangerous drivers. As driver Joe Lavery wrote to his family, 'we...pretty much make our own rules,' and, as a result, Army trucks routinely ran locals off the roads.[110] Non-combat personnel also felt a sense of inviolability and impunity. Helen Keayes, an Australian who worked as a Press Agent for the US Army Information Service, used the privileges of her position to requisition planes and helicopters to fly to parties; on one occasion, she requisitioned a plane to host a mid-air Champagne Flight.[111] Journalist Jan Graham expressed this sense of impunity by explaining, 'I was young and it was wondrous...like a big Luna Park every day of the week. Let's try a new ride. Let's jump out of a chopper and walk through a paddy field. Let's watch people getting blown up by mines. Let's shoot a few gooks.'[112] As Graham's testimony makes clear, this life of impunity was enjoyed at the expense of Vietnamese, who rarely figured as more than a mass of 'gooks' (or, more commonly in Australian parlance, 'noggies').

This sense of impunity was encouraged by the atmosphere on base. The military leadership banned Vietnamese staff from bases for fear of VC infiltration, creating Australian enclaves on Vietnamese soil. In the absence of Vietnamese, Australians could finally relax. After duty, soldiers socialised and drank at the 'boozer,' watched films, played sport and shopped for souvenirs. Mike Fernando claimed that life at base had a carnival atmosphere, as 'every second person in the club seemed to have a Yashica or Nikon camera taking souvenir photos to show the folks back home the "war games" that went on in our boozer,' which involved streaking, stripping and drinking games; a far cry from the tensions of patrol.[113] The boundaries that Australian soldiers drew around their national group created a bi-polar pattern of extreme ease when on base, and extreme tension when outside it. Bombardier Peter Groves' letters reveal two distinct experiences of Vietnam. While on patrol, letters home vividly described Vietnam's miseries, concluding with despairing pronouncements that 'I don't want to travel overseas again.'

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[109] Papers of Able Seaman Anthony Leonard Ey, AWM PR 01634.
[110] Joe Lavery, 17 January 1969, in 'Papers of the Lavery Family – World War II & Vietnam,' AWM PR 01487/1, Folder 10.
[111] McHugh, *Minefields and Miniskirts*, p. 12
[112] Cited in Ibid., p. 63.
[113] 'National Service Experience in Vietnam,' in Papers of Mike Fernando, AWM PR 91/180.

Yet, as soon as patrols ended, and Groves returned to base, his tone underwent a major shift. Back on base, Groves' letters were no longer filled with complaints; instead they focussed on the bargain electronics and homewares available at the Australian and American Post Exchange (PX) stores.[114] Indeed, the extreme tension of patrolling contributed to the permissiveness on base, as officers recognised the need for soldiers to 'wind down' from duties. Although they spent the vast majority of their time stationed on base, and rarely experienced the tension of front-line deployment, support personnel also contributed to the carefree atmosphere, many dedicating themselves to 'having a ball.'[115]

Rest and Recreation: transferring impunity

Due to the lack of contact with local peoples on patrol and on base, the most significant time for cross-cultural interaction was during brief sessions of Rest and Recreation leave (R & R). Longer periods of leave of five days or more were typically spent in Bangkok, Hong Kong or Australia, but shorter breaks were taken in-country, usually at Vung Tau on the South China Sea coast. Previously known as Cap St. Jacques, Vung Tau had been a well-known resort for French *colons* during the colonial period.[116] This function was resumed during wartime, but the nature of its clientele saw the Ving Tau economy transformed into one predicated on providing alcohol, drugs and prostitutes to soldiers. Despite the Army's best efforts to make soldiers feel as if they were in a seaside resort, the fact that they were holidaying at war was never far from soldiers' minds.[117] As Vung Tau was an active war zone, the cordoned-off section of 'Australian' beach was protected on all sides by thick rolls of barbed wire. Soldiers on active military duty intermittently patrolled the beach, and, although those arriving for leave were asked to check in their guns on arrival, weapons were pervasive nonetheless. Photographs of soldiers at Vung Tau capture the tense and bizarre situation, showing some playing games of Australian Rules football while their guns hang at the ready on the goal posts, and others preparing for a surf against a wall of barbed wire.

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[114] Papers of Bombardier Peter W Groves (105th Field Battery, RAA, ADF), AWM PR 86/248 –. Folder 1.

[115] "Interview with Tom Molomby, Peter Hamilton and Others, 1 January 1971," (National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 0245: 1971).

[116] Emmanuelle Peyvel, "From Cap Saint-Jacques to Vung Tau: The Spatial Path of a Vietnamese Seaside Resort," (Paper presented at Resorting to the Coast: Tourism, Heritage and Cultures of the Seaside, Blackpool, 25-29 June. Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, 2009)

[117] For a discussion of the Australian Army's attempts to recreate an Australian beach culture in Vung Tau, see Agnieszka Sobocinska, "'Two Days' Rest in the City of Sin': Australian Soldiers on R & R in Vietnam," in *Conference Proceedings: Resorting to the Coast: Tourism, Heritage and Cultures of the Seaside*, ed. Daniela Carl and Domenico Colasurdo (Leeds: Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, 2009).
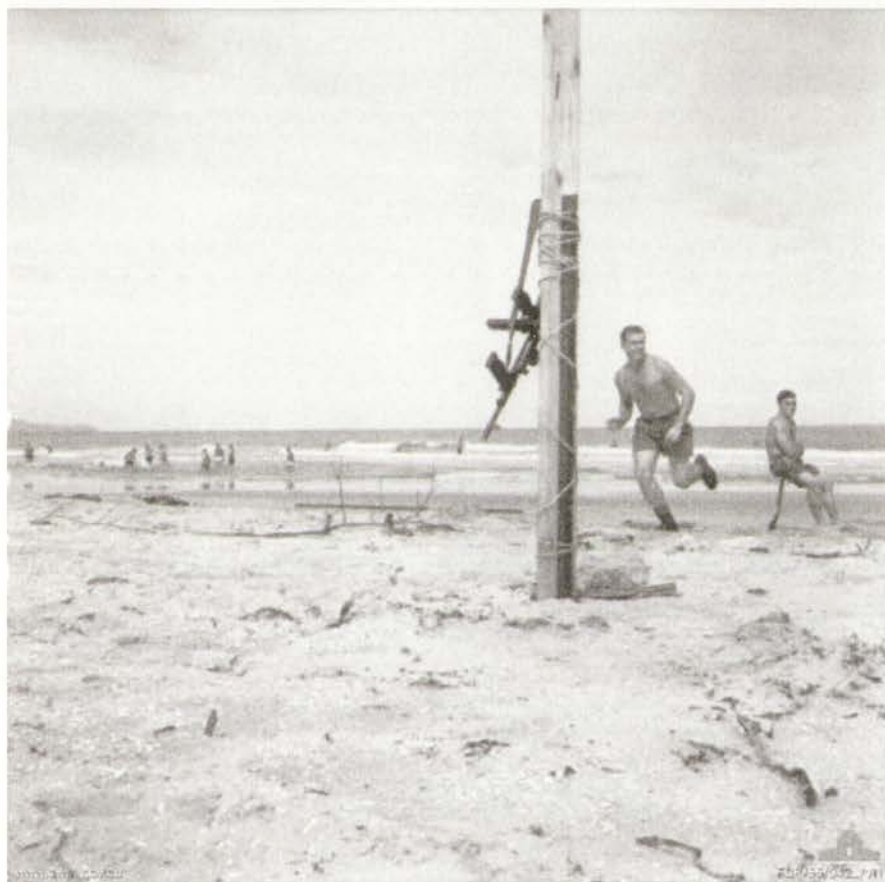
Figure 5.3: 'Vietnam, 1966-05-26'
Australian War Memorial, FOR/66/0421/VN. Used with Permission.

Figure 5.4: William Alexander Errington, 'Vung Tau, South Vietnam, 11/1968'
Australian War Memorial, ERR/68/0998/VN. Used with Permission.

Despite the extreme stress of their deployment, soldiers had even less opportunity to unwind than they may have expected. Due to the intensity of patrolling, and the political difficulty of raising new battalions to support those already engaged, the normal pattern of rest days and leave periods was waived. Whereas soldiers nominally accrued 36 hours' leave for every six weeks' active service, many of the young men serving in Vietnam worked for many months without a break. When they did receive the opportunity, soldiers took to the bar scene with great vigour, trying to get the most out of two or three days' leave by packing in as many of Vung Tau's approximately 178 bars and 3,000 bar girls as possible.[118] For these young men, Vung Tau provided a temporary respite from the war, and 'rest and recreation' became 'rooting and intoxication'; a time to 'make a real animal of yourself.'[119] Private Mike Fernando remembered the bars 'becoming like a second home' to soldiers on leave, and Trevor Pleace wrote of 'boozing and screwing, not stopping to breathe.'[120] Leave at Vung Tau, although only taking up a

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[118] Figures are from McKay, *In Good Company*, p. 103.
[119] Ibid., p. 102; 'Bob' in "Interview with Tom Molomby, Peter Hamilton and Others, 1 January 1971."
[120] 'Vietnam 1962-71' in Papers of R Andrews and T Pleace, , AWM MSS 1288; 'National Service Experience in Vietnam,' in Papers of Mike Fernando, AWM PR 91/180.

fraction of soldiers' time, loomed large in their letters and memoirs, and was again popularly represented through poetry, as evident in the poem, 'Two Days' Rest in the City of Sin':

> Two days rest in the city of sin
> Always makes a young digger grin
>
> Spend some piaster, get rotten drunk
> Take a lady and crawl to her bunk
>
> Love her hard and like its your last
> Pay her some money and wash up fast.
>
> Then its off to the street of bars
> Drunkenly weaving and dodging cars
>
> The ladies of Vung Tau are OK alright
> Ask any digger, who's spent a night
>
> He'll tell you a tale that will make you blush
> Of two days and a night, spent in a rush
>
> To screw the most and drink your share
> To fight the yanks with never a care
>
> After two days its back to camp,
> To visit the medic, he's a champ
>
> He greets us all with a needle and a grin
> Welcome back grunts, from the city of sin.'[121]

After months of continuous service, Australian soldiers found the attentions of Vietnamese bargirls a welcome distraction.[122] As Private John S. Gibson remembered, 'the war was terminated by the girls in the bars, if only for a day, a night or a week. The smiling faces and in these days, rare femininity, were a soothing balm that healed some of the wounds of war.'[123] Others were less inclined to romanticise the experience, recognising that 'it was simply a question of financial negotiation.'[124] The negotiations reveal the perceived value of Vietnamese women. Some soldiers, especially those on leave for the first time, were only too happy to buy every bar girl a drink, and were overjoyed when they secured a night at any price. Others thought Vietnamese women had far less value, and bitterly complained about the high prices they demanded for sex, and constant demands for drinks. Others haggled, revealing just how lowly they considered Vietnamese women by offering 'a packet of soap powder,' which they thought

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[121] 'Vietnam 1962-71' in Papers of R Andrews and T Pleace, AWM MSS 1288.
[122] Figure noted in McKay, *In Good Company*, p. 103.
[123] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 478.
[124] Mann, *The Vietnam War on a Tourist Visa*, p. 17.

'could buy a soldier a week of love with one of the bar girls who would more often than not throw in free food and accommodation.'[125]

The negative impressions formed while on patrol, by which the Vietnamese were imagined to be inferior, impacted upon soldiers' interactions with the denizens of Vung Tau. Rather than allowing more significant contacts to be established, periods of leave at Vung Tau rather saw the behaviour of patrolling transferred to the civilian sphere. Their fundamental lack of respect for the Vietnamese, when mixed with heavy drinking, often led soldiers to acts of violence. Bar brawls were a common occurrence, and many soldiers were reprimanded for their bad behaviour whilst on leave. Corporal Stan Sutherland attacked a barman with a stool when he found his slouch hat missing.[126] John Gibson recalled a similar tale of one 'digger's' violent rampage after finding his wallet had been stolen, during which he assaulted a Vietnamese barman with a broken glass, and smashed an expensive stereo. For this violent outbreak he was given 35 days in the military prison, but upon release he immediately knocked a bargirl out cold, and was sentenced to another 14 days.[127] Other attacks were more random, and involved Australians targeting locals for some 'fun'.[128]

Indeed, for many soldiers, R & R prompted the transfer of behaviours learnt on operations into the civilian sphere. While patrolling, soldiers imposed themselves on local people and environments, entering villages at will and, if they suspected VC influence, taking whatever action they thought necessary. Under the dictates of this war, they had the authority to discover and destroy guerrilla elements camouflaged within civilian society, and in practice, this often meant the imposition of Western power onto civilians. At Vung Tau, the sense of authority over a subordinate Vietnamese population was brought out of the battlefield and into civilian interaction. While it cannot be said of all soldiers, some Australians acted with a sense of impunity while on R & R, feeling they could impose themselves on Vietnamese barmen and prostitutes at will. During R & R, a liminal experience which bridged war and peace, soldiers transferred the extraordinary behaviours of wartime outside the field of operation, and imposed them on a civilian population.

Others shrank away from any contact with locals whilst on leave, just as they did during operations. After his first period of leave, Bombardier Peter Groves had had enough, deciding 'I'm not really wanting to go to Vung-Tau again. Everything there is terribly dirty; I was nearly

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[125] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, pnk.
[126] Sutherland, *In This Man's Army*, pp. 136-8.
[127] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 662.
[128] See, for example, Sutherland, *In This Man's Army*, p. 293. He then goes on to attack a group of 'cowboys' in retaliation for having his watch stolen, pp. 340-1.

sick when I walked down the streets.'[129] Others worried for their safety, fearing the local con-men and pickpockets 'trying to rip round-eyes (Europeans) off.'[130] Further, despite its use as a place for leave, Vung Tau was not removed from the conflict, and soldiers were equally unable to differentiate civilians from VC in seaside settings as in rural. Engineer Sandy MacGregor remembered that Vung Tau 'wasn't only used by us, it was also used by the Viet Cong... we'd know they'd be in town and we'd be in town.'[131] A Corporal with the Engineers, Phil Baxter, also couldn't come to terms with the knowledge that 'the people you were drinking next to...could be the people that you're firing out at bush the next day.'[132] MacGregor, for one, found himself wondering whether the owners of bars he patronised were VC, and whether his beer 'was a really good bottle or if it was just the dregs or whether it was poisonous.'[133] The combination of bad smells, dirt and danger meant that many soldiers bypassed the town altogether, heading directly for the cleanliness and efficient services of the Australian Army's Peter Badcoe Club. For those who desired it, R & R could provide just as strict a separation between soldiers and locals as the bases did during operations, and some preferred to spend time on leave at the Club than venture out into the seedy nightlife at Vung Tau.

As Vung Tau was one of the only places where Australians encountered Vietnamese in a direct way, the seediness and immorality of those engaged in the local economy coloured their perceptions of all Vietnamese. Like many travellers, Australian soldiers extrapolated from these singular and contingent contacts, to make broader determinations about the nature of all Vietnamese, or even of all 'Asians.' Barry Wright, who had served in Vietnam, remembered that Australian soldiers had come to consider the entire country as 'a vast brothel, the women whores, and the men either pimps or soldiers.'[134] Some regarded Saigon as 'a modern day Sodom or Gomorrah, full of black marketers, prostitutes, pimps, racketeers, scammers and beggars.'[135] Working for the US Air Force in Saigon, David Mann came to believe that Vietnam was 'a country that willingly trades off its young women for sexual favours.'[136] Gunner Jason Neville considered all Vietnamese women to be 'sex maniacks all they want is to have sexual intercorse

[129] Papers of Bombardier Peter W Groves (105th Field Battery, RAA, ADF), AWM PR 86/248 –. Folder 3.
[130] 'National Service Experience in Vietnam,' in Papers of Mike Fernando, AWM PR 91/180.
[131] Interview with Sandy MacGregor (Engineers 1 RAR): Archive 2584,
http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2044.aspx, accessed 15 December 2008.
[132] Interview with Phil Baxter (4RAR, 6RAR): Archive 2580,
http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2041.aspx, accessed 15 December 2008.
[133] Interview with Sandy MacGregor (Engineers 1 RAR): Archive 2584,
http://www.australiansatwarfilmarchive.gov.au/aawfa/interviews/2044.aspx, accessed 15 December 2008.
[134] Gerster, "Asian Destinies/Destinations," p. 65.
[135] Sutherland, In This Man's Army, p. 133.
[136] Mann, The Vietnam War on a Tourist Visa, p. 112.

they ask any soldier and they always say a price.'[137] John Gibson believed that the Vietnamese were depraved, and blamed their poverty on laziness, believing that even those desperate enough to scavenge through the Army's garbage 'were not starving but just lazy and they knew that food would be available every day. The fact that the food came packaged in garbage bins did not seem to worry them.'[138] In her study of Australian servicemen, PhD student Jane Ross found that 'the most common descriptions by Australians of the Vietnamese were 'ungrateful', 'immoral', 'filthy' and 'back stabbing.'[139] As a result, Robin Gerster has argued that the seediness of Vung Tau served to reinforce latent preconceptions about 'Asians.'[140]

The experience of patrolling, as well as the glimpses of Vietnamese life they gained during village raids and R & R at Vung Tau, often confirmed soldiers' initial poor impressions. When formed en masse, this negative attitude towards the Vietnamese bred a culture of superiority in the Australian deployment, resulting in many soldiers' condescending attitudes towards the Vietnamese. This sense of superiority also led some soldiers to behave with impunity, holding their needs and desires above those of the local population. The separation between Australians and Vietnamese, the sense of Australian superiority, and the inequitable division of power in Vietnam, combined to create a distinct way of seeing and behaving. Like the BCOF deployment twenty years before, the culture of the Vietnam deployment took on broadly colonial patterns. As Nicholas Thomas notes, there was never a single culture of colonialism. As we saw in Chapter 2, military deployments could forge a colonial culture even in a non-colonial space. As in the Occupation of Japan, the American military deployment in Vietnam had a complex relationship to colonial and neocolonial control, and Australia's subordinate role in this deployment rendered its relationship even more complex. However, the unequal division of power along racial lines overlaid the military deployment with distinctly colonial meanings, resulting in a broadly colonial culture premised on Australian authority as well as a sense of racial and cultural superiority. This broadly colonial culture serves to highlight the fact that not all Cold War perceptions and experiences of Asia were structured by the discourses of engagement and sentimental personalism. Rather, the colonial mode continued to shape some Australians' rumours of and experiences in Asia.

As with all travel phenomena, it is impossible to generalise a single 'Vietnam' experience, and even more so to judge any lasting effects. Yet, it is evident that for both operational and

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[137] Papers of Jason Neville (Gnr 105th Field Battery), AWM PR 91/069. Note all spelling and grammatical errors as in the original.
[138] 'The Frontier of Freedom,' unpublished manuscript in Papers of John S. Gibson, AWM MSS 1045, p. 520.
[139] Jane Ross, 'Australian soldiers in Vietnam: produce and performance', in King, ed., *Australia's Vietnam*, p. 82.
[140] Gerster, "Asian Destinies/Destinations," p. 65.

other reasons, many Australian soldiers were unimpressed with Vietnam, and sought to limit interactions with Vietnamese. This distance from the Vietnamese is striking in its contrast with contemporary patterns of civilian travel to Asia. As the two previous chapters have shown, the Cold War period saw cultural producers and travellers on both sides of the ideological divide call for Australians to develop closer personal engagement with Asia. Travel was identified as a particularly important technology in the development of the Australia-Asia relationship, and some Australians conceived of their travels as (at least in part) a form of people's diplomacy. Yet, for many soldiers in Vietnam, meeting the people was the last thing on their minds, and most did not develop any close contacts with the Vietnamese.

In contrast to contemporary civilian travel to Asia, then, many soldiers did not consider their experiences through the lens of Cold War politics. Few considered the sentiments of local populations, and fewer still applied the tenets of sentimental personalism to their contacts with Vietnamese. This is, in some ways, ironic: the soldiers serving in Vietnam were serving in a conflict that was clearly based on Cold War principles. Yet, their youth, and lack of interest in Vietnam's political situation before their deployment; alongside the stressful conditions of their deployment, meant that few wished to bridge the gulf between Australia and Asia. Certainly, few sought to build affective ties with Vietnamese civilians, according to the creed of sentimental personalism. Rather than focussing on contacts with individual Vietnamese, the culture of the Vietnam deployment took little account of them, at all. Very few letters, diaries, memoirs or interviews by Vietnam veterans reveal a personal connection made with individual Vietnamese. Instead, as in mainstream media reports, the Vietnamese appeared mostly as an anonymous mass: noggies.

Conclusion

The Vietnam War period continued the negotiation of Cold War and colonial modes. Left-wing reporters applied the mode of sentimental personalism to the Vietnam context, and presented accounts which focussed on the war's negative impacts which the war was having on Vietnamese civilians in sentimental terms. This focus was adopted by a broader constituency and led to a broader focus on foreign aid and development assistance during the progress of the war. This focus involved both government and non-governmental aid deployments to Vietnam, and drew much popular support from the Australian public. However, this focus had little impact on the largest single contingent of Australians to travel to Asia during the Cold War – the enlisted soldiers and conscripts who served in Vietnam. Few soldiers structured their experiences of Asia

through the mode of sentimental engagement, and even fewer set out to 'meet the people.' Instead, soldiers' experiences were structured by the culture of their military deployment. The tension and anxiety of this guerrilla conflict led soldiers to erect discursive and physical boundaries between themselves and the local people. The closest cross-cultural contacts occurred in the context of military R & R, and saw soldiers carry their military culture into the civilian sphere. As a result, personal experience of the Vietnamese strengthened, rather than weakened, negative rumours about Vietnam.

Thus, the Vietnam War was not a simple turning point in Australian perceptions of Asia, which Robin Gerster has called 'the historical moment when Australia realised Asia was the Near North, not the Far East.'[141] Indeed, rather than embodying any clean breaks, this period saw an uneasy negotiation between two broader discourses. Some commentators on the left utilised the Cold War trope of sentimental personalism, in order to involve Australians in a broader re-appraisal of the Communist cause. Their influence was felt in the increasingly sentimental way in which both military and non-government programs of foreign aid were conceived. However, at the same time, the broader media ignored this Cold War discourse, and produced routine, depersonalised coverage of the war. Further, the Australian deployment continued to structure the experience of Vietnam not through Cold War tropes, but rather through the older, and more protean, trope of colonialism. The experience of the Vietnam War, therefore, was a complex one. Like much Australian travel to Asia, it defied simple categories.

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[141] Ibid., p. 67.

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Rockin' the Third World: Australians on the Hippie Trail

The Vietnam War era coincided with the coming to maturity of the baby boom generation. Raised in a period of relative prosperity, many young people had the means to travel for extended periods. Joining others from across the Western world, some Australians exercised their mobility by travelling on the overland 'hippie trail' from Asia to Europe. This phenomenon was at its peak from the mid-1960s until 1979, when political cataclysms in Iran and Afghanistan, as well as increasingly stringent border regulations, effectively shut it down. The novelty and popularity of this travel trend introduced Australians to new ways of perceiving and experiencing Asia. Although the overland hippie trail was popular for a relatively short time, the travel culture that developed during this period continued to exert a significant influence on subsequent travellers' perceptions and experiences of Asia.

It is impossible to determine exactly how many Australians travelled overland across Asia during this time. The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics collected information

about Australian overseas departures throughout this period, but only noted the country of disembarkation.[1] As the overland trail passed through many countries subsequent to disembarkation, travellers on the hippie trail are impossible to distinguish from others. In 1975, for example, a one-off analysis found that more than half of all Australians arriving in Malaysia or Singapore were transiting to further destinations, but their paths were never recorded in Australian government data.[2] Despite this lack of figures, it is evident that many thousands (most likely tens of thousands) of Australians travelled overland across Asia during this period, with numbers peaking from the early to mid-1970s. Tourism arrival figures kept by the Indian government reveal that Australia's share as a percentage of all tourists peaked at 3.63% during the early 1970s, before sliding back to 1.64% (approximately average from the 1960s to the 1990s) in 1981.[3] This period also saw a sharp rise in the number of publications for intending overlanders, suggesting a cogent rise in Australian interest and participation in this phenomenon. By the mid-1970s, the National Union of Australian University Students, for example, was publishing a new edition of its *Student Guide to Asia* every year, and it was joined by several others in the marketplace.

The hippie trail was a self-consciously 'youth' phenomenon. Most travellers were in their twenties when they set off, and most were baby boomers. The earliest overland journey analysed here was made by Peter Jeans, who was 26 when he set off in 1962. The editor of *OZ* magazine Richard Neville was 24 when he made the journey in 1965; his travelling companion Martin Sharp was one year younger. Kate Irving was 25, and had just graduated from university, on her departure in 1966. Max Pam was nineteen when he went overland in 1969. British-born Tony Wheeler was 26 when he made his first overland journey in 1972; his wife Maureen was 22. Victorian David Tuck was 21, and Sydneysider Jeffrey Mellefont 24, on their departures in 1975. The oldest travellers investigated here, John Sinclair and Mike McDermott, were both 30 when they set off in 1974 and 1976, respectively.

Although twenty-something baby boomers formed the core of the hippie trail, older Australians also travelled across Asia, complicating the category of overland traveller. Irving's travelling companion, Doone, was a middle-aged friend of her mother's, but the pair set off together and 'it turned out a brilliant move.'[4] Born in 1916 and 1917, Margaret and Maurice

[1] The Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics became the Australian Bureau of Statistics after 1972.
[2] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Overseas Arrivals and Departures - Dec. 1975,' Released August 1976.
[3] Subas C. Kumar, "The Tourism Industry in India: Economic Significance and Emerging Issues," in *Tourism in India and India's Economic Development*, ed. Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell (Commack, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998), p. 28.
[4] Kate Irving to Agnieszka Sobocinska, 23 October 2006.

Brown were far from youthful when they drove a caravan from Melbourne to England in 1971.[5] American-born Thomas King was decidedly middle-aged when he went overland in 1974 and again in 1977, as was Albert Laing during his two journeys.[6] Although most of these travellers did not identify as travellers of the hippie trail (Laing, in particular, was 'not at all keen' on the young hitch-hikers he met along the way), they did tend to follow the same paths, to the same destinations, as their younger counterparts.[7] Thus, while the dominant *image* of the hippie trail was one of youth and rebellion, the actual *experience* was more complicated.

The mythical image of the 'hippie trail' is also complicated by its overlap with other contemporary forms of tourism. Although it is impossible to determine the exact numbers travelling on the hippie trail, it is clear that they were vastly outnumbered by those travelling as part of the contemporary mass tourism boom, which is the subject of the next chapter. While the two groups are often discussed as entirely separate phenomena, they often shared the same tourist infrastructure and many of the same experiences. They flew out of Australia on the same planes, and those travelling on the hippie trail occasionally treated themselves to meals or stays at tourist grade hotels; conversely, the allure of the hippie trail's image may have led some wealthier, mainstream tourists to 'slum it.' The hippie trail also overlapped with the rising popularity of motoring holidays to Asia. Many distinctly mainstream Australians, often in family groups, followed the same paths as the hippie trail. Again, no detailed figures were kept, but the steady rate of instructional material published for the benefit of intending travellers (including by state automobile associations) suggests that the overland trail held mainstream, as well as countercultural, appeal.[8]

While it is impossible to draw a line distinguishing between 'hippie trail' and 'mass' tourism experiences, differentiating between their rhetoric is a different matter. As this chapter goes on to show, many travellers on the hippie trail considered their travels to be more 'authentic,' and therefore superior, to those of mainstream tourists, and were eager to publicise the differences. The myths and legends that they developed went on to have a significant influence on subsequent Australian perceptions and experiences of Asia. Thus, while it is difficult to isolate overland travellers as a site for investigation, it is important that their rhetoric, experiences and effect on future travellers are analysed.

[5] Maurice Brown, *Plague of Peacocks* (Melbourne: self-published, 1972), pp. 1-2.
[6] Thomas E. King, *India and the Subcontinent: Overland Odyssey* (Carnegie, Victoria: Michael Booth, 1978); Albert Laing, *Eurasian Moke: The Story of a Journey* (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1975).
[7] Laing, *Eurasian Moke*, p. 9.
[8] See, for example, Royal Automobile Club of W.A., *Overland Journey from Australia to Europe* (Perth: Royal Automobile Club of W.A., 1976); Brown, *Plague of Peacocks*; Laing, *Eurasian Moke*; Mary Gage, *The Overlander's Handbook: A Guide for the Overland Adventurer to India and Beyond* (Perth: Id Publications, 1976).

Despite its subsequent influence on Australian perceptions and experiences, the overland hippie trail has not been the subject of substantial academic study. Like most other travel experiences, it is entirely absent from histories of Australian foreign affairs, which concentrate on policies associated with the Vietnam War, rather than civilian engagements, at this time.[9] Social histories rarely devote much space to the phenomenon, often considering it only as part of the broader counterculture of the period.[10] Despite its impact on the way Australians imagined Asia, the countercultural movement and the hippie trail are surprising omissions from Alison Broinowski's *The Yellow Lady*.[11] The only account to devote explicit scholarly attention to Australians on the hippie trail is Robin Gerster's *Hotel Asia*, but its nature as a literary anthology means that, although Gerster's approach is critical, the text is largely limited to repeating the myths of the hippie trail.[12] Gita Mehta's *Karma Cola*, which, as an account from the host's point of view refuses to accept the hippie trail's myths, is a rare example of a work that tests the rhetoric against lived experience.[13] In the absence of a broader literature, the only recent publications addressing the hippie trail have been memoirs and compilations of oral histories, which are steeped in the kind of rose-tinted hindsight which such a heavily mythologised phenomenon can evoke.[14]

The hippie trail's seductive myth-making also influenced the developing field of tourism research, which was developing at the same time. The field's central debate about authenticity and the differences between 'travellers' and 'tourists' grew in part from an acceptance of the rhetoric of hippie trail travellers. Despite its influence, the hippie trail is largely neglected in tourism history, and no attempt has been made to analyse the phenomenon, or to test the veracity of its travellers' claims to 'authenticity.'[15] Histories of the development of tourism in

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[9] David Goldsworthy, ed., *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1: 1901 to the 1970s* (Carlton South, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade with Melbourne University Press, 2001); Peter Edwards and David Goldsworthy, eds., *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 2: 1970s to 2000* (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade with Melbourne University Press, 2003).

[10] For example, see Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: The Sixties and Australia* (South Yarra, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1991), pp. 123-6; Julie Stephens, *Anti-Disciplinary Protest: Sixties Radicalism and Postmodernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Seamus O'Hanlon and Tanja Luckins, eds., *Go! Melbourne: Melbourne in the Sixties* (Beaconsfield, Vic.: Melbourne Publishing Group, 2005) does not mention it at all.

[11] Alison Broinowski, *The Yellow Lady: Australian Impressions of Asia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[12] Robin Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia: An Anthology of Australian Literary Travelling to 'the East'* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 293-7.

[13] Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola* (London: Cape, 1980).

[14] See, for example, David Tomory, *A Season in Heaven: True Tales from the Road to Kathmandu* (Hawthorn, Vic.: Lonely Planet Publications, 1998); Jack Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven: Rites of Way on the Overland Route* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Lothian Books, 2001); Rory Maclean, *Magic Bus: On the Hippie Trail from Istanbul to India* (London: Viking, 2006).

[15] For the academic debate on authenticity, see (among many others), Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976); Erik Cohen, "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism," *Social Research* 39, no. 1 (1972), pp. 164-82; Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2 (1973), pp. 89-103; Erik Cohen, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," *Sociology* 13, no. 6 (1979); Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988), pp. 371-86; Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975); Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978); Peter Welk, "The Beaten Track: Anti-

particular destinations, including Bali and India, have identified the hippie trail as a precursor to mass tourism. Adrian Vickers' *Bali: A Paradise Created* has argued that hippies 'formed the nucleus of tourist development' on the island, however the broad focus of the book meant that only two paragraphs were devoted to their rhetoric and experience.[16] The complex co-existence of hippie trail and mass-tourism on Bali during the late 1960s and early 1970s further complicates Vickers' account. Arun Saldanha's *Psychedelic White* traces the development of a countercultural way of experiencing Goa, but again, the work focuses on subsequent tourism development, and the experience and influence of the hippie trail is not explored on its own terms.[17] Thus, the hippie trail remains outside conventional narratives of tourism development, and many works, including those on its key destinations including Bali and India, ignore the phenomenon altogether.[18]

Countercultural rumours

The hippie trail arose from the transnational counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. As Gerster and Bassett have shown, Australian youth culture had close and continuing links with North American and Western European developments during this period.[19] A poorly defined movement with both political and cultural offshoots, the counterculture privileged rebellion, self-expression and the performance of personal freedom.[20] Above all, it was premised on dissatisfaction with 'ordinary' life in the West.[21] Its earliest theorist, Theodore Roszak, identified four main themes of counterculture: the 'psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments.'[22] All four themes were evident in the counterculture's reimagining of Asia as an alternative to the West. Working within a system of binary logic reminiscent of nineteenth-century Orientalism, many young people came to imagine the East as the opposite of the West. Thus, where the West was decried as a mechanised culture of 'cold conformity' and 'nine-to-five living,' the East was imagined as its opposite, 'gnawing

Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction," in *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice*, ed. Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), pp. 77-91.

[16] Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1989), p. 186.

[17] Arun Saldanha, *Psychedelic White: Goa Trance and the Viscosity of Race* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[18] This is especially so for texts which take government tourism development policies as their focus. See Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1996), pp. 40-55; Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell, eds., *Tourism in India and India's Economic Development* (Commack, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 1998).

[19] Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, pp. 32-5, 64-8.

[20] Bradford D. Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), pp. 3-19; Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009), p. 382. See also Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) and Stephens, *Anti-Disciplinary Protest*.

[21] For a personal account of dissatisfaction with 1950s Australia, see "Interview with Hugh Veness" (Conducted by Alex and Annette Hood, 15 November 2003, Canberra. National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 4864/35).

[22] Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, p. xii.

away at reason and common sense,' and 'a world that has not yet turned plastic'.[23] The West's capitalist 'rat-race' was contrasted to an idealised Eastern artisanship, by which it was imagined that in Asia, 'cultured people shy from materialism,' and 'craftsmanship is the rule and not the exception.'[24] Similarly, the complex system of social rules which bound conduct in the West was contrasted to the 'simple life and uncomplicated pleasures' that Asians were believed to enjoy, and the West's greyness and dullness were contrasted to the colour and chaos of the East.[25]

In addition, the counterculture imagined the West as materialistic, and the East as spiritual. Dissatisfaction with the West hinged upon notions that 'any sort of spiritual relation with the world is very difficult … because of the sort of environment we've created for ourselves and the world view that science has created.'[26] Writing in 1970, John M. Steadman found that the myth of a 'spiritual East' was a well established trope ordering Western perceptions of Asia.[27] As Richard King has recognised, the essentialism involved in the idea of the 'Mystic East' had its roots in nineteenth century Orientalism.[28] Romantic tropes had long looked to the East for spiritual rejuvenation.[29] Theosophy, in particular, had developed an image of a spiritual and mystical 'East' from the nineteenth century. Jack Kerouac's *Dharma Bums* and Allen Ginsberg's *Indian Journals* had reinterpreted these long-standing Romantic ideas about Eastern spirituality, and their images were influential on the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s.[30] Older, Orientalist rumours were, therefore re-invigorated by the counterculture, which packaged them for a self-consciously new generation.

The link between the East and alternative spirituality was reinforced by its association with hallucinogenic drugs, which the counterculture believed a pathway to deeper experience. Imagined associations between hallucinogens and the East stretched back several centuries, as Coleridge's *Kublai Khan* testifies. Again, key countercultural figures reinterpreted these Romantic notions for the modern context. Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner and Richard Alpert's *The*

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[23] David Jenkins, *Asia Traveller's Guide* (East Brunswick, Vic.: Acme Books, 1975), p. 9; David Jenkins, *Asia: A Traveller's Guide* (Adelaide: Rigby Limited, 1976), p. 9.

[24] Frank Palmos and Pat Price, *Indonesia Do-It-Yourself* (South Yarra, Melbourne: Palmii (Indonesia), 1976), p. 4.

[25] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 19

[26] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," (Conducted by Barbara Blackman, 20 April 1984, Canberra. National Library of Australia: NLA ORAL TRC 1660), tape 3.

[27] John M. Steadman, *The Myth of Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1970) p. 183.

[28] Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'the Mystic East'* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 28-34, 82.

[29] Saree Samir Makdisi, "Shelley's *Alastor*: Travel Beyond the Limit," in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 251.

[30] Jack Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1959); Allen Ginsberg, *Indian Journals, March 1962-May 1963: Notebooks, Diary, Blank Pages, Writings* (San Francisco: Dave Haselwood Books, 1970).

Psychedelic Experience traced the similarities between Tibetan Buddhism and psychedelic drugs.[31] The links between drugs, spirituality and Asia seemed confirmed by Alpert's psychedelic journey to India, which saw him become Baba Ram Dass, and the subsequent publication of his 'spiritual guidebook', *Be Here Now, Remember*.[32] Leary also went on to claim that 'the impact of a visit to India is psychedelic.'[33] These representations directly linked Asia with psychedelic drugs, and the kind of deep experiences they promised.

India lay at the heart of the counterculture's Romantic rumour of the 'East.' Julie Stephens has argued that its close associations with drugs and spirituality led to a 'distinctly countercultural ways of 'knowing' India.[34] India was rumoured to be 'a place where nothing was unacceptable, people were free, turned on, naturally wise, and understood the concepts of enlightenment.'[35] As musicologist David Reck has found, during the 1960s and 1970s 'India took on the aura of a land of dreams, a magical and mysterious place, colourful and exotic beyond hallucination, where drugs were inexpensive and plentiful.'[36] One young baby boomer declared that he was going to India because 'you could live in the forest, eat berries, meditate in a cave, wander round naked or do whatever you felt like and no one would take a blind bit of notice because everyone innately understood what you were doing, and not only tolerated you but felt it meritorious to support such activities if you were sincere.'[37] Kathmandu was a further locus for countercultural attention. Kathmandu became famed as a centre for marijuana and hashish production during the late 1960s, and the counterculture's rumour about Nepal was even more overtly focussed on drugs than that about India.

The countercultural style of travel to Asia was also popularised by the popular writers, pop stars and actors who made their way to India during the 1960s and 1970s. The Beatles' visit to Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's ashram in Rishikesh in 1968 attracted world-wide media attention, and other countercultural figures including Mia Farrow, Donovan and the Rolling Stones also made celebrated visits. Allen Ginsberg's 1962 account of his Indian travels were published in 1970, at the height of India's popularity.[38] Publicity in Australian countercultural magazines also encouraged overland travel. As Paul Perry has shown, countercultural magazines helped transmit

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[31] Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert, *The Psychedelic Experience : A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1964); for the influence of this text on travellers, see, for example, Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 16.

[32] Ram Dass, *Be Here Now, Remember* (San Cristobal, New Mexico: Lama Foundation, 1971).

[33] Cited in Stephens, *Anti-Disciplinary Protest*, p. 50.

[34] Ibid., p. 49.

[35] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 13.

[36] David Reck, "Beatles Orientalis: Influences from Asia in a Popular Song Tradition," *Asian Music* 16, no. 1 (1985), p. 92.

[37] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 13.

[38] Ginsberg, *Indian Journals*.

the counterculture to Australia, and news of the hippie trail travelled in the same way.[39] From 1966, *OZ* featured regular Asian despatches from its 'foreign agents,' Richard Neville and Martin Sharp, as they travelled to London. Other magazines, including *The Fringe Element Graffiti*, offered similar updates on the 'overseas scene.'

Although the countercultural rumour of Asia had novel elements, it was also related to contemporary mainstream tourism marketing. As Chapter 3 has shown, tourism marketing relied on promoting Asian destinations as simultaneously exotic and familiar during this period. The 1961 edition of the *Golden Guide to South and East Asia*, a mainstream American guidebook, claimed the 'Orient' was an 'exotic lure to adventure and discovery,' which, unlike the West, was 'still possessed of the surprisingly unusual and strange.'[40] It also promised that 'all the colours, all the creeds, all the emotions,' were to be found in Asia.[41] Fodor's 1969 edition of the *India* guidebook used similar rhetoric, promising a 'colorful promiscuity' and 'a different world.'[42] Thus, the counterculture's imagined Asia shared some if its rhetoric with the mainstream Orientalism of popular tourist marketing and literature, which also highlighted Asia's exoticism, albeit within the safe confines of mass tourism. There were some rhetorical differences, however. The countercultural project of re-Orientalising Asia depended on maximising, rather than managing, the imagined differences between East and West. As such, it helped move the image of Asia towards greater exoticism, and away from the sense that travel to Asia was increasingly quotidian, which, as Chapter 3 noted, had begun to occur from the late 1950s.

Closely related to the counterculture, the surfing subculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s also inspired some young Australians to travel to Asia. Like the counterculture, the surfing subculture privileged personal and spiritual development in escape through surfing, travel and drugs. From the mid-1960s, surfing magazines and films had begun to turn surfers' attention to Asia. As photographer Max Pam remembered, he had first 'turned on' to Asia through his involvement in the surfing subculture.[43] As Vickers has recognised, the discovery of Bali as a surfing spot was integral to its inclusion on the hippie trail and subsequent tourism

Clearly, the counterculture's rumour Asia was no more 'real' than traditional Orientalism's. The countercultural re-imagination of Asia privileged Orientalist modes based on constructs of Otherness. Although the counterculture questioned the superiority of the 'rational' over the

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[39] Paul F. Perry, "Alternative Magazines and the Growth of the Counter Culture," *Media Information Australia* 11 (1977), p. 10.
[40] Daniel Wolfstone, *The Golden Guide to South and East Asia* (Hong Kong: The Far Eastern Economic Review, 1961), p. 17.
[41] Ibid., p. 23
[42] Eugene Fodor and William Curtis, eds., *Fodor's Guide to India* (New York: David McKay Company, 1969), p. xiii.
[43] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.

'irrational,' and so decoupled the discourse's direct link to colonial authority, it retained and reinvigorated a distinctly Orientalist system of knowledge.

Although its meanings were imprinted with colonialist power relations, the re-Orientalised, counter-cultural rumour entailed a certain depoliticisation of Australian travel to Asia. As this thesis has illustrated, many travellers set out for Asia with an acute sense of its Cold War geopolitics during the 1950s and 1960s. Heralding from Romantic, Orientalist and aesthetic roots, countercultural ideas of Asia were far removed from such geopolitical questions. Instead of imagining Asia in politically current terms as 'neighbours' or 'friends,' the counterculture posited it as mystical and otherworldly, thus distancing it from its contemporary political context. Further, the focus on mysticism and spirituality privileged personal growth and inner consciousness, and served to remove contact with 'real' Asians from the experience of Asia: rather than proclaiming that 'Asia is People,' the wanderings of those on the hippie trail were fuelled by 'Romantic clichés' that refused to recognise modern Asians as agents.[44] As a result, most were not concerned with 'engagement,' in the sentimental way as it was understood during this period. Instead, many travellers enjoyed the aesthetic and hedonistic experience offered by the hippie trail, as inspired by Romantic notions of the Orient as a mysterious but exotic Other, with little thought for the political contexts. In this way, the hippie trail posited Asia as a place for Australian leisure, rather than political engagement.

There were exceptions, of course, and some young Australians were vitally interested in Asian politics, especially in the context of the Vietnam War. Some young people considered a sympathetic interest in Asian politics to be a marker of their rebellion from what they saw as a conservative and racist Australia. University student Frances Letters contrasted her curiosity about Asia to more traditional views, which held that 'Orientals were different from us. Everyone said so. They thought differently; they even felt differently. They were fatalistic. They didn't have our regard for life…They were motivated by that mysterious force, the inscrutable Oriental Mind.'[45] Putatively 'mainstream' Australian attitudes were also mocked in countercultural magazines. Satirical articles in *OZ* lambasted Australians' continued racism towards Asia.[46] A cartoon in *The Fringe Element Graffiti*, an underground magazine with a focus on the drug 'scene,' portrayed Australians' fear of 'The Yellow Peril' as a conspiracy manipulated by

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[44] Quote from Richard Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake: The Dreams, the Trips, the Trials, the Love-Ins, the Screw-Ups…the Sixties* (Port Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1995), p. 60.

[45] Frances Letters, *The Surprising Asians: A Hitch-Hike through Malaya, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1968), p. vi.

[46] See, for example, 'What to do when the Indonesians come,' *OZ*, No. 3, June 1963, p. 6; Wickedness (A Guide to External Affairs),' *OZ*, No. 22, September 1965, p. 7.

a conservative and paranoid political machine.[47] By placing themselves in opposition to these views, some Australians on the hippie trail came to consider the political meanings underpinning their journeys. As *OZ* magazine editor Richard Neville argued in his manifesto, *Play Power*, the hippie trail 'has broken down cultural/racial prejudice. Instead of being denigrated, African and Oriental lifestyles are now romanticised.'[48] Thus, although countercultural rumours of the Orient had little relation to the geopolitical situation of contemporary Asia, some young people did contextualise their journeys through the prism of radical politics.

Old rumours made new

Although its exotic rumours certainly attracted many young Australians, the popularity of the overland trail cannot be explained by the appeal of the counterculture alone. As in all periods, a variety of images and discourses informed the idea of Asia held by much of the post-war generation. Images from childhood continued to bear a particularly strong influence. Like many other travellers, Max Pam vividly remembered Rudyard Kipling's stories about colonial India.[49] Both Kate Irving, who travelled overland in 1966, and Mike McDermott, who set off ten years later, recalled their interest in Asia being sparked by Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopaedia.[50] This relic of colonial times was republished in Australia until 1964, and its vivid illustrations of foreign places continued to capture the imaginations of many post-war children.

A related motivation was the lure of adventure. An early traveller of the hippie trail, Peter Jeans, was attracted to Asia because it seemed 'extraordinarily dangerous and adventurous.'[51] Apprentice photographer Max Pam had heard stories about Asian travel through word-of-mouth, and 'wanted a bit of that adventure.'[52] Marie Obst remembered a 'strong interest in exploring the world,' alongside an 'interest in exploring the mind.'[53] Frances Letters also 'longed to be where the action was,' and the prominence of Southeast Asia in the news made it 'the obvious place to go.'[54] Similarly, having just finished his university studies, Jeffrey Mellefont left

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[47] 'Feifer's View,' in *Fringe Element Graffiti,* undated, circa 1968, p. 4.

[48] Richard Neville, *Play Power* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p. 142.

[49] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.

[50] Kate Irving to Agnieszka Sobocinska, 23 October 2006; Mike McDermott to Agnieszka Sobocinska, 16 August 2008. Copies of both in author's possession.

[51] Peter Jeans, *Long Road to London* (West Perth: Rawlhouse Publishing, 1998), p. xv.

[52] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.

[53] Interview with Yeshe Khadro conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.

[54] Letters, *The Surprising Asians*, p. v.

home seeking adventure 'with a very strong sense that I was setting myself on a journey that had no itinerary and could take me anywhere.'[55]

The baby boomers' search for adventure in Asia is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it represents the first time that young Australians could satisfy their desire for adventure through leisure travel. As Chapters 1 and 5 have shown, youthful yearnings for high adventure had previously found release in wartime service. However, the favourable post-war economic climate and the relatively low cost of overseas travel meant that even young people could afford an overseas journey by the mid-1960s, especially if they adopted the new mode of travelling 'on the cheap.' Secondly, the overlanders' privileging of adventure reveals the continued influence of the colonial adventure genre. Idriess' *Gold Dust and Ashes*, for example, remained in print during the 1960s.[56] Although travel rhetoric had highlighted geopolitical concerns during the post-war and Cold War periods, it is evident that Orientalist and colonialist discourses remained a significant undercurrent that continued to be communicated, particularly through juvenile literature. That so many young Australians chose Asia as the site for their adventures reveals the continuing influence of colonial adventure tropes into the 1960s and 1970s.

Money and mobility

Alongside this wealth of rumours, the hippie trail resulted from the unprecedented mobility of the post-war generation. Rates of overseas travel rose steadily during the 1950s and 1960s, and young people were at the forefront of this trend. In 1961, the 20-24 age bracket had the higest rate of departures, but at 8,976, its lead was marginal, with the 35-39 (8,356 departures) and 30-34 (8,044 departures) age groups very close behind.[57] Ten years later, 53,683 Australians aged between 20 and 24 travelled overseas on a short-term visit, followed by 43,360 in the 25-29 age bracket. Young travellers had overtaken older counterparts. The age bracket following these two was the 45-49 bracket, with only 36,958 departures.[58] Cost was a major factor. In late 1975, when the average male weekly income was just over $166, a flight from Darwin to Bali cost approximately $135.[59] Discounted fares made travel to Asia increasingly affordable, with one-way student fares from Adelaide to Bangkok costing $255, and Sydney to Calcutta costing $288,

[55] Jeffrey Mellefont, "On the Road," (Personal communication, 2006).
[56] Ion L. Idriess, *Gold Dust and Ashes: The Romantic Story of the New Guinea Goldfields* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1964).
[57] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 'Demography Bulletin – 1961' no. 79, 1962, p. 20.
[58] Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 'Demography Bulletin - 1971,' no. 87, 1974, p. 28.
[59] Income data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Average Weekly Earnings, December Quarter 1975,' released April 1976. Fare price from Tony Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap: A Complete Guide to Making the Overland Trip with Minimum Cost and Hassles*, 2nd ed. (South Yarra, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1975), p. 28.

through the Australian Union of Students Travel Program.[60] Max Pam found that six months' work as a labourer or dishwasher in Australia could fund six months' travel through Asia during the early 1970s.[61] Mellefont set off after an insurance payout of $3000, which could 'buy me a year and a half in Asia.'[62]

The increasing affordability of travel was making Asian travel increasingly popular for all types of travellers. Alongside the overland rail, the early-mid 1970s saw the rise of bulk-sold package tours to Southeast Asia.[63] In many ways, the hippie trail functioned as a low-budget corollary to this mass tourist movement, sharing some of the same destinations and infrastructure at several points. Further, the hippie trail itself increasingly resembled the mainstream tourist industry. By the early 1970s, tourist hotels, restaurants and transport had been institutionalised along the hippie trail's main stopping points. All-inclusive overland packages offering accommodation, meals and transport were developed by specialist companies including Penn Overland, Contiki and Magic Bus, among dozens of other operators. By 1976, Top Deck Travel (which later rebranded as Flight Centre) was offering an all-inclusive package deal from London all the way through to Sydney.[64] Further, key countercultural destinations were also becoming increasingly popular with mass- and package tourists. It is revealing that, between *Asia's Bright Balconies* and *Bali and Beyond*, Colin Simpson published a tourist travelogue on *Katmandu*.[65] The rising popularity of the hippie trail, therefore, owed something to a wider tourism boom, which is examined in the next chapter.

Finally, the popularity of the hippie trail was linked to the continuing popularity of travel to Great Britain. A spell in England was something of a rite-of-passage for young, middle-class Australians from at least the 1950s.[66] So many young Australians departed for long-term or permanent stays in Britain that Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett dubbed the 1960s the 'decade of departures.'[67] Richard Neville, for one, thought that moving to England was something 'everyone did – eventually.'[68] Many Australians travelled on the overland trail because they conceived of it as a more interesting way to reach England, for a similar cost as a direct ticket on a cruise liner or airplane. As Neville stated while in Kathmandu, 'we're here because we're on our

[60] Kevin Minchin and Steven Wall, *The Buying Flying Guide: Winter 1976* (Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Horan, Wall & Walker, 1976).
[61] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.
[62] Mellefont, "On the Road."
[63] This phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 7.
[64] Mandy Johnson, *Family, Village, Tribe: The Story of Flight Centre Limited* (Milsons Point, N.S.W.: Random House Australia, 2005), p. 18.
[65] Colin Simpson, *Katmandu* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1967).
[66] Graeme Davison, "Tourists, Expats and Invisible Immigrants: Being Australian in England in the 1960s and 70s," in *Australians in Britain: The Twentieth-Century Experience*, ed. Carl Bridge, Robert Crawford, and David Dunstan (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2009), p. 14.1.
[67] Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, p. 103.
[68] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 53.

way there.[69] Others, including psychologist Hugh Veness and painter Ken Whisson, travelled the hippie trail on their way back to Australia, after a period living and working in Europe.[70] For many, the 'East' functioned as a thoroughfare, a space for transit, rather than a final destination, and the lure of the East was coupled by a continuing desire for 'home.'

Sites/Sights

Despite its rhetoric of freedom and adventure, the hippie trail tended to follow a set path north-west to London, or in reverse to end up in Australia. Departing through Darwin, many Australians headed for Bali, the first major destination of the overland trail. They then travelled north through Java, Singapore and Malaysia before making their way to Bangkok. A significant group of Australians only started their journey from this point, avoiding peninsular Southeast Asia and instead flying direct from Sydney or Melbourne to Singapore, Bangkok or Calcutta. Organised bus tours typically only went as far east as Kathmandu or New Delhi; indeed, the Southeast Asian component of the journey was not popular with Western European and American travellers, and is usually left out of international accounts of the hippie trail.[71] As this chapter goes on to show, the Southeast Asian experience of the hippie trail was a largely Australian experience. India was a major stop, and many overlanders spent a significant amount of time there. From India, the hippie trail became the road to Kathmandu, after which the trail headed west through Pakistan and into Afghanistan, to the travellers' enclave of Kabul. Next, they passed through Iran and Turkey, then through Europe towards London. Although the journey could take as little as six weeks, most travellers took between four and nine months. As Melvyn Pryer has pointed out, the popularity of this standardised 'trail' reveals that most overlanders did not wander too far from established tourist 'sites,' preferring to stick to a well-known and much-traversed path.[72] The overland path across Asia was different to that carved by the mass tourism market in the 1950s and early 1960s, which focussed on Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Instead of bustling cities and modernising economies, the hippie trail passed through relatively less developed destinations. This meant that travellers' experiences would be very different, and privilege a new set of ideas about Asia. However, like these earlier tourist destinations, the hippie trail followed a set path, which institutionalised a certain experience of Asia.

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[69] Ibid., p. 59.
[70] "Interview with Hugh Veness,"; "Interview with Kenneth Whisson."
[71] See, for example, Tomory, *A Season in Heaven* and Maclean, *Magic Bus.*
[72] Melvyn Pryer, "The Traveller as a Destination Pioneer," *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research* 3 (1997), p. 228.

Of course, some of the more intrepid overlanders, or those with special interests, did follow a different path. The easy availability of drugs had led to Laos developing a reputation as an 'earthly heaven' and a 'Mecca for flower children.'[73] This reputation attracted some to Vientiane, often through Cambodia, at least until the encroachment of the Indochinese conflict made such journeys impossible. Frances Letters was among the few who travelled further east, entering the war zone in Eastern Cambodia and Vietnam.[74] A less dangerous deviation took travellers to Ceylon. Jeffrey Mellefont found himself wandering even further off track, finding a job on a yacht which eventually took him to Africa and kept him from home for many years.[75]

Although not every Australian on the hippie trail accepted countercultural images and ideas, it is evident that the new rumours of Asia did direct the gaze of many travellers. Many overtly aligned their experience to that of the Beat writers, regularly invoking Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, and especially Jack Kerouac. In his memoir, Neville referred to his companions as 'the Dharma Bums…in search of Kerouacian bliss,' and recalled nights spent reciting 'fragments of Ferlighetti.'[76] Jeffrey Mellefont recalled that 'Jack Kerouac was among my muses' during this period.[77] Tony Wheeler recommended read *On the Road* in his guidebook to the hippie trail, the first published by Lonely Planet, *Across Asia on the Cheap*.[78]

The rumours of a countercultural East altered the sights which Australian travellers sought in Asia. Some travellers scorned traditional tourist sights as much as they scorned traditional Western culture. Neville proudly claimed that, travelling overland, visitors 'might miss the Topkapi Museum and the Taj Whateveritis,' but would gain a deeper experience from non-traditional experiences, such as paddling 'your own canoe down the Mekong River,' nibbling 'aphrodisiac chocolate in a South Thailand teenage brothel,' or being 'massaged in a steaming Moroccan bathing-dungeon by a fastidious Arab.'[79] Others happily visited Asia's most famed tourist sites. Murray Bail wrote that 'it was impossible for me to leave India without seeing the Taj Mahal in 1969.'[80] Overland bus tours regularly stopped at the Taj Mahal, and Kate Irving's convoy of three buses, carrying approximately 60 travellers from Bombay to London, allowed a

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[73] Description of Laos as 'earthly heaven' in 'Hippies find an earthly heaven,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1967, p. 29; as 'Mecca for flower children' in 'Laos ejects hippies,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1968, p. 3.
[74] Letters, *The Surprising Asians*, pp. 161-216.
[75] Mellefont, "On the Road."
[76] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 59, 61.
[77] Mellefont, "On the Road," Personal Communication (Email) with Agnieszka Sobocinska, 9 August 2006.
[78] Tony Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap: A Complete Guide to Making the Overland Trip with Minimum Cost and Hassles* (Sydney: Lonely Planet, 1973), p. 27. *Across Asia on the Cheap* and Lonely Planet publications are analysed in more details later in this chapter and Chapter 7.
[79] Neville, *Play Power*, pp. 208-9.
[80] Murray Bail, "Indian Notebooks 1969," in *Quadrant: Twenty Five Years*, ed. Peter Coleman, Lee Shrubb, and Vivian Smith (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1982), p. 13.

morning's visit to the Taj Mahal and the nearby Fatehpur Sikri before continuing on to Jaipur.[81] While the countercultural Asia privileged an experience of Asia removed from the institutionalised tourist industry, many travellers on the hippie trail continued to be guided by more mainstream ideas about Asia's tourist sights.

The countercultural rumour of Asia also led to the creation of new tourist sites. Following in the Beatles' wake, many young travellers headed to ashrams, meditation retreats, and monasteries throughout India, Nepal and Thailand. While some Australian travellers, and Marie Byles in particular, had previously recognised Asia's religions as a major attraction for visitors, the process of visiting religious centres to practice 'Eastern' religion became increasingly popular during the 1960s and 1970s.[82] Young psychologist Hugh Veness' primary concern was 'to get somewhere Buddhist,' because, 'at that stage I was very into Buddhism.'[83] Nurse Marie Obst and partner Nicholas Ribush also became interested in Buddhism while travelling through Southeast Asia, and the pair entered a Tibetan Buddhist monastery outside Kathmandu in 1972.[84] Others sought spiritual enlightenment outside organised religion. Jeffrey Mellefont spent a month living 'hermit-style in a little shelter of palm leaves' on Koh Samui in Thailand. After this, he headed for India, where he persevered through the 'blinding heat of Bodhgaya in the dreadful state of Bihar' to find what he believed was a descendant of the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha had found enlightenment. Not sated, he then 'spent a whole month living alone in an ancient stone riverside lodging-house in Benares on the sacred Ganges, going to the river every dawn and dusk to watch the pilgrims and the burning bodies, and reading about Indian history and philosophy.'[85] Whilst spurning some mainstream attractions, therefore, the hippie trail encoded a new array of sites and experiences as tourist attractions.

The search for spiritual enlightenment led to varied experiences. Obst and Ribush were both inspired by the ascetic Buddhist practice they discovered in Nepal. Obst remained at the monastery for four years, became the nun Yeshe Khadro, and emerged only to spread the practice across Australia and the world.[86] Ribush became a monk and a central figure in the International Mahayana Institute.[87] Others did not find spiritual satisfaction. Still in Thailand, Mellefont realised with disappointment 'that the Buddhism of the villages was not that of Allan Watts,' a famed 'interpreter' of Eastern philosophies and religions, and although he tried to find

[81] Kate Irving, 'Travel Diary, 1966,' copy in author's possession.
[82] Marie Beuzeville Byles, *Journey into Burmese Silence* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962); Marie Beuzeville Byles, *The Lotus and the Spinning Wheel* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963).
[83] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5.
[84] Nicholas Ribush, "The Hippie Trail and Far out Reaches..." (Personal Communication, 2006).
[85] Mellefont, "On the Road."
[86] Interview with Yeshe Khadro conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.
[87] Nicholas Ribush, "On Becoming a Monk," http://www.lamayeshe.com/about/articles/monk.shtml, accessed 6 October 2006.

wisdom again in India, the reality of Eastern spirituality failed to live up to the rumour. Artist Ken Whisson had a similar experience. Arriving in India, Whisson was disappointed that Indians 'talked about Hinduism in very much the way that a western Baptist or Catholic would talk about his religion,' so that it 'all seemed very superficial.' Instead of the real thing, Whisson thought Christopher Isherwood's *Ramakrishna and his Disciples* 'seemed more in contact with Indian religion than anyone I talked to on the way.'[88] Like Mellefont, Whisson preferred the rumour of Asia to its lived reality, and retreated to a Western simulacrum of Eastern religion.

Because they sought to escape from the materialism and modernity of the West, some Overlanders came to regard poverty as a positive aspect of life in the East, which they actively sought out as a tourist attraction. Max Pam was initially shocked by India's poverty and dirt, but came to realise that 'the poxy face of India is just a bit of camouflage that is hiding something that is exquisitely beautiful underneath.'[89] Arriving in Bombay, Hugh Veness found it 'an incredible thing to comprehend...here's all this horror around you and all this beauty around you.'[90] Similarly, recounting his experiences, artist Ken Whisson remembered that 'the incredible poverty of India was what impressed me.'[91] Frances Letters also came to consider poverty as a positive, and her accounts of Asian travel, *The Surprising Asians* and *People of Shiva*, relate the results of a personal awakening, as 'lack of money saved me.'[92]

The shift involved the refocussing of aesthetic sensibilities, and so was particularly evident in photography. Kate Irving was fascinated by the picturesque nature of village life, and made a special stop to photograph a young girl winnowing corn.[93] Peter Jeans focussed his lens on India's poverty, photographing children scavenging for food from an overflowing sewer and the unclaimed corpses of dead beggars.[94] Photographers Max Pam and Robert Ashton began their careers along the hippie trail, and their images encapsulate the aestheticisation of dirt, disorder and poverty which this experience entailed. Ashton's photographs focussed on the contrasts between Oriental wealth and squalor, order and chaos.[95] Pam's photographs of India focussed on beggars in various states of abjection, street children and street performers, rickshaw men and prostitutes.[96]

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[88] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 4.

[89] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.

[90] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5.

[91] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 4.

[92] Letters, *The Surprising Asians*, p. 2.

[93] Kate Irving, entries for March 25 and March 27, 'Travel Diary – 1966,' copy in author's possession.

[94] Jeans, *Long Road to London*, pp. 119, 124.

[95] See, for example, 'Kids – Herat,' 'Herat-Mosque' and 'Kabul,' Available at www.robertashton.com.au/travelling-1970s.html; accessed 12 January 2010.

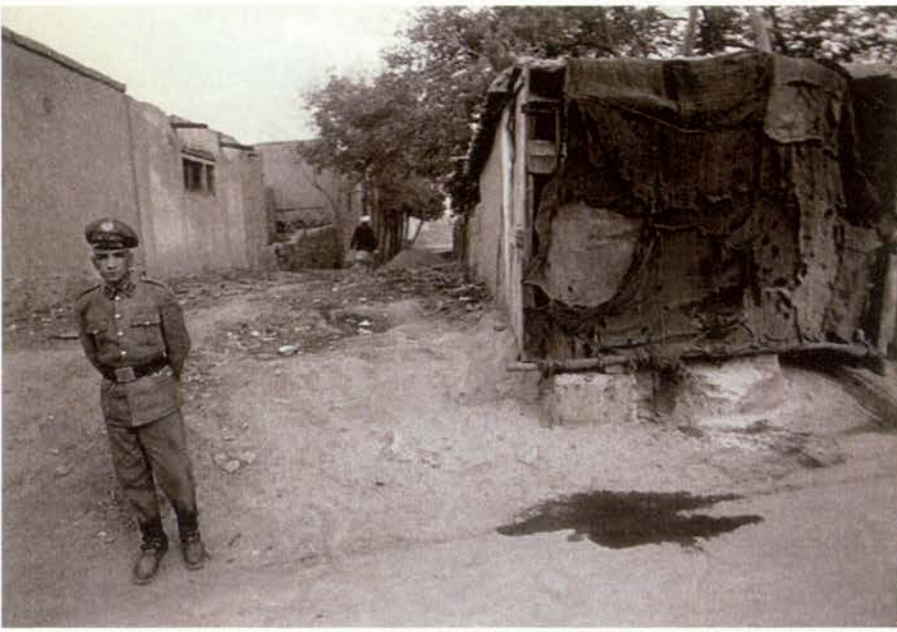[96] See, for example, Max Pam, *Max Pam: Atlas Monographs* (Sydney: T & G Publishing, 2009), pp. 214-277.

Figure 6.1: Robert Ashton, 'Kabul'
Source: www.robertashton.com.au/travelling-1970s.htm.

Figure 6.2: Max Pam, 'Howrah Bridge, Calcutta.'
Source: Max Pam, *Atlas Monographs* (Sydney: T & G Publishing, 2009), image 228.

Thus, the image of the Third World, concurrently developing in the arena of multilateral politics and in Vietnam War-related ideas about aid and poverty, was also crafted into a new visual aesthetic by countercultural travellers. Challenging the value ascribed to cleanliness and dirt, this aesthetic represented a significant shift from colonial dichotomies. Yet, like the colonial discourse of cleanliness, the new aesthetic of poverty was dominated by Westerners who imposed their own meanings onto the Oriental subject. The western dominance is symbolically revealed by Pam's series, 'Rickshaw ride down Park Street, Surrenderanath Bannerjee Road, Free School Street,' taken from the passenger's point of view as he is pulled by a rickshaw driver.[97] As the curator of a recent exhibition of Pam's work comments, 'the people he snaps are mirrors of his adventure' and, as such, are not allowed to speak for themselves.[98] The visual aesthetic of poverty and dirt developed by overland travellers objectified Asians in a new way; yet by making poverty and misery into a tourist site for the consumption of wealthy westerners, the power relations remained embedded with colonial meanings.

Figure 6.3: Max Pam, 'Rickshaw ride down Park Street, Surrenderanath Bannerjee Road, Free School Street.'
Source: Max Pam, *Atlas Monographs* (Sydney: T & G Publishing, 2009), image 225.

[97] Ibid., image 225.
[98] Robert Cook, *Strip Tease: Max Pam Photography* (Perth: Art Gallery of Western Australia, 2002), p. 6.

While poverty may have been reworked into a picturesque aesthetic, it also impinged on the personal experience of many Australians when it appeared in the form of beggars. Like other Australian travellers to Asia, overlanders were variously frightened, offended or distrustful of beggars. Upon arriving in Bombay, Kate Irving's first impression of India was that she didn't feel at home 'down there with the beggars, the hangers on and all the rigmarole.'[99] Later, at Fatehpur Sikri in Agra, she responded to a child beggar's sobs with sceptical laugher, and claimed that 'he very nearly laughed with us.'[100] Although, as an artist, Whisson found India's poverty aesthetically impressive, he was less impressed by the beggars, declaring it a 'quite awful country' when recalling their intrusive presence.[101] Others had a more complex response. Frances Letters found Asia's beggars a moral quandary, and self-consciously debated how she should react to their entreaties, before deciding that the issue was too complicated for blanket rules and predetermined strategies.[102] Overlanders' reactions to India's beggars were further complicated by the fact that some travellers took to begging themselves, once they had run out of money. Veness was disgusted. 'I mean, can you imagine?' he remembered some years later, 'begging in India, a white person begging in India!'[103]

Many Australian overlanders also continued to conceive of Asia as being locked in the past, a trope which had remained unchanged since colonial times. Peter Jeans likened the inhabitants of Varanasi to 'a bedlam of peasants in a medieval passion play.'[104] Wandering through Kathmandu's winding alleys, Neville was taken aback by 'how medieval it all was.'[105] In Srinigar, Letters 'became aware of the word medieval,' imagining that 'London must long ago have had streets as thin and muddy and twisted'; similarly in Nepal, she declared that it was like being in 'the middle ages.'[106] Hugh Veness' first encounter with the 'East' in Turkey made him feel he had been 'transported back to Dickens' time.'[107] Asia also called forth other colonial-era images, of the 'Black Hole of Calcutta' or of the Arabian Nights.[108]

The new images and rumours of the East were propagated for future overlanders in the specialty guidebooks to the hippie trail, which began to be published from the early 1970s. All three editions of Lonely Planet's *Across Asia on the Cheap* deemed Nepal 'in many ways still a

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[99] Kate Irving, March 21, 'Travel Diary – 1966,' copy in author's possession.
[100] Kate Irving, March 29, 'Travel Diary – 1966,' copy in author's possession.
[101] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 4.
[102] Frances Letters, *People of Shiva: Encounters in India* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1971), p. 128.
[103] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5.
[104] Jeans, *Long Road to London*, p. 135.
[105] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 59.
[106] Letters, *People of Shiva*, pp. 8, 165.
[107] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5.
[108] Reference to 'Black Hole of Calcutta' in Laing, *Eurasian Moke*, p. 29; Reference to 'Arabian Nights' see for example, Laing, *Eurasian Moke*, p. 108-109; Letters, *People of Shiva*, p. 89.

medieval country.'[109] The third edition, which included advice for Bhutan, declared it 'an almost medieval country.'[110] Other 'alternative' guidebooks, including several titles published by the National Union of Australian University Students, Bill Dalton's *Indonesia: Travellers' Notes*, and Frank Palmos and Pat Price's *Indonesia Do-It-Yourself*, also propagated these new, countercultural rumours of Asia to intending travellers. Thus, whilst countercultural ideas led to a re-imagining of some elements of Asia, many traditional images and prejudices remained intact, and the range of rumours were propagated to a new audience in a developing specialist literature.

Overland travel privileged the *experience* of Asia, as refracted through the countercultural rumour of the East. Some places were rumoured to provide a richer experience than others. Kabul, Kathmandu, Goa and Bali were particularly inculcated with 'myth and legend,' which attracted countercultural travellers.[111] Patrick Marham's classic account of the overland route was titled *Road to Katmandu*.[112] Tony Wheeler imbued them with a spiritual element, calling them 'shrines' that 'serious Asia travellers felt compelled to visit' in his guidebooks.[113] Most overlanders visited these mythical destinations, and their experiences were mediated by the countercultural canon. Ken Whisson thought Kabul was 'some sort of paradise,'[114] a description he was to re-use when describing Bali.[115] Tony and Maureen Wheeler thought that Kathmandu 'seemed like Shangri-La,' and Bali a 'perfect dream of a tropical island.'[116] Bill Dalton wrote that Bali was close to perfection.[117] Underground writer Peter Olszewski also thought that Kathmandu was Shangri-La.[118] Jack Parkinson, however, thought Bali more closely resembled Shangri-La.[119]

Much of the allure of mythical destinations emanated from their reputation as drug havens. The quality, price and abundance of marijuana in Kabul, Kathmandu and Kuta were frequently discussed amongst travellers, and these details also appeared in travel publications.[120] *Across Asia on the Cheap*, for example, promised that 'in Afghanistan…you can get stoned just taking a deep breath in the streets.'[121] The myths were also perpetuated in countercultural magazines.

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[109] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 60, Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1975)*, p. 89, Tony Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap: With 'Bad News' Supplement on Iran and Afghanistan*, 3rd ed. (South Yarra, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1979), p. 107.
[110] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1979)*, p. 122.
[111] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 45.
[112] Patrick Marham, *Road to Katmandu* (London Macmillan, 1971).
[113] Tony Wheeler and Maureen Wheeler, *Once While Travelling: The Lonely Planet Story* (Camberwell, Victoria: Viking Press, 2005), p. 17.
[114] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 3.
[115] Ibid., tape 4.
[116] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, pp. 20, 27.
[117] Bill Dalton, *Indonesia Handbook* (Michigan: Moon Publications, 1977), p. 209.
[118] Peter Olszewski, 'Resting in Nepal,' *Detours: The Qantastic Alternative Travel Magazine*, No. 4 (August-October 1978), p. 22.
[119] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 45.
[120] See Ibid., p. 47, for an example of travel talk about drugs.
[121] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 14.

Reporting on Kathmandu for the Sydney-based *Fringe Element Grafitti* in 1968, correspondent 'Rosemary' urged readers to head to 'the Cabin where hash cookies are 6d a block...ganga and chillans [sic] pass around and you can score either hash or ganga.' The depth of readers' expected knowledge extended to particular cafes, with Rosemary reporting that 'the Tibetan Blue is still going but no longer makes the scene,' largely because 'it's got 'please to smoke no hash' on the wall.'[122]

The focus on drugs meant that visits to mythical destinations did not require travellers to visit any attractions, or see any sights: just being there (and being stoned) was enough. When West German hippie 'Karl' was interviewed for an article which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, he was asked what he did all day in Kathmandu. In response, he answered 'I just live.'[123] Throughout her stay in Kathmandu, Letters saw no tourist sights, but ather found that 'the weird, dreamy world of hashish...dominated most of our days and nights.'[124] Tony and Maureen Wheeler similarly whiled the days away in Sigi's café, sitting on carpets, sipping mint tea, listening to (Western) music and 'occasionally repairing to the courtyard to shift the giant chess pieces around the giant chessboard.'[125] Having spent 'a week or ten days' in New Delhi, Ken Whisson recollected only 'a vast splendid coffee place.'[126] Such experiences led Wheeler to claim that laziness was a central component of overland travel.[127]

Apart from drug taking, mythical destinations provided the opportunity for social interaction. As Jobs has recognised, travel was considered a means through which to forge personal links between youth across borders in Western Europe during the late 1960s.[128] A similar enthusiasm for transnational countercultural contact is evident on the hippie trail. Satirising the experience, Neville suggested that overlanders 'escaped' to Asia, only to reproduce the West in traveller enclaves along the way. Whole swathes of Asia, he claimed, had become like the 'King George on a Saturday night.'[129] Indeed, the experience of travellers' hubs was akin to that of cafes in the West: Wheeler remembered that, at Sigi's, 'the rumour was that if Pink Floyd released a record in London on Monday it would be in Kabul by Friday.'[130]

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[122] See, for example, 'Overseas Scene: Khatmandu [sic] by Rosemary', in *Fringe Element Graffiti*, No. 3 (undated, circa 1968), p. 7. All grammatical errors as in original.
[123] See 'Easing the hippies out of their Himalayan haven,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 July 1974, p. 6.
[124] Letters, *People of Shiva*, p. 166.
[125] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 16
[126] "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 4.
[127] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 16.
[128] Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968."
[129] Richard Neville, "Go East Young Punk," *Oz*, July 1966, p. 10.
[130] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 16.

Dennis Altman observed that, because they travelled as much to escape the West as to experience anything new, travellers on the hippie trail 'avoided for the most part any genuine confrontation with the reality of Asian society.'[131] Indeed, Asians did not typically frequent the hotels and cafes in which overlanders whiled away their time, and cross-cultural contact rarely moved beyond the demands of commerce. Letters spent most of her time in Kathmandu at her hotel, so that her major contact with non-Westerners consisted of rare visits by a Tibetan hawker, who came to display his wares.[132] Further, with an implicit recognition of the colonialist meanings of semi-permanent white settlements in Asia, David Jenkins recognised that such a system rendered the mythic destinations of Kabul and Kathmandu travellers' 'colonies.'[133]

In its limited interaction with locals, the 'scene' at mythical destinations echoed the experience of mass tourism and Vietnam-war era R & R, both of which were taking place at the same time. Indeed, some cities (particularly Bangkok) hosted all three categories of travellers during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and they inevitably shared some similar experiences. This was particularly so in Southeast Asia, where the countercultural rumour did not prescribe overlanders' experiences as strongly as in South Asia. In the absence of a countercultural narrative of Southeast Asia, many overland travellers participated in the existing non-luxury tourism infrastructure, which was geared towards the R & R market. Encounters with prostitutes and lingerie waitresses were commonly recounted in overland travelogues of the period, and sex with Asian women became part of the rumour of the hippie trail in Southeast Asia, in a way that it did not along other parts of the trail.[134] Echoing the language of Ronald McKie and Colin Simpson's mass-tourism travelogues, David Jenkins' student guidebook recommended Bugis Street's transvestite and transgender prostitutes in Singapore 'a must,' and a 'good way to finish up an evening.'[135] Like McKie, some overland guidebooks also encouraged visitors to procure sex. Bill Dalton's *Traveller's Notes: Indonesia* brimmed with advice about finding and purchasing sex.[136] Richard Neville attempted to mythologise the experience into countercultural rumour, claiming that encounters with 'teenage prostitutes' were all part of the 'experience' that made the hippie trail worthwhile.[137] Unlike the mainstream narratives, the overland guides also described the sexual attractions Asia offered to Western women. The Palmos' guide to 'do-it-yourself' Indonesia exhorted 'wallflowers & the curious' to come to Bali, as 'hundreds of visiting

[131] Dennis Altman, *Coming out in the Seventies* (Sydney: Wild and Woolley, 1979), p. 172.
[132] Letters, *People of Shiva*, pp. 166-7.
[133] Jenkins, *Asia Traveller's Guide*, p. 9.
[134] For a discussion of R & R, see Chapter 5. For a discussion of the role of sex in mass-tourism from the 1960s-1970s, see Chapter 3.
[135] Jenkins, *Asia: A Traveller's Guide*, p. 288. For a discussion of the language of mainstream travel narratives, including those by McKie and Simpson on sex in Asia, see Chapter 3.
[136] Bill Dalton, *Travellers' Notes: Indonesia* (Glebe: Moon Publications/ Tomato Press, 1974), see, for example, p. 19-20.
[137] Neville, *Play Power*, pp. 208-9.

Australian single girls live[d] with Balinese boys.'[138] Tony Wheeler even advised female readers that they stood to make 'easy money' working for escort services in Singapore.[139]

Thus, the hippie trail was not removed from the mass-tourism and R & R experience, and indeed co-existed with the two phenomena in complex ways. Some travellers blended the two experiences, by following the path to mythical destinations or spiritual enlightenment in South Asia, and acting up in Southeast Asia. Max Pam remembered, 'I saved my transgression up for SE Asia...In India I was really always a very good boy, a very spiritually oriented kind of person, but not by the time I got to Bangkok, I'd completely change [sic].'[140] By the late 1970s, reports circulated that parts of Kuta Beach were now a 'real Sin Alley: wine women and dope.'[141] Far from the rhetoric of spiritual enlightenment, the overland trail saw western youth indulge in hedonistic pleasures across Asia, on the cheap.

Local Contacts

The strong bonds made between travellers, and their lack of connections with locals, meant that travellers on the hippie trail looked to each other to gauge the boundaries of acceptable conduct. Regulating their behaviour towards an imagined, countercultural Asia, many of their actions were inappropriate in the context of what Robert Bohm has called the 'empirical' Asia.[142] Although, of course, it is impossible to write about one 'empirical' Asia, Bohm's term highlights the gulf between the imagined Asia ('where everyone was turned on') and the complex, changing cultures of South and Southeast Asia during the 1960s and 1970s.

The countercultural creed encouraged hippies to retain their sense of rebellion while travelling through Asia, and they were no more disposed towards authority in Asia, than at home. Overlanders regularly participated in activities which were illegal in their host countries, including smuggling, black marketeering and drug use, alongside routine immigration offences. Instead of being recognised as legitimate figures demarcating local regulations, police, immigration and Customs staff were commonly perceived as obstacles to be overcome; even the military presence in many Asian countries was regarded with disdain. Further, many hippies maintained their cultural rebellion, transporting a variety of permissive sexual and drug

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[138] Palmos and Price, *Indonesia Do-It-Yourself*, p. 14.
[139] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 43.
[140] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.
[141] Dalton, *Indonesia Handbook*, p. 209.
[142] Cited in Stephens, *Anti-Disciplinary Protest*, p. 50.

behaviours to Asia.[143] Arrogant in their newfound freedom, young Westerners were unwilling to curb their behaviour, and many were more likely to complain that the countries they travelled through were 'uptight,' than change their habits in the face of local disapproval.[144]

By moulding their behaviour to the norms of the travellers' culture, and not to local customs, many young travellers alienated their Asian hosts. Although the 1960s and 1970s were decades of great change across Asia, many communities continued to live lives structured by religion, family, gender, and (in South Asia) caste. The hippies' drug and sexual habits, in particular, led to popular disapproval of Western licentiousness and immorality along the length of the hippie trail. Although many Afghans were not affronted by drug use, an expert on drug trafficking, Ikramul Haq has found that the overland trail led to the development of sophisticated smuggling routes which affected local patterns of drug dependency.[145] Historian Martin Ewans has also found that 'Afghans were deeply shocked at the visitors' nihilism and irresponsibility, as well as at the loose morals which many of the women in particular displayed.'[146] This hippies' insistence on open-air nude bathing and public sexual displays in the mythical destination of Goa conflicted with local customs and official regulations, and opposition to hippie 'orgies' was widely published in newspapers across India.[147] Other, small-scale instances of retaliation are legion; and one example, an incident in which a hippie urinated in an Indian village well, and was stoned by the community as punishment, illustrates a wealth of minor conflicts.[148]

Local outrage became increasingly tangible as the popularity of the hippie trail increased. Increasing numbers of overland travellers began to have a more palpable impact on local mores. Opposition to the hippie trail resulted in the strengthening of immigration regulations across Asia during the early 1970s. Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia began to deny entry visas to suspected hippies, usually identified by the length and state of their hair.[149] Indonesian regulations advised customs agents to deny entry to anyone they deemed 'improper' in dress, appearance or conduct, anyone suspected of attending 'abnormal' religious rituals, or anyone without a fixed destination.[150] Thailand limited entry to 'bona fide tourists of sound financial

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[143] For an exhaustive account of hippie transgressions in India, see Tribhuwan Kapur, *Hippies: A Study of Their Drug Habits and Sexual Customs* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981).
[144] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1975)*, pp. 33-34.
[145] Ikramul Haq, "Pan-Afghan Drug Trade in Historical Perspective," *Asian Survey* 36, no. 10 (1996), p. 948.
[146] Martin Ewans, *Afghanistan: A Short History of Its People and Politics* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002), p. 207.
[147] Petri Hottola, "Amoral and Available? Western Women Travellers in South Asia," *Gender/Tourism/Fun* (2002), p. 168.
[148] Cited in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 155.
[149] A favourite hippie trail story recounts travellers being thrown out by immigration authorities, who stamped the letters SHIT - acronyms for Suspected Hippie in Transit – in their passports. This story is recounted in Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 25.
[150] 'Interim Notice No. 31: 19 November 1972', in *Qantas Travel Handbook*, Qantas Airways Ltd., Sydney, 1972.

means,'[151] and attempted to control tourist behaviour with sharply worded signs demanding respectful behaviour around significant sites.[152] By 1976, even Air Siam had to add shade to its glistening portrait of the 'land of smiles,' warning young travellers that they may face the consequences of 'negative stereotypes of the young Western traveller who carries a backpack, wears dirty or dishevelled clothing, has long hair, appears to use drugs or acts in ways that otherwise seem unacceptable to Asians who hold more conservative or traditional attitudes.'[153]

In some contexts, the hippies' behaviour served to inflame existing anti-Western sentiments. The 1960s and 1970s was a period of upheaval across much of the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia. Increasing globalisation at political, economic and cultural levels impacted on traditional ways of life, and often led to political and social ferment. Resentment at the extent of change was often focussed on the perceived decadence of Westernisation. In Iran, for example, the rise of radical Islam in the 1970s has been linked to the perception that 'Westernisation seemed inextricably tied to a decline in Muslim practices, quite apart from its economic ill effects.'[154] Travellers on the hippie trail could serve as symbols of Western decadence for those disenfranchised by their nations' shift to capitalism, or resentful of cultural Westernisation. As Ewans has found, hippie travellers exacerbated anti-Western sentiment in Afghanistan, with some deciding that, 'if this was how Westerners behaved, [they] wanted none of it.'[155] Although it is impossible to identify exactly what role they played in exacerbating anti-Western sentiment, it is significant that Tehran had been a major staging-post on the hippie trail in the years before the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Of course, the overlanders were not the first group of Australian travellers to act without reference to local laws and customs whilst in Asia. Indeed, Australian intransigence in the face of Asian regulations represented a point of continuity with the colonial attitudes evident during the early days of the Pacific War and in the BCOF deployment. Australian soldiers in Vietnam were also acting with a similar sense of impunity, at roughly the same time.[156] Further, not all bad behaviour was punished, and, on the whole, many local communities were extremely tolerant of outsiders' peculiarities. Tony Wheeler later claimed that local populations actually expected bad behaviour from overlanders, and were no longer shocked at common discourtesy.[157] The

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[151] 'Interim Notice No. 3/72: 8 February 1972', in *Qantas Travel Handbook*.
[152] Richard Rawson, ed., *On Your Own: Air Siam's Student Guide to Asia* (Stanford, CA: Volunteers in Asia, Inc, 1976), p. 8.
[153] Ibid., p. 7.
[154] Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, 3rd Edition ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 223.
[155] Ewans, *Afghanistan: A Short History of Its People and Politics*, p. 207.
[156] For a discussion of this phenomenon during World War II, see Chapter 1; for the impunity of the BCOF deployment, see chapter 3; of the Vietnam deployment, see chapter 5.
[157] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 20.

continued disregard for local customs reveals that travellers on the hippie trail followed a culture of impunity that was a continuation of colonial attitudes into the post-colonial period.

Representations and Status

The hippie trail is significant not only because it led to the development of a new range of rumours and experiences of Asia, but also because of its influence on future travellers. As the following chapter shows, the modes of the hippie trail influenced both budget and 'mainstream' tourists to Asia during the major tourist booms of the 1970s, 1980s and beyond. Of particular influence was the rhetoric that claimed countercultural and budget travel resulted in a more 'authentic' experience than was available to other travellers, or to Westerners who remained at home. This conceit formed the basis of the hippie trail's status hierarchy, which was communicated through a dizzying variety of representations. Alongside established technologies of representation such as the travelogue and travel guidebook, travellers developed new ways to exhibit their travel experiences, and pass on the rumour of a countercultural Asia. The wealth of representations led to the development of a myth of the hippie trail, which has influenced subsequent travellers.

Like the broader counterculture, the hippie trail was propagated through systems of performance. Clothing was a central technology in the representation of 'authentic' experience.[158] Travellers signalled their 'authentic' Asian experiences by appropriating the clothes, jewellery and headwear worn by locals along the way. The importance of clothing and appearance was such that tales of 'conversion' from mainstream to countercultural modes were typically framed through vestimentary metaphors. Neville related such a story in *Play Power,* tracing the change the hippie trail had wrought on Alf, *OZ*'s well-wrought symbolic amalgam of the racist, sexist and jingoistic elements of established Australian culture. Where Alf had departed in 'school blazer and golfing shoes; flag sewn neatly to rucksack,' the experience of overland travel soon affected him, and by the time he returned home, he wore 'a Moroccan djellaba and Indian sandals, a gold earring through his left ear and [was] carrying a Turkish carpet bag.' These changes symbolised that 'Alf will never be the same again.'[159] In a memoir written 25 years later, Neville utilised the same technology to represent the moment that he and companion Martin Sharp became 'authentic' travellers, in a set piece that saw them check out of Raffles Hotel, head to a local market, and trade their smart luggage for 'disintegrating army rucksacks,' in order to 'merge with

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[158] For an analysis of the performative aspects of the counterculture, see Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street.*
[159] Neville, *Play Power*, p. 208.

the overland drifters.'[160] Similarly, after months in Asia, Mellefont and his companions signalled that they were 'seasoned, long-term Asia hands...by our clothes (Western threads long-since worn out, dressed now from local bazaars).'[161] Thus, overlanders represented the length and breadth of their travel experience by appropriating the attire of their destinations. This functioned as a vestimentary system illustrating the traveller's prestige to an audience of fellow-travellers while on the road, but also serving to advertise Asian travel to others upon return.[162]

Because of their representative function, the search for material goods was an abiding interest for most overland travellers. Like the Cold War tourists to Singapore and Hong Kong discussed in Chapter 3, many overlanders spent a great deal of time and energy shopping. Guidebooks devoted swathes of their text to discussions of the best places to shop, and the best things to buy. Tony Wheeler advised readers to leave home with next to nothing, simply because 'you are bound to buy things along the way.' His guide further suggested exactly what items were 'in.'[163] The irony of a traveller's allegiance to the counterculture – which decreed the abandonment of Western consumerism – being signified by specific types of material goods was not typically recognised. Instead, the substitution was understood as one from Western articles that had been mass-produced to hand-made or hand-crafted, and thereby authentic, Eastern garb.[164]

A strong link existed between authenticity and a form of countercultural status encoded in 'cool,' which led travellers to perform the authenticity of their travels, in order to accrue status. A traveller's 'authenticity' was also performed by their refusal to carry a camera. During the 1950s and 1960s, the development of mass tourism had led to a mental pairing of cameras with package tourism.[165] Like Susan Sontag, many overlanders seemed to accept that the West's obsession with photography revealed its acceptance of artificiality and pseudo-events.[166] Although the visual aesthetic was a central component of overlanding, and, as previously mentioned, several renowned photographers began successful careers on the hippie trail, cameras were largely derided by overlanders. Travellers aspiring to 'authenticity' and its incumbent status travelled without a camera, and signalled its absence to a broader audience. Jeffrey Mellefont

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[160] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 59.

[161] Mellefont, "On the Road."

[162] Although Barthes recognised hippie accoutrements as a vestimentary system, he believed that the intended audience were locals, and therefore declared that it was a moot or ineffective performance. See Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), pp. 27-33.

[163] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 19.

[164] Indeed, according to Thomas Frank, this irony lay at the very heart of counterculture, which had a complex relationship with capitalism. See Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[165] For a theoretical treatment of this view, see Daniel Boorstin, *The Image, or, What Happened to the American Dream* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 86-125.

[166] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 3.

'carried no camera even though I was a good photographer, for a complex of reasons,' most important of which was that 'I didn't want to see the world through a lens, as it were.'[167] In an article for *Quadrant*, Murray Bail explained that he '[didn't] even own a camera' in an attempt to differentiate himself from mass tourists, who according to Bali, were weighed down with the latest Japanese equipment.[168] Stephen Batchelor admitted that he attempted to keep his camera hidden while travelling, simply because it was 'uncool to have one.'[169]

Travel stories were also influenced by the dictates of authenticity and status. The hippie trail had a lively oral culture. Bunkered down for days on end in the same cafes and hotels in the same mythical destinations, conversation inevitably turned to travelling. As Max Pam remembered, 'you'd talk about your travels…you could spend all night talking around those tables.' The discussion was so detailed that 'these restaurants, these tea houses and coffee shops and chai shops and cheap charlie hotels were where you would get together and find out how to travel.'[170] Pam also remembered an atmosphere of narrative one-upmanship. In an ethnography of a similar road culture, Chandra Mukerji traced the way 'road stories' (or, in the travellers' lexicon, 'bullshitting') built on-the-road status, finding that travel-adventure stories allowed travellers to 'transform themselves into heroic characters.'[171]

A major theme of heroic road stories was money, or more particularly, its lack. As German traveller Lieschen Müller remembered, it was 'very hip to have no money, no camera, no tape player, no "material possessions."'[172] Those with pretensions to 'authentic' traveller status, and a strong sense of group identity with other travellers, claimed that 'monetary considerations [were] generally secondary for trail people.'[173] As Max Pam remembered, there was 'something very satisfying about living in the world's poxiest hotel,' and no doubt some of that satisfaction came from telling the tale.[174] Travellers' legends carried word of the extreme poverty of renowned travellers who hitchhiked from Europe to India for £3, or some similarly inadequate figure.[175] The prestige of utter poverty was such that, many years later, traveller Susan Powell remembered that 'real' hippies 'sold their blood to Asian hospitals for funds.'[176] Australian traveller Robert Oakley proudly recounted that he had funded his travels by the same method.[177] The status

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[167] Mellefont, "On the Road."
[168] Bail, "Indian Notebooks 1969," p. 13.
[169] cited in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 38.
[170] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.
[171] Chandra Mukerji, "Bullshitting: Road Lore among Hitchhikers," *Social Problems* 25, no. 3 (1978), p. 241.
[172] Cited in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 52.
[173] Quote from Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 14.
[174] Interview with Max Pam conducted by Sean O'Brien, March 2009, copy in author's possession.
[175] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 46.
[176] Susan Powell, (Personal Communication, 2006).
[177] Robert Oakley, (Personal Communication, 2006).

afforded by budget travelling led Neville to advertise his utility with the phrase 'I have no money' in seven languages.[178] Further, Tony Wheeler appealed to readers with guidebooks promising Asian travel 'on the cheap'; a concept popular enough to kick-start a publishing empire.[179]

Myth didn't always translate to experience. Just how much (or how little) was needed to fund an overland journey was a topic of intense debate. Ron Saunders' unpublished manuscript, *Chronis Guide to Asia*, advised travellers that US$500 was a 'realistic' minimum figure for two to three months on the road in 1968.[180] Four years later, Tony Wheeler claimed that US$800 could last for at least double that length of time.[181] Ken Whisson paid only £50 for a bus tour from London to India in the late 1960s; in 1971, when Hugh Veness made the journey, he paid £90.[182] By 1975, prices had risen and the Australian dollar fallen. Wheeler revised his estimate to US$1000 for a six-month trip, explaining that this allowed occasional meals in expensive, 'tourist trap' restaurants,(but, he quickly added, only to avoid malnutrition).[183] The same year, an AU$3000 insurance pay-out in Sydney allowed Jeffrey Mellefont to budget for a year and a half in Asia, the same figure budgeted by Jack Parkinson.[184] Most travellers, therefore, balanced their desire for an 'authentic' overland adventure with the practical cost of living and eating for several months, and while they admired asceticism, few subjected themselves to epic extremes of poverty. As Saunders counselled in 1968, 'although some travellers say that they have made the trip through Asia for virtually nothing, it is not wise to assume that you will be able to do the same thing.'[185]

The culture of travel

The most common strategy for encoding authenticity was to emphasise the difference between travellers and tourists. As James Buzard has noted, this perennial division had been used as a marker of status since at least the days of the Grand Tour.[186] The ordering of status around authenticity led to the reestablishment of the Romantic division between travellers and tourists in Asia. As Asia was not an established tourism destination, being in Asia had already signalled a traveller's intrepidity during the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, mainstream travel narratives had

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[178] Neville, *Play Power*, p. 210.
[179] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 43-44.
[180] Ron Saunders, "The Chronis Guide to Asia," (Worms, Germany: 1968), p. 2-3.
[181] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 17.
[182] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5., "Interview with Kenneth Whisson," tape 3.
[183] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1975)*, p. 26.
[184] Mellefont, "On the Road."; Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 48.
[185] Saunders, "The Chronis Guide to Asia," p. 2-3.
[186] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to 'Culture,' 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 1-17.

largely ignored this dichotomy. In the context of the Asian tourism boom from the late 1960s, however, simply being there was no longer enough. Many accounts of the overland trail made conscious divisions between travellers and tourists, and attempted to secure their place among the former. Neville considered young drifters to be 'more authentic' than tourists.[187] Letters thought the word 'tourist' to be 'nasty,' and she quickly took steps to avoid being one herself.[188] As Batchelor recounted, 'your *parents* were tourists. *Straight* people were tourists. *You* were a traveller.'[189] Many years later, Susan Powell maintained that, while her overland journey may have been her first trip overseas, she was nonetheless a 'first-time traveller (never tourist).'[190] The re-imposition of the division between traveller and tourist reveals the increasingly quotidian meanings that increasing popularity had lent to Asia. It also signals the Romantic roots of the overland trail, and so highlights its difference from the contemporary patterns of Cold War and mass-tourism.

The desire to be a traveller, and not a tourist, created a market for instructional literature, which could initiate novices into the travellers' culture. Overland guidebooks proffered advice on authentic modes of travel, instructing aspiring travellers that, for example, public transport was 'the most genuine way to travel.'[191] Palmos & Price's *Indonesia: Do-It-Yourself* presented a manifesto:

> THE TOURIST pays heavily to have everything done…So if you want everything to run smoothly you'd better stay on Sanur in Bali and fly between cities if you want to say you've been to Java, because you'll be a nuisance, otherwise. THE TRAVELLER learns from overland experiences, from the delays, the promises never fulfilled, the lack of hot water, and in the numerous adversities encountered…He might also discover a few things about his travel agent whose promises of Indonesia indicated he knew nothing of the place…Doing-it-yourself makes Travellers. Try it.[192]

As such, the complex machinery of status on the overland trail effectively invested the experience of travelling itself with deep significance. For some, travelling became a spiritual or quasi-religious experience. Jack Parkinson claimed that spiritual revelation could be found 'somewhere on the trail.' Further, it was 'on the trail,' and not within any particular place, that

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[187] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 59.
[188] Letters, *The Surprising Asians*, pp. 1-2, 34.
[189] Stephen Batchelor, cited in Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 44.
[190] Powell, (Personal Communication, 2006)
[191] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, p. 8.
[192] Palmos and Price, *Indonesia Do-It-Yourself*, p. 7.

'you can meditate on the nature and meaning of life and of the universe.'[193] David Jenkins' *Asia: A Travel Guide* promised that *travel*, rather than the places along the way, involved 'magic and mystery.'[194] As travel became encoded as a site of enlightenment and personal growth, so the significance of the destinations visited waned. Although the counterculture's image of Asia as a site for spiritual enlightenment often motivated young people to set out on the hippie trail, the travel culture that structured the experience recast the act of travelling itself, and not Asia, as a site where enlightenment could be found. Again, the title of Wheeler's *Across Asia on the Cheap* acted as a symbolic statement, with travel *across* Asia, and not *to* Asia, being privileged.

Like broader countercultural ideas about Asia, this performance of 'authenticity' signalled a return to Romantic concepts. As Amanda Gilroy has noted, Romantic notions posited travel as an experience that 'seemed to offer access to imaginary spaces of personal liberation and medicine for the troubled mind.'[195] Carl Thompson has traced the way in which risk, danger and suffering in travel came to hold a 'romantic glamour...or subtle cultural prestige,' during the High Romantic period of the early nineteenth century.[196] This Romantic conception shifted the focus from *what* was seen to *how* it was seen, by locating authenticity in the experience of travel rather than its destinations. Thus, the desire for authentic engagement with *Asia* that had dominated travellers' rhetoric during the 1950s was substituted by a desire for an authentic travel *experience* from the 1960s and 1970s. The Romantic sensibility did not take account of contemporary political issues, nor did it account for the social and cultural changes taking place across Asia during the 1960s and 1970s. Rather than being a destination, Asia became a site for travel.

Further, traditional Romantic views privileged the gaze of the cultured male, and, although the social context of the 1960s had shifted some patriarchal assumptions, the culture of the overland trail was strikingly masculine. A contemporary account of the overland trail estimated there were ten male travellers for every female, although the significant number of women whose accounts have been covered here brings this estimate into question. Mukerji found a dominant, masculine culture on 'the road.'[197] A famous catchphrase of the period ran, 'Leave the Chicks in Istanbul,' and (male) accounts often highlighted the difficulties of ensuring their female companions remained unmolested throughout their journeys.[198] Core inspirational material including *On the Road, Indian Journals, Play Power* and *Road to Katmandu* feature no female protagonists (indeed, female characters of any description are few and far between). Instructional

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[193] Parkinson, *Farewell Hippy Heaven*, p. 15.
[194] Jenkins, *Asia: A Traveller's Guide*, p. 9.
[195] Amanda Gilroy, ed., *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775-1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 2.
[196] Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 3.
[197] Mukerji, "Bullshitting: Road Lore among Hitchhikers." p. 242.
[198] Tomory, *A Season in Heaven*, p. 42.

material was also dominated by the male gaze; it is notable that, although Tony and Maureen Wheeler co-wrote and co-published *Across Asia on the Cheap*, it was published under Tony's name alone. The culture of status, which privileged 'authenticity,' poverty and disease, was a distinctly masculine culture privileging one-upmanship and tales of 'boys' own' adventure.

Myth-making

As a result of travellers' representations, the hippie trail acquired a mystique that grew with time, and, as the next chapter will show, shaped many future experiences of travel to Asia. At its core, the myth was premised on the Romantic notion that the hippie trail allowed for the final gasp of authenticity, before Westernisation and globalisation homogenised travel experiences forever. A central technology in the development of this myth was the trope of Paradise Lost, which was applied by even the earliest overlanders. Neville, who travelled in 1965, bemoaned that his would be one of the last 'authentic' experiences of Asia, and he predicted a 'traffic jam in the Hindu Kush by the mid-seventies.'[199] He wrote of the destruction of Asia's 'authentic' culture coming to him 'in a flash,' as 'I saw how this exotic anachronism, with its Buddhist ceremonials, temple virgins and budget-priced trekking would be transformed by tourism.'[200] Letters, too, wrote of 'the bitter sensation of being present at the decline and decay of something good.'[201] While the trope of Paradise Lost was applied across the length of the hippie trail, it became most institutionalised in descriptions of Bali. As Vickers has recognised, the theme of Paradise Lost was a central narrative of Bali's tourism development throughout the twentieth century.[202] It was also eagerly propagated by overland travellers. The first edition of *Across Asia on the Cheap* warned travellers planning to travel to Bali to 'go soon...the charm of Bali shows every indication of being rapidly eroded by tourism.'[203]

While contemporary accounts warned of the impending loss of paradise, subsequent recollections claimed that the hippie trail had seen paradise before the fall, thereby institutionalising the myth of the overland trail as an 'authentic' experience. More than thirty years after writing the above warning in *Across Asia on the Cheap*, Tony and Maureen Wheeler claimed that 'we'd seen Bali when Kuta Beach was just the odd *losmen* dotted among the palm trees and rice paddies.'[204] While recounting his visit to Bali in the early 1970s, Hugh Veness was

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[199] Neville, *Hippie Hippie Shake*, p. 208.
[200] Ibid., p. 60-61.
[201] Letters, *People of Shiva*, p. 118.
[202] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*.
[203] Wheeler, *Across Asia on the Cheap (1973)*, 1975, p. 35.
[204] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 4.

careful to note that 'at that time [it] wasn't developed and touristy.'[205] Peter Jeans claimed that he had visited 'the Singapore of the past' which 'has disappeared forever.' Now, 'you'll never see its like again, try as you might. What has now replaced the scrabbling, sprawling metropolis…is a sanitised, sani-wrapped model of clean streets, short haircuts, and Big Brother social engineering.'[206] Susan Powell boasted that twenty-first century travellers 'are boggled at my adventures in the 1960s as they embark on their straight-to-Europe-in-a-plane journeys and hire-car explorations.'[207] Of course, such protestations have a complex relationship with reality. Bali had been a famed tourist destination from the first decade of the twentieth century, and visitors had complained about its being damaged by tourism from the 1930s.[208] After 1968, a major World Bank-funded tourism development program facilitated the rise of package tourism to Bali. A 1971 seminar on Cultural Tourism worried that mass-tourism had already wrought 'cultural pollution.'[209] By 1972, when the Wheelers claimed Kuta Beach was almost entirely undeveloped, Bali was hosting thousands of Australians who visited Bali as part of phenomenally popular Asian charter tours, amongst many other tourists from around the world.[210] Although it was a central technology attesting to the authenticity of travellers' experiences, the myth of paradise lost did not necessarily correlate with reality.

Further, the hippie trail in itself became an increasingly mainstream travel experience during the 1970s. As early as 1972, *The Australian* newspaper's travel classifieds section boasted several advertisements for companies offering overland tours.[211] Major corporations, including Penn Overland, Magic Bus and the World Wide Overland Travel Centre thrived as businesses operating exclusively on the overland route. As Wheeler admits in another section of his memoir, at its peak in the early to mid-1970s, 'overland companies were shuttling back and forth across Asia like city buses.'[212] Further, just as the 'cool' of the broader counterculture was co-opted into mainstream corporate culture across America and Australia, so the prestige of overland travel was co-opted by established travel firms.[213] Qantas' initiative, *Detours*, which purported to be an 'Alternative Lifestyle Magazine,' was perhaps the most brazen example in Australia. Written by countercultural figures including *Tracks* editor Phil Jarratt and *OZ* contributor Peter Olszewski, *Detours* co-opted the allure of the overland trail's myth, and

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[205] "Interview with Hugh Veness," tape 5.
[206] Jeans, *Long Road to London*, p. 14.
[207] Powell (Personal Communication, 2006)
[208] See Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*; Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*.
[209] Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, pp. 119-120.
[210] Australian mass-tourism to Asia during the early 1970s is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.
[211] *The Australian*, 5 August 1972, p. 17-18.
[212] Wheeler and Wheeler, *Once While Travelling*, p. 9.
[213] For a full analysis of the way in the relationship between the counterculture and corporate culture, see Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*.

broadcast its appeal to mainstream consumers of international travel in an appeal to sell Qantas flights and tours. From the mid-1960s, Qantas also ran advertising campaigns featuring psychedelic scripts and images, and introduced a 'Pacesetters' program aimed at the under-26 market. Qantas went to ever-greater lengths to capture the youth market during the 1970s, producing a series of entertaining booklets, *The How, Why, When and Where of Here, There and Everywhere*, and *A Second Attempt to get you out of the Country*, and even introducing a subsidiary 'alternative' brand, 'Qantastic Holidays,' which utilised the language and imagery of the youth counterculture. Other major travel companies, including Jetset, followed suit, developing special products and advertising campaigns for the youth market from the early 1980s.[214]

Ironically, the myth of an 'authentic' travel experience fostered the growth of a burgeoning tourism industry. David Jenkins' *Asia Traveller's Guide*, for one, was marketed as taking travellers 'off the beaten track and into the real Asia.'[215] The myth of the overland trail was so powerful as to promote the mainstream success of several corporations developed for the overland market. Some of the most powerful travel and tourism corporations of subsequent years, including Lonely Planet publications, Moon Guides, and the travel agency franchise Trailfinders, began as service providers for the overland trail, and all claimed they were aimed at 'travellers and not tourists.' Although originally offering tours of Europe, Top Deck Travel (now Flight Centre) was also a major operator of overland tours. As Thomas Frank has recognised of the broader counterculture, the subsequent hegemony of putatively 'alternative' travel corporations signifies the complex interlinkages between youth rebellion and the capitalist system.[216] Indeed, the creative corporate response to the hippie trail, and the growth of new businesses which went on to become dominant mass-market players, reveals that rather than rejecting mass tourism, travellers on the hippie trail helped shape the mass-tourism industry of the late twentieth century.

Australia's hippie trail

The antipodean origins of many of these tourism corporations further hint at the particular influence which Australians had on the development and institutionalisation of the hippie trail. Although the overland trail was a transnational phenomenon, it is evident that Australians developed some distinct experiences. The countercultural Asia had its heart in India, and the international version of the hippie trail did not extend further east. For Australians, however, the

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[214] 'Options: a comprehensive range of new travel ideas for the under 35s', Jetset Tours Student Travel, 1st Edition, March 1981, in "Ephemera - Tourism," (Mitchell Library), Box 29.

[215] Jenkins, *Asia Traveller's Guide*, p. 9.

[216] Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*.

hippie trail was less overtly the road to Kathmandu. Travelling through Asia to London (or Sydney or Melbourne) imprinted the journey with different meanings than setting out for a return trip where Asia *was* the final destination. For some travellers, 'Asia' could be considered as a mere stop-over, and some rushed through the continent in their eagerness to reach London. For others, however, the fact that there was no ultimate Asian destination freed their itineraries, and while many did consider Goa or Kathmandu as essential stops, others felt free to enjoy a wider range of destinations.

In particular, the Australian experience of the hippie trail included Southeast Asia. As this chapter has explained, the Southeast Asian arm of the overland trail was very different from the rest of the journey. Not being part of the transnational countercultural rumour of Asia, the visitors' experience was less encoded, and the status-bound culture of the hippie trail did not apply as vigorously in Southeast Asia. As a result, much of the accommodation and tourism infrastructure in Southeast Asian capitals, and especially Singapore and Bangkok, were shared with other forms of travel, in particular mass-tourism and military R & R. This overlap had a concrete effect in the imprinting of Asian sex as an attraction for overland travellers in Southeast Asia, an element which was conspicuously missing along the rest of the trail. Because of its acceptance by overland travellers (as well as the visitors examined in Chapter 3) sex moved away from being an exclusively military attraction, to become a mainstream tourist site, for Australians. This mainstreaming was of major significance for the subsequent development of sex tourism as a major industry in Southeast Asia.

Australia's presence on the overland trail also had a palpable effect by positing Bali and Thailand as attractive destinations for Australian youth. As the following chapter shows, Bali became a popular destination for mass- and package tourism at the same time as it became a hippie trail destination. Thailand became a major backpacking destination from the 1980s. Both attracted a great number of Australian youth. The strength of the countercultural rumour of Bali as a paradise added to the industry's image making, and positioned Bali as an attractive destination for young Australians from the 1970s.

Finally, the industrialisation and corporatisation of the overland trail for antipodean travellers changed the nature of the tourism industry in Asia. As the next chapter shows, the increasing power of 'alternative' travel firms such as Lonely Planet and Flight Centre during the tourist booms of the 1980s and 1990s helped spread the travel culture of the overland trail to subsequent travellers. From the 1980s, the overland experience morphed into backpacking, which brought its travel culture into the mainstream, and so influenced the experiences of many

travellers in Asia. Along with the related refocussing of Asia as a 'pleasure periphery,' an increased adherence to the travellers' culture helped divert visitors' attention from the social, political and cultural contexts of their destinations, and onto their own 'experience.' The role of Australian corporations in defining and disseminating this travel culture led the Australian variant of the overland travel trail to have a powerful impact on the subsequent development of mass tourism in Asia.

Conclusion

As the next chapter shows, the culture which developed from a reworking of Orientalist and Romantic tropes on the overland trail had a fundamental influence on subsequent patterns of travel. Depoliticising the experience of travel to Asia, the hippie trail created much of the rumour of Asia that informed subsequent Australian tourists. By integrating Romantic modes into Asian travel, the overland trail reconceived of it as a space for western leisure. Asia now became a place where westerners could participate in a travel culture, as much as a meaningful destination in itself. This differed from the Cold War conception, whereby Australians travelled to Asia to interact with the people there, in order to engage with Asia's geopolitical situation. Asian politics and Asian people played little role in the Romantic creed of travel popularised by the hippie trail, except in stock roles as providers of sex, tourist services or enlightenment. In the wake of the hippie trail, the political aim of 'engagement' which had formed much of the rhetoric of Asian travel during the 1950s and 1960s had mostly disappeared. As the following chapter will show, Asia was instead imagined as Australia's 'pleasure periphery' from the 1970s.

Further, travellers on the hippie trail re-imagined Asia through a new aesthetic code. No longer was poverty read primarily as a social problem, with tangible political consequences. After its aestheticisation on the hippie trail, poverty could be gazed upon as a picturesque tourist sight, without political associations. Through this aestheticisation of poverty, overland travellers helped redeploy some of the central tenets of colonial-era Orientalism for a new generation, repackaging it as an 'authentic' alternative to the staid and inauthentic experience of mass tourism.

Perhaps the most important element of the overland trail was the development of a strong and binding travel culture, which structured experiences in a fully-developed hierarchy of status, and so shaped travellers' behaviours, experiences, and even their appearances. On the hippie trail, the culture of travel emerged as a central element structuring Australian rumours, experiences and representations of Asia. The power of the culture of travel and the travel

industry to structure subsequent travellers' experiences of Asia is investigated further in the next chapter.

7

A Very Long Engagement: Australian tourism to Asia from boom to boom to boom: 1970-1998

Typically remembered as a period of official moves towards a policy of engagement, the last three decades of the twentieth century also saw unprecedented rates of personal contact between Australians and Asia. The tourist booms of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s brought millions of Australians into Asia, and their holiday experiences circulated even more widely through the travel tales, photographs and souvenirs that they displayed on their return. By the end of the twentieth century, tourism had become the dominant mode of Australian interaction with Asia, and this shaped the way in which the region was perceived at all levels. It also affected official Australia-Asia relations, as the rumours, experiences and representations developed through travel increasingly shaped the culture in which Australia's political and diplomatic decisions were made.

As more Australians took to travel to Asia, their experiences began to change. From the late 1950s, the Cold War discourse had begun to render Asia into an increasingly knowable,

quotidian place. This trend was exacerbated by the tourism boom. Anxieties about Asia were hard to sustain alongside happy snaps of sun, sand and surf in Bali, or of a rite-of-passage backpacking trip across Asia. Old fears about the 'Asian mind' began to crumble under the weight of memories about the 'beautiful' people who had lent a touch of exotic interest to so many holidays; not to mention the excellent service that always came with a smile. As the hundreds of thousands of personal experiences became millions, 'Asia' became a far more quotidian, almost banal entity, and was recast as Australia's 'pleasure periphery,' rather than the threatening north.

The growth of the tourism industry meant that, from the early 1970s, Australians' experiences in Asia were increasingly structured by the cultures of travel and tourism. New modes of travel, and new destinations, saw the development of specialised travel industries and travel cultures. As it was re-conceived as a space for leisure, Australian experiences of Asia were no longer guided primarily by political and cultural rumours of the region. Increasingly, the *culture* of travel began to influence how particular Asian destinations were experienced and understood.

This chapter will investigate two major emerging trends, 'alternative' and resort tourism, in order to trace the impact of travel and tourism on Australian tourists' perceptions and experiences of Asia. In order to allow for a deeper analysis, alternative travel is explored in the specific destinations of China and Thailand, and resort vacations in Bali. Of course, this is not to imply that these were the only modes of travel undertaken by Australians, or that they only occurred at these destinations. Space does not permit an investigation of all the modes of travel developing in an increasingly niched market. Several other forms of travel – including the continuing popularity of sightseeing and shopping tourism in Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore; veterans' pilgrimages to Vietnam; sex tourism to Thailand and the Philippines; and developing travel trends including gastro-tourism – are not examined in full detail here. While the more specialised forms of travel have been analysed elsewhere, it is notable that the mainstream Australian holiday to Asia has been largely overlooked.[1] By focussing on the dominant forms of

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[1] For sex tourism, see Erik Cohen, "Lovelorn Farangs: The Correspondence between Foreign Men and Thai Girls," *Anthropological Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (1986), pp. 115-27; Erik Cohen, "Tourism and Aids in Thailand," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988), pp. 467-86; Thanh-Dam Truong, *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southeast Asia* (London: Zed Books, 1990); David Leheny, "A Political Economy of Asian Sex Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 3 (1995), pp. 367-84; Erik Cohen, *Thai Tourism: Hill Tribes, Islands and Open-Ended Prostitution* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1996); Jeremy Seabrook, *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Industry* (London: Pluto Press, 1996); Ryan Bishop and Lillian S. Robinson, *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Martin Oppermann, ed., *Sex Tourism and Prostitution: Aspects of Leisure, Recreation and Work* (New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, 1998); Martin Oppermann, "Sex Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999), pp. 251-66; Marianna Brungs, "Abolishing Child Sex Tourism: Australia's Contribution," *Australian Journal of Human Rights* 8, no. 2 (2002); Erik Cohen, "Transnational Marriage in Thailand: The Dynamics of Extreme Heterogamy," in *Sex and Tourism: Journeys of Romance, Love and Lust*, ed. Thomas G. Bauer (New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2003),pp. 57-84; Craig Scutt, "Love Thy Neighbour: Australia's Shameful Fetish," *Griffith Review*, no. 22 (2008), pp. 105-15. See also Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, "Privileging the Male Gaze: Gendered Tourism Landscapes," *Annals*

tourism, in their archetypal destinations, this chapter hopes to trace the most popular experiences and perceptions of Asia.

Reading about Engagement

Australian political relations with Asia from the 1970s have attracted a vast deal of academic study. The 1970s saw an official embrace of the discourse of engagement, and the rhetoric became stronger during the 1990s, when 'enmeshment' with Asia, now conceived of as Australia's 'region,' was sought. Analyses of the political shift, including the edited collections *Pathways to Asia: the Politics of Engagement* and *Seeking Asian Engagement*, analyse changes in the Australia-Asia relationship at the ministerial level, but they devote only a few paragraphs to broader social and cultural shifts.[2] In almost all work looking at the turn to engagement, the focus remains on government-level innovations, without an analysis of the way in which social and cultural shifts can relate to and even shape government policy.[3] The second volume of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's *Facing North* series includes the most rigorous attempt to summarise people-to-people contacts, in Quilty and Goldsworthy's chapter on 'Social and Cultural Engagement.' Although the more sustained focus on this issue is laudable, the broad approach did not allow for an analysis of the meanings and effects of people-to-people relations, and the authors end by pointing to the need for a specialist study of Australian tourism to Asia.[4]

The importance of travel has been recognised when undertaken at the highest levels. From the late 1960s, an ever-increasing number of Australian ministers have paid official visits to Asian nations. The importance of official travel to the *rapprochement* with China has been widely

of Tourism Research 27, no. 4 (2000), pp. 884-905. For veterans' 'pilgrimages,' see Kevin Blackburn, "The Historic War Site of the Changi Murals: A Place for Pilgrimage and Tourism," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial (Online)*, no. 34, June 2001 (2001), http://www.awn.gov.au/journal/j34/blackburn.htm, paragraphs 10-11; Garrie Hutchinson, *Pilgrimage: A Traveller's Guide to Australia's Battlefields* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006); Gary McKay, *Going Back: Australian Veterans Return to Viet Nam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2007); Scott Laderman, *Tours of Vietnam: War, Travel Guides and Memory* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009). See also Brad West, "Independent Travel and Civil Religious Pilgrimage: Backpackers at Gallipoli," in *Down the Road: Exploring Backpacker and Independent Travel*, ed. Brad West (Perth: API Network, 2005), pp. 9-32; Bruce Scates, *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the Battlefields of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mark McKenna and Stuart Ward, "'It Was Really Moving, Mate': The Gallipoli Pilgrimage and Sentimental Nationalism in Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 38, no. 129 (2007), pp. 141-51.
[2] Richard Robison, ed., *Pathways to Asia: The Politics of Engagement* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), James Cotton and John Ravenhill, eds., *Seeking Asian Engagement: Australia in World Affairs, 1991-1995* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press/Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1997), pp. 34-36, 40.
[3] Peter Edwards and David Goldsworthy, eds., *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 2: 1970s to 2000* (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade with Melbourne University Press, 2003), especially pp. 258-298;
[4] Mary Quilty and David Goldsworthy, *Social and Cultural Engagement* (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade/ Melbourne University Press, 2003), p. 269.

recognised.[5] This success encouraged more official visits, including some between cultural delegations.[6] The Whitlam government's travels set a precedent followed by all future governments. Even John Howard (whose rhetoric privileged Australia's alliance with the United States over engagement with Asia) was a frequent visitor to Asia, concluding more state visits to China than any previous Prime Minister. The continuing importance of travel to Australia's relations with Asia was highlighted again during 2008, as Kevin Rudd's choice of China as the destination for his first state visit drew condemnation and protest from supporters of Australia's closest Asian ally, Japan. Thus, official visits have been recognised both as symbols of Australia's engagement with Asia, and as factors contributing to closer relations themselves.

The significance of Australian travel to Asia has otherwise been largely neglected. Research into the development of Australia's travel industry, including Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt's *Holiday Business* and Julia Horne's *The Pursuit of Wonder*, typically limits its focus onto inbound and domestic tourism. Richard White's *On Holidays*, while pointing to the significance of Australian travel to its Asian pleasure periphery, also retains a focus on domestic travel.[7] Robin Gerster and Graham Huggan have made significant inroads into investigating the way Asia has been presented in Australian travel writing and tourist novels, however attempts to look beyond cultural representations and at the mass experience of travel, have not been made.[8]

Yet, the importance of travel to Australia's relationship with Asia has been recognised at the highest levels. The Howard government's 2003 *Tourism White Paper* claimed that tourism was 'a positive force in developing and deepening Australia's relations with other countries.'[9] This sentiment was echoed in the foreign and trade policy white paper of the same year, *Advancing the National Interest*, which claimed that 'people-to-people' links, including tourism, 'add depth and stability to our relationships' with Asia, and were therefore a policy priority.[10] Despite such

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[5] Edward S.K. Fung and Colin Mackerras, *From Fear to Friendship: Australia's Policies Towards the People's Republic of China 1966-1982* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1985), pp. 109-117; David Goldsworthy et al., "Reorientation," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1: 1901 to the 1970s*, ed. David Goldsworthy (South Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Melbourne University Press, 2001), pp. 334-3.
[6] Jocelyn Chey, "From Rosny to the Great Wall: Cultural Relations and Public Diplomacy," in *Re-Orienting Australia-China Relations: 1972 to the Present*, ed. Nicholas Thomas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 163-182.
[7] Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia since 1870* (Carlton South, Vic.: Mienguyah Press, 2000); Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape Was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2005); Richard White, *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 173-180.
[8] Robin Gerster, ed., *Hotel Asia: An Anthology of Australian Literary Travelling to 'the East'* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1995); Robin Gerster, "A Bellyful of Bali: Travel, Writing and Australia/Asia Relationships," *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no. 4 (1996), pp. 353 - 63.; Graham Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 177-208; Graham Huggan, "The Australian Tourist Novel," in *Australia and Asia: Cultural Transactions*, ed. Maryanne Dever (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 162-75.
[9] Department of Industry, Tourism and Resources, *Tourism White Paper: A Medium to Long Term Strategy for Tourism* (Canberra: 2003), p. 8.
[10] Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2003), pp. xv-xvi, 82.

claims, no research has yet evaluated the extent and nature of these people-to-people links, or tested the platitude that they are, in fact, beneficial to foreign relations. Some of the reticence can be attributed to the clout of the tourism industry. In recent years, the politicisation of travel and tourism through official travel advisories (discussed in the final chapter) has made the issue politically sensitive, too. As the previous chapters have shown, however, it is evident that travel contacts bring the potential for misunderstanding and even conflict, as well as for positive relations. In charting the rise of Australian mass tourism to Asia, this chapter highlights the complexity of travel and tourism experiences, and their mixed legacy for Australian relations with Asia.

The tourism boom

The last three decades of the twentieth century saw dramatic rises in the numbers of people travelling worldwide.[11] Australian departures overseas increased by approximately 5% per annum from 1974 to 1996.[12] In 1978, over one million Australians travelled overseas. By 1990, this figure had doubled; and had risen to nearly three and a half million, ten years later.[13] More Australians than ever before had access to personal experiences of foreign places and people. Of those setting off for short-term overseas visits during the final quarter of 1979, 71% were either on their first trip, or travelled overseas only very infrequently.[14] The rise in first-time travellers is also reflected in the numbers of passports issued. Approximately 50,000 passports were issued in 1964, rising to 370,000 a decade later. By 1986, this number had reached 700,000. While the number of passports issued stagnated during the period of economic recession in the early 1990s, they rose again to a record 1,259,692 in 2006. By 2007-2008, the rate of passport issue had risen by 50% over the previous five years, and approximately one in two Australians held a valid passport.[15]

Travel to Asia accounted for an increasing proportion of all journeys. Departure statistics did not differentiate between military and civilian movements after the 1950s, and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War saw more Australians travel to Asia than to Europe from 1967. Although the military deployment certainly added to this trend, it was not merely the result of

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[11] For full statistical analysis see World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics* (Madrid: WTO, 1997), p. 67.

[12] Note that Australian Bureau of Statistics collects information about 'short term' overseas departures, which are defined as overseas departures with the intention to return within twelve months.

[13] Krishna Hamal, "Australian Outbound Holiday Travel Demand: Long Haul Versus Short Haul," in *Australian Tourism and Hospitality Research Conference* (Gold Coast, Qld.: Bureau of Tourism Research, 1998), p. i.

[14] Australian Tourist Commission, "Overseas Holiday Travel by Australians, October-December, 1979," (Melbourne: Australian Tourist Commission, 1980), p. 4.

[15] Section 2.1.2: Passport Services, in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report, 2007-2008*, DFAT, Canberra, 2009; www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/07_08/performance/2/2.1.2.html; accessed 1 May 2009.

military movements. Indeed, as Figure 7.1 shows, more Australians travelled to Asia than Europe until 1973, two years after Australian troops were withdrawn from Vietnam. Rather than being attributable to military movements, this spike was the result of a boom in package deals to Singapore and Malaysia, which is most evident in Figure 7.2. The end of the charter-flights on which these deals were premised, and the increasing affordability of long-haul travel, meant that the number of travellers to Europe again overtook those heading for Asia throughout the rest of the 1970s. By 1980, however, this trend had again been reversed, and Asia remained Australians' prime travel destination for the remainder of the century.
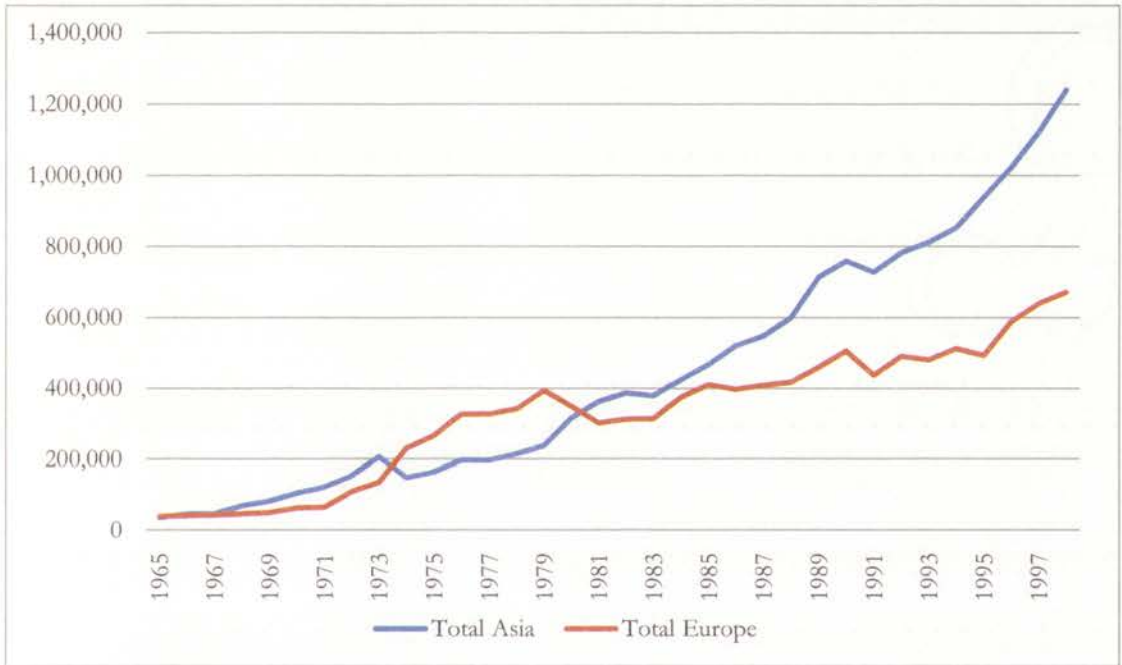

Figure 7.1: Total resident departures to Asia and Europe, 1965-1998.
Source: Compiled from Australian Bureau of Statistics (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics before 1972), *Australian Year Books*, *Demography Bulletin*s and *Overseas Arrivals and Departures*, various editions.

The Asian destinations attracting significant numbers of Australian tourists changed during the tourist boom period, compared to previous trends. Tourism statistics for the entire period have been kept by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), and from 1985, by the World Tourism Organization (WTO). The two datasets reveal some discrepancies, which are caused by the way in which data is collected. The WTO data plots the actual numbers of Australians entering every member country based on immigration data, whereas ABS data plots Australians' primary destination as nominated on their departure cards. WTO figures are invariably higher, particularly for destinations such as Singapore and Hong Kong which host a significant number of transit passengers. Travellers would not typically state these as primary destinations on

departure cards, but stopovers often involved a layover of several days, which was recorded in WTO statistics. Nonetheless, despite differences in scale, the same patterns of Australian travel to Asia are evident in both the ABS and WTO statistics, allowing for a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon.
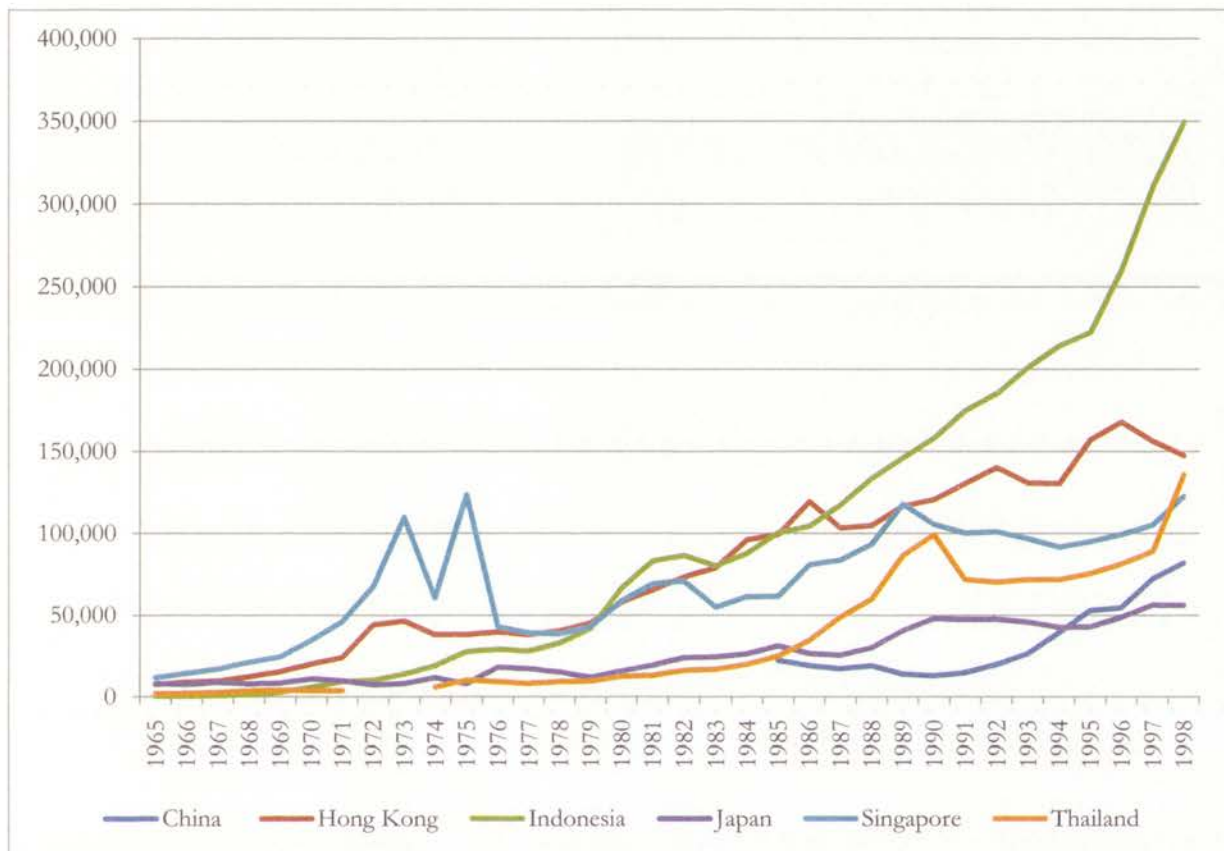

Figure 7.2: Short-term departures of Australian residents to selected Asian destinations.
Source: Compiled from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Year Books*, *Demography Bulletins* and *Overseas Arrivals and Departures*, various editions.[16]

Initially, the tourist boom to Asia followed its old paths. The package tours of Southeast Asia in the early 1970 saw Singapore retain its dominance as the most popular Asian destination for Australian visitors. During the late 1960s and 1970s, Singapore's 'Instant Asia' campaign promoted the city-state as a microcosm of Asia, enticing first-time travellers to experience the exotic Other in a relatively safe, Westernised environment.[17] The Hong Kong Tourist Authority followed a similar promotional strategy, and Hong Kong was consistently the second-most popular Asian destination for Australians during the 1970s. Promotional pamphlets promised a little bit of everything in Hong Kong: 'the Chinese younger set are as "mod" and "a-go-go" as

[16] Note that Singapore's data for 1972-1975 was entered as 'Malaysia and Singapore.' Statistics for Thailand during the period 1971-1973, and to China before 1985 are unavailable in Australian Bureau of Statistics publications.
[17] For example, see 'Singapore: Instant Asia', Sydney Morning Herald Advertising Feature, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1968, p. 11.

the youngsters in London, New York, San Francisco and Sydney,' but 'fragments of life as it existed in ancient times are still to be found.' Like Singapore, the exoticism of an 'Oriental' destination was balanced by references to the former colony's developed service culture and opulent hotels.[18] Both Singapore and Hong Kong also retained their reputations as paradise for shoppers. Australians also continued to travel to Japan, and its popularity remained steady, without obvious peaks and troughs, until the end of the century. The growth of Australian travel to Japan embodied the strengthening diplomatic and economic relations between the two nations from the 1950s. However, its steady rise meant that Japan was eclipsed as a destination for Australian travellers during this period of booms, losing the prominence that it once had in Australian conceptions of Asia. The earliest years of the Asian tourist boom, then, followed the paths set during the Cold War period.
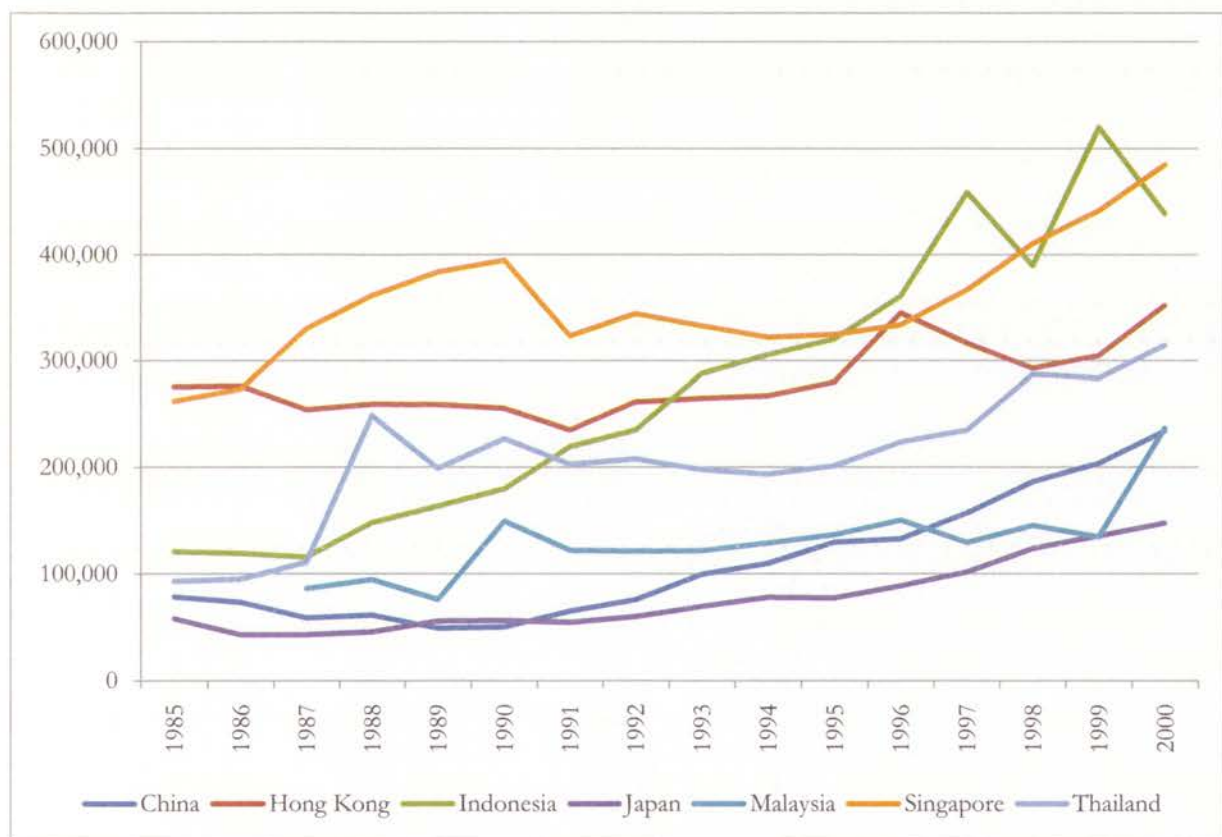

Figure 7.3: Australian arrivals in selected Asian destinations, 1985-2000.
Source: World Tourism Organisation Tourism Yearbooks, 1985-2009.

Although space does not permit detailed analysis of travel across all of Asia, Australians increasingly travelled to other destinations, from the 1980s. Indeed, travel to every Asian nation grew during this period. Visits to the Philippines and India grew at a steady pace, bolstered by a

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[18] Brochure, 'Hong Kong Adventure – Entertainments, Festivals, Shopping, Food, Fun,' Hong Kong Tourist Association, 1969 in Mitchell Library Ephemera Collection – Tourism, Box 29.

higher than average level of Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) travel in case of the former, and by canny marketing and promotions for the latter. Malaysia also attracted a steady stream of visitors attracted by its colonial heritage and beachside resorts. Other destinations, including Nepal and Vietnam, became increasingly popular as 'alternative' travel destinations in the 1990s; Cambodia and Laos became attractive for backpackers during the 2000s. Although their popularity is touched on, space prohibits the further investigation of travel to these destinations. Others, including Pakistan, Mongolia, Bhutan and Bangladesh, attracted negligible numbers of Australian visitors, and so cannot be said to have contributed to travellers' conceptions of Asia.

From the 1980s, the pattern of travel to Asia began to change. While Singapore and Hong Kong remained popular throughout the 1980s and 1990s (especially as stopover destinations) Australians were also travelling to a broader range of Asian destinations, and most notably, to China, Thailand and Indonesia. Travel to these three destinations forms the core of analysis in this chapter.

Explaining the boom

Much of the tourism boom can be explained by advances in transport technology and an increasingly sophisticated tourism industry, which made holidaying in Asia progressively cheaper and easier. The introduction of the Jumbo Jet, alongside increased competition within the airline industry, saw transport prices fall. In real terms, prices of outbound holidays from Australia fell by 0.7% per annum between 1974 and 1988 and by 1.7% per annum between 1988 and 1998.[19] The number of airlines flying overseas routes grew from eleven in 1963, to 23 in 1975, 29 in 1985, 49 in 1995, and 58 in 1999.[20] The tourism industry also grew. Hundreds of travel agents opened across the nation, with much of their business dependent on commission earned from the sale of overseas flights.[21] The competition provided by charter flights and package deals led previously prestige airlines to become increasingly price competitive, and to develop package tour subsidiaries such as Qantas' Jetabout Holidays. The same period also saw the growth of rival package deal providers, including Jetset, Flight Centre and American Express Travel.[22]

From the mid-1970s, travel began to permeate Australians' daily lives. Changes in the travel industry increasingly attracted the media's attention; the *Sydney Morning Herald* even maintained a

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[19] Hamal, "Australian Outbound Holiday Travel Demand: Long Haul Versus Short Haul," p. 1.
[20] All figures from Commonwealth and Australian Year Books, various editions.
[21] Davidson and Spearritt, *Holiday Business*, p. 327.
[22] See for example. 'Qantas wins a great new deal for the Australian traveller', Qantas advertisement, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1972, p. 4.

dedicated 'Aeronautical Correspondent.' Further, travel companies' increased advertising saw newspapers create dedicated travel sections, with the addition of articles and editorial content from the 1970s. Travel guidebooks, especially those published by Lonely Planet, began to dominate entire shelves in bookstores. During the 1990s, the shift to 'lifestyle' programming saw the debut of television travel guides including *Great Outdoors* and *Getaway*. The tourist boom was also reflected in fiction, and several best-selling novels framed their plots through an Australian's visit to Asia. These included literary works including Blanche D'Alpuget's *Turtle Beach* and Christopher Koch's *The Year of Living Dangerously* and *Highways to a War*. *Turtle Beach* and *The Year of Living Dangerously* were both subsequently made into successful films. Graham Huggan has also documented the rise of the Australian tourist novel, typically set in Bali.[23] These novels, including Gerald Lee's *Troppo Man* and Inez Baranay's *The Edge of Bali*, reveal the extent to which travel and tourism had come to frame Australians' understandings of Asia. Film and television dramas also followed Australians on Asian journeys. The mini-series *Bangkok Hilton* served as a cautionary tale for the naive traveller in 1989, and the 'documentary fiction' *Good Woman of Bangkok* caused a great deal of controversy when it broached the topic of sex tourism in 1991. As Annette Hamilton has recognised, the Australian tourist drama also became a common genre, through which Asia could be 'explained' through the figure of the tourist.[24]

The demise of the White Australia policy also impacted on rates of Australian travel to Asia. By 2001, 6% of Australians had been born Asia, and a growing number of children born in Australia had an Asian ancestor.[25] As the numbers of Asian migrants grew, so did the rates of VFR visits to Asia. By 1996, VFR motivated 44% of all Australian travel to the Philippines, 28% of travel to China, 27% of travel to Hong Kong, 25% of travel to Malaysia, and 36.9% of travel to 'Other Asia' (including India, Japan, Vietnam and Taiwan alongside smaller Asian nations).[26] Whilst not all of these visits were made by Australians of Asian descent, the changing constitution of the Australian population changed the meanings of some journeys. Instead of discovering an 'Other', many Australians, along with their children and friends, travelled to an Asia that was also 'home.'

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[23] Huggan, "The Australian Tourist Novel."
[24] Annette Hamilton, "Looking for Love (in All the Wrong Places): The Production of Thailand in Recent Australian Cinema," in *Australia and Asia: Cultural Transactions*, ed. Maryanne Dever (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 148-160.
[25] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Social Trends, 2001*, Released 6 June 2001.
[26] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Year Book 1998* (no. 80), Canberra, p. 591.

Backpacking: the rise of a dominant travel culture

From the late-1970s, the budget style of travel detailed in the previous chapter became increasingly popular across Asia, and developed into a more mainstream form in backpacking. Like their predecessors on the hippie trail, backpackers sought 'authenticity,' as opposed to a tourist experience, on their travels. In an early analysis, Erik Cohen claimed that 'drifters' sought out 'real' experiences with local people, unmediated by the tourist trade.[27] Subsequent research has analysed backpackers' experiences, rather than their rhetoric, and found a very different reality. More recent work (including by Cohen himself) has found that, rather than travelling to see particular sites or destinations or have unmediated experiences with others, many backpackers were travelling to 'discover' themselves, to meet other travellers, and/or to participate in the international travel culture.[28] Thus, although their rhetoric privileged learning about and interacting with locals, their behaviour was often focussed on themselves.

Although recent work has highlighted the 'pseudo' and 'mass' nature of independent travel, it is evident that many of those backpacking through Asia during the 1980s and 1990s were not post-tourists, and indeed took their quest for authenticity very seriously.[29] As backpacking became institutionalised during the 1970s and into the 1980s, the identity and mores of backpacker travellers were channelled by self-consciously 'alternative' guidebooks, and in particular, Lonely Planet's range of *Travel Survival Kit* and *Shoestring* guides.[30] Gillian Kenny has found that Lonely Planet guides helped to articulate a sense of identity for 'its' travellers, and helped develop the backpacker culture during the 1980s.[31] This backpacker's identity privileged

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[27] Erik Cohen, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14, no. 1-2 (1973), pp. 89-103; Erik Cohen, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences," *Sociology* 13, no. 6 (1979).
[28] For a full analysis of the culture of backpacking, and how this influences travellers' experiences, see Judith Adler, "Youth on the Road: Reflections on the History of Tramping," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), pp. 335-54; Pamela J. Riley, "Road Culture of International Long-Term Budget Travelers," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 313-328 (1988); Klaus Westerhausen, *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia*, ed. Erik Cohen, Studies in Asian Tourism (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2002), pp. 72-109; Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, "The Global Nomad: Motivations and Behaviour of Independent Travellers Worldwide," in *The Global Nomad: Backpacker Travel in Theory and Practice*, ed. Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2004), pp. 14-39; Erik Cohen, "Backpacking: Diversity and Change," in *The Global Nomad*, pp. 43-59; Peter Welk, "The Beaten Track: Anti-Tourism as an Element of Backpacker Identity Construction," in *The Global Nomad*, pp. 77-91., Jana Binder, "The Whole Point of Backpacking: Anthropological Perspectives on the Characteristics of Backpacking," in *The Global Nomad*, pp. 92-108., Chaim Noy, "This Trip Really Changed Me: Backpackers' Narratives of Self-Change," *Annals of Tourism Research* 31, no. 1 (2004), pp. 78-102; Laurie Murphy, "I Heard It through the Grapevine: Understanding the Social Interactions of Backpackers," in *Down the Road: Exploring Backpacker and Independent Travel*, ed. Brad West (Perth: API Network, Curtin University of Technology, 2005), pp. 109-27.
[29] Accepting the inevitability of an experience mediated by the tourism industry, the post-tourist playfully and ironically accepts and appropriates the symbols and destinations of mass-tourism. See Maxine Feifer, *Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present* (New York: Stein and Day, 1985).
[30] Anders Sorenson, "Backpacker Ethnography," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 4 (2003), pp. 847-67. See also Peter Welk, "The Lonely Planet Myth: 'Backpacker Bible' and 'Travel Survival Kit'," in *Backpacker Tourism: Concepts and Profiles*, ed. Kevin Hannam and Irena Atelejevic (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2008), pp. 82-94.
[31] Gillian Kenny, "'Our Travellers' out There on the Road: *Lonely Planet* and Its Readers, 1973 - 1981," *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 72 - Special Issue: 'Jumping the Queue: New Talents 2002', Gabriella T. Espak, Scott Fatowna & D Woods (eds.) (2002), p. 112.

'authenticity,' which could only be found by 'escaping the byways' of mass tourism.[32] Peter Welk has further shown that Lonely Planet guidebooks determined the places to go and things to see for the backpacker movement, channelling streams of travellers to ever-new, 'undiscovered' destinations.[33] In the early 1980s, Lonely Planet was integral to introducing backpackers to a new destination – China.

Changing the rumour of China: backpackers in the People's Republic

Chapter 4 described the culture of extreme optimism which developed among politically sympathetic travellers to Cold War China, whose visits were strictly managed by the Chinese authorities. In 1981, China opened its doors to independent travellers. The following year, 53,000 Australians visited China.[34] From 1983, tourist visas became even easier to acquire; getting to China became easier, too. Qantas introduced direct flights between Sydney, Melbourne and Beijing in 1984, and the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) opened a direct Sydney-Guangzhou service. Following these market developments, China became popular with backpackers. The Australians amongst them travelled in a different style, and for different reasons, than their Cold War predecessors. Following the code of 'authenticity,' Australian backpackers to China were less concerned with building bridges of friendship across political divides than with the experience of travelling itself, especially within a destination that was not yet the site of mass tourism.

As Virginie Oudiette has noted, China held 'the ephemeral attraction of the 'last frontier of tourism' at this time.[35] Ironically, the rumour of China's authenticity was spread by a burgeoning 'alternative' travel industry. Early advertisements for 'adventure' tours assured tourists that theirs would be 'one of the first groups ever' or 'among the first Europeans' to experience Central China.[36] With the release of Lonely Planet's *China – a Travel Survival Kit* in 1984, China became established as a major backpacker destination.[37] Authored by Alan Samagalski and Michael Buckley, the *Travel Survival Kit* was concerned less with socialist progress than with the nation's authenticity. As a result, the guidebook promoted a different rumour of China. Instead of the

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Welk, "The Lonely Planet Myth: 'Backpacker Bible' and 'Travel Survival Kit,'" p. 85.

[34] Department of Sport, Recreation and Tourism, *Australian Tourism Trends: An Overview* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1985), p. 63.

[35] Virginie Oudiette, "International Tourism in China," *Annals of Tourism Research* 17 (1990), p. 123.

[36] Brochure, Australian Himalayan Expeditions, 'Central China Trek – 1981' and 'Tibet Trek to the North Face of Everest,' in Mitchell Library Ephemera Collection – Tourism, Box 29.

[37] Alan Samagalski and Michael Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, 1st ed. (South Yarra, Vic.: Lonely Planet Publications, 1984); see also Linda K. Richter, "Political Implications of Chinese Tourism Policy," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983), p. 396 and Kenny, "'Our Travellers' out There on the Road: *Lonely Planet* and Its Readers, 1973 - 1981."

order, efficiency, cleanliness and politeness lauded by Cold War fellow-travellers, Samagalski and Buckley highlighted the difficulties travellers faced in China. Overturning previous rumours, *China – a Travel Survival Kit* warned readers that travel in China was uncomfortable, dirty, and frustrating, and that the Chinese were rude, intrusive and unhygienic.[38] In doing so, it recast China it as a worthy destination for the intrepid backpacker.

Lonely Planet's rumour of China came to be extremely influential. *China – a Travel Survival Kit* was so popular that one traveller estimated 80-95% of all travellers he had met on the road in 1989 carried 'the Green Book.'[39] Many travellers referred to theirs as a 'bible,' which they consulted incessantly, and other praised theirs as 'an invaluable asset,' which 'we were constantly referring to.'[40] The Lonely Planet-mediated road culture affected the way in which Australian travellers imagined, experienced and represented China from the 1980s. At its most fundamental, the focus on 'authenticity' changed the sites and attractions that they set out to see. Where fellow-travellers had wanted to witness the nation's industrial and economic development, the tourists of the 1980s were more interested in China's 'authentic' culture. Thus, where Cold War visitors' itineraries had focussed on China's major cities, backpackers privileged places 'off the beaten track.'[41] *China – a Travel Survival Kit* advised that Beijing was 'too much of a cosmetic showcase to qualify' as an authentic Chinese city, and advised readers to 'try and get out.'[42] For a more authentic experience, the guidebook recommended the Qingping Market in Canton, which felt 'more like a takeaway zoo,' as a 'great place to get a feel for China.'[43] This advice is eminently revealing about Lonely Planet's conception of 'authenticity.' Beijing, the nation's capital, was also the site of several of China's most significant historical and cultural sites. That Lonely Planet considered it 'inauthentic,' while claiming that a squalid live-animal market was 'authentic,' shows the guidebook positioning China as underdeveloped, dirty, difficult and sometimes disturbing: all in all, a 'Third World' destination.

It is clear that many Australian backpackers adopted similar attitudes during their visits. Examining Orientalist discourse in guidebooks to India, Kathleen R. Epelde has found that, in Lonely Planet guides, 'the reader-user of the guidebook is encouraged to occupy the Orientalist

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[38] Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit* , p. 111-113.

[39] David Miller to Lonely Planet, 5 May 1989, Records of Lonely Planet Publications, 1980 – 1991 (Henceforth Records of Lonely Planet), National Library of Australia MS 8952, Box 2, Folder 12; Simon Saubern to Lonely Planet, 15 February 1989, Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 12.

[40] For example, 'Miss Hoon Koh' (Camberwell, Vic.) to Lonely Planet, 4 July 1985, Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2; John Harrison (South Fremantle, WA) to Lonely Planet, 18 February 1985, Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2; Moira Nagle (West Hindmarsh, SA), to Lonely Planet, 10 October 1985, Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.

[41] Kenny, "'Our Travellers' out There on the Road: *Lonely Planet* and Its Readers, 1973 – 1981," p. 113

[42] Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, p. 520.

[43] Ibid., p. 202

speaking position constructed by the publisher.[44] Epelde argues that, as a result of its personal forms of address and wry tone, Lonely Planet implicated readers in the authors' attitudes. The extent to which travellers aligned themselves with Lonely Planet's outlook is also evident in the many letters they wrote to the publisher. In one such letter, backpacker Joe Greenholtz suggested another market in Canton which sold 'everything from seahorse and armadillos to dogs and racoons.' Revealing his alignment with the *China* guidebook, he wrote this was 'a good place to get a feel for China.'[45] Similarly, Greg Bishop, a backpacker from Taren Point in New South Wales, wrote that, although initially he had been disappointed by Beijing, which was so clean and orderly he assumed it was 'not your typical Chinese city,' he soon realised that 'Chinese behave in the same way' in every city of the world when he stumbled on a chaotic market.[46] Others wrote in to declare that they were 'disappointed by how Westernized' China's cities, including Beijing and Guangzhou, were.[47] Their words, direct echoes of *China – a Travel Survival Kit*, reveal the symbiotic interchange between 'alternative' Australian travellers and their 'Green Bible.'

In addition to positioning China as uncomfortable and Third World, Lonely Planet was critical of the Chinese people. Whereas Chinese politeness and honesty had been praised in set pieces throughout the Cold War years, co-author of the second edition of the *China* guide Robert Strauss wrote of 'tremendous battles' with hotel and other tourist staff, who he suspected were 'heavily into a 'be-rude-to-foreigners' campaign.'[48] The *Travel Survival Kit* even recommended that 'one way to cope with China is to limit your time there; leave before the people and the place get irritating.'[49] As the authors succinctly noted, 'you end up spending the first six weeks in China trying to make contact with the people and the last six weeks trying to avoid them!'[50] The guidebook therefore provided plenty of options for short-term escapes when one felt like 'shutting the door on it all,' highlighting the places where travellers could 'avoid the proletariat,' 'escape from the proletariat' or 'avoid the hoi-polloi.'[51] The guidebook advised travellers that they were 'almost certain' to reach the 'end of [their] tether,' driven there by the 'hassles' of 'too few resources and too many people.'[52] In the eyes of these 'shoestring gurus,'[53] travel to China

[44] Katherine R. Epelde, "Travel Guidebooks to India: A Century and a Half of Orientalism" (PhD Thesis, University of Wollongong, 2004), p. 165.
[45] Joe Greenholtz to Lonely Planet (undated), Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.
[46] Greg Bishop to Lonely Planet, 15 March 1988, Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 11.
[47] Chris and Jenny Hooker to Lonely Planet Publications, 4 April 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[48] Robert Strauss, 'Letter from Tibet', Lonely Planet Newsletter, undated, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[49] Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, p. 113.
[50] Ibid., p. 114.
[51] Ibid., pp. 89, 206, 209, 212.
[52] Ibid., p. 7.
[53] Vernon Ram, 'The Shoestring Guru: Backpacker's friend finds a changed China,' *Sunday Standard* (Hong Kong), 9 November 1986.

was so frustrating and so tough that backpackers could be excused for loosening their purse strings a little, 'if you care about your sanity.'[54]

The wry, world-weary tone of their 'gurus' fostered a culture of dissatisfaction and complaint amongst budget travellers that contrasted with the paeans of praise which had been the norm for visitors of previous decades. After three weeks in China in 1985, 'Hoon Koh' of Victoria advised future travellers that, 'contrary to the popular belief that one must be polite to the Chinese,' the way to 'get the Chinese guides to act was to shout and scream at them.'[55] Following Lonely Planet's advice, backpackers also developed strategies to escape the Chinese. Maureen Lynch, of Nunawading, Victoria, advised that, 'if you really want a breather from the Chinese take refuge in the Jinjian Club in the French Concession [Shanghai]...You can almost forget you're in China.'[56] Moira Neagle claimed that she 'couldn't stay in Guilin any longer than I absolutely had to. It's overloaded with people trying to rip you off.'[57] Gerard Yvanovich of Canberra advised others to avoid the Great Wall section at Badaling on Sundays, 'as it is swarming with tourists and locals.'[58] Others still echoed the key sentiment of *China – a Travel Survival Kit*, and were 'glad that we are not staying too long.'[59]

Negative generalisations were most commonly targeted at Chinese bureaucracy. Backpackers vented their frustrations about regulations dictating which cities were 'open' to visitors, some claiming that 'they are whatever they want to dream [up].'[60] Other bureaucratic features, including a two-tier system of payments that penalised foreigners, and the opaque operations of the state-run China International Travel Service, also came under heavy criticism. In contrast to the ostentatious obedience of fellow-travellers, backpackers were eager to overcome government restrictions. A favourite way of undermining the Chinese bureaucracy was by presenting a forged student card, and thus claiming discount rates on transport and accommodation. Another popular trick involved begging or bribing Chinese to buy tickets for them, at local price. Overcoming China's bureaucratic hurdles raised a traveller's status, and backpackers routinely bragged about their skills and creativity in duping the Chinese bureaucracy.[61]

By directing their spleen at China's bureaucracy, backpackers achieved two things. Firstly, an unwillingness to believe Chinese officials revealed a traveller's sophistication, as opposed to the

[54] Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, 89.
[55] Hoon Koh to Lonely Planet, 4 July 1985, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.
[56] Maureen Lynch to Lonely Planet, June 1985, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.
[57] Moira Neagle to Lonely Planet, 10 October 1985, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.
[58] Gerard Yvanovich to Lonely Planet, 27 December 1987, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.
[59] Bill and Fran James to Lonely Planet, undated (circa 1988), in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.
[60] Margaret Darnatt and John Kerr to Lonely Planet, 3 August 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.
[61] See for example Joe Greenholtz to Lonely Planet (undated, circa early 1983-85), in Records of Lonely Planet, p. Box 1, Folder 2; Gordon Bonin and Rob Menzies to Lonely Planet, 1 September 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.

inexperience of first-time travellers who naively paid the first price or accepted officials' refusals; secondly, it distanced backpackers from the fellow-travellers of the past. By the 1980s, the technologies of control by which the Chinese government managed overseas visitors had become popularly known.[62] A critical attitude towards government information, and a determination to question, probe and if possible, overcome official directives, signalled that a backpacker would not be satisfied with 'Chinese Shadows.' In their willingness to accept fantasies as a substitute for 'authentic' experience, fellow-travellers served as a foil for the 'authentic' experience sought by backpackers.

Thus, instead of travelling to China in order to forge bridges of understanding with the inhabitants of the People's Republic, Australian backpackers were more concerned with their status as travellers. Writing about his visit in 1981, journalist Simon Balderstone was proud to declare he was among 'the first foreigners' to buy a lower class ticket for the train trip out of Hohhot in Mongolia.[63] Similarly, in an article reviewing guidebooks to China in 1984, journalist Tony Derry could not resist mentioning that he had flown to Beijing 'on the first permitted Western air service of the modern era.'[64] The focus on being the first to travel to parts of China reveals the continuation of colonial-era discourses of discovery, as mediated by the Romanticism of the hippie trail culture, in the backpacker culture of the 1980s. Indeed, the resonance with colonial discourse was such that Lonely Planet's writers and readers regularly invoked overtly colonialist and racialised language. In an early manuscript, Alan Samagalski urged readers to 'get there fast or you won't be able to claim you're the first white man to score the hazy parts of the overgrowth.'[65] Although this sentence was omitted from the published guide, the tone remained, and *China – a Travel Survival Kit* and its promotional material was peppered with references to 'hordes,' 'yellow hordes,'[66] 'insectoid' rush hours,[67] 'little blue ants'[68] and 'coolies.'[69] The Chinese were described as 'the natives,' and as having 'a yellow face and slant eyes.'[70] Following the tone of the guidebook's authors, readers such as Keith Pearson, of Mount Waverley in Victoria, wrote letters complaining that 'millions of them all in blue,' could not be trusted ('watch your bags, your pockets'), and had to be addressed as inferiors ('Lookee there it is, you drivee along here, roundee here. Does anybody speakee English?')[71] The disparagement of Chinese people and use

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[62] For a full analysis, see Chapter 4.

[63] Simon Balderstone, 'Getting by in China', *The Age*, 16 February 1985.

[64] Tony Derry, 'Survival Kit for the Middle Kingdom', *Adelaide Advertiser*, November 21, 1984.

[65] 'General introductory material', undated manuscript, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.

[66] For example, see Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, pp., 112, 114, 288, 298.

[67] Ibid., p. 333.

[68] Alan Samagalski, 'More Mickey Mouse than Chairman Mao', *Canberra Times*, May 5, 1991.

[69] Samagalski and Buckley, *China: A Travel Survival Kit*, p. 310

[70] Ibid., p. 110.

[71] Keith Pearson to Lonely Planet, 25 February 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.

of colonialist language was a sharp departure from the extreme cultural sensitivity of previous visitors. Where fellow-travellers had been willing to ignore or explain away any unpleasant experience, the backpackers of the 1980s accentuated them, weaving them into tales of chronic hardships in order to boost their status as travellers.

As Chapter 6 has shown, travel status was only accrued if authentic travel experiences were adequately represented. The contemporary interest in China, along with the established tradition of fellow-travelling, meant that reports portraying it as a difficult and often disappointing destination received wide media coverage. The release of *China – a Travel Survival Kit* met with a very broad press, most of which was positive.[72] *The Australian* published a review which doubled as a mini-travel guide, advising readers that, while solo travel in China was 'rewarding,' it was also 'challenging,' 'an endurance test,' and certainly 'not for the faint hearted.'[73] Sydney's *Telegraph* claimed that backpackers were 'brave' to 'cope with' China, which was full of 'frustrations' and 'perplexity.'[74] These reviews had a wide reach: the *Telegraph* article was reprinted one month later in Warrnambool, in regional Victoria, and a variation reached Bendigo two months later.[75] Thus, the new, negative rumours of China were broadcast to a broad audience, many of whom would not have made the journey themselves. Along with media representations, word-of-mouth and 'bullshitting' served to spread the new rumour of a tarnished China, which challenged the rumours set by fellow-travellers.

The difference between backpackers' and fellow-travellers' rumours was so great that ensured that some questioned Lonely Planet's motivations in pointing out China's negative characteristics. Amongst the hundreds of fawning letters in Lonely Planet's files were also a smaller number of critical missives. Geoff Bender of Lilyfield, New South Wales, wrote complaining that *China – a Travel Survival Kit* was a waste of money, and had proven more 'hindrance' than 'aid.' Along with the book's inconsistencies, Bender was particularly displeased about its 'irrelevant clap-trap,' advising authors to 'leave the "comical" commentary to the Xmas office party.'[76] After decades of Cold War discourse calling for more positive perceptions of China, the new, cynical tone shocked many Australians. Some readers recognised that the guidebook influenced Australian travellers, and worried that a phalanx of rude, cynical backpackers could destabilise the Sino-Australian relationship. An experienced traveller herself, Jane Elias wrote to complain about her 'irritation and surprise and... anger' at the guidebook's

[72] A substantial collection of reviews and review articles is held in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 3, Folder 19.
[73] 'Solo travel is rewarding, challenging,' *The Australian*, 24 January 1986.
[74] Stephen Nisbet, 'A Chinese puzzle for backpackers', *Telegraph* (Sydney), 25 October 1986.
[75] Stephen Nisbet, 'Backpackers brave China,' *Warrnambool Standard*, 13 November 1986; Stephen Nisbet, 'Tourism sparks 'cultural revolution' in China, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 7 January 1987.
[76] Geoff Bender to Lonely Planet, undated (circa 1985), in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 2.

cynicism, which she was afraid would hinder any attempts to 'give the Chinese a more rewarding and positive attitude towards us.'[77] Humphrey Keenlyside, a 'foreign expert' living in China, begged the authors to revise their book in order to improve backpackers' behaviour, which he thought reflected badly on their home countries.[78]

This fear had broader currency, and Lonely Planet became the subject of a letter writing campaign in the English-language *China Daily* in mid-1986. Several Chinese readers complained that they found the guidebook to be 'extremely distasteful,' and 'insulting, to say the least.'[79] Particular focus was cast on the 'tone of Western superiority' contained in the guidebook's many comments about 'yellow hordes.'[80] A further letter, from a Swedish traveller who felt ashamed that 'Westerners could degrade themselves to produce 'rubbish' like this,' was more explicit, calling the book 'racist' and seeking its removal from bookshelves in an act of 'editorial sanitation.'[81] The strength of Cold War rhetoric, both in Australia and overseas, contested the emergence of more negative views of China.

Guiding Relations: the culture of complaint finds a wider audience

Backpackers' negative assessments of China also placed them in direct conflict with Australian government policy. Under the Fraser and Hawke governments, foreign relations had followed the path set by fellow-travellers, and focussed on fostering 'friendship' between Australia and China. Fellow-travellers' rhetoric had also influenced broader attitudes, and the 1980s were the highpoint of the 'China bubble,' by which legions of Australian ministers and heads of private corporations espoused idealised and, according to David Goldsworthy, 'romantic' views about China.[82] Coming at a time of broad enthusiasm for China, the backpackers' negative accounts reveal the extent to which their travel experiences and perceptions of the Other had been influenced by the culture of travel, rather than official policies of 'engagement' and 'friendship.'

However, as Australians became disenchanted with China, the cynical, complaining language used by backpackers began to be echoed in the media. The tipping point came with the Chinese government's brutal suppression of pro-democracy demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in

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[77] Jane Elias to Lonely Planet, undated, circa 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.
[78] Humphrey Keenlyside to Lonely Planet, undated (circa 1988), in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9.
[79] Mei Ango, 'Letters,' *China Daily*, published 2 August 1986.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Bernt Eriksson, 'Letters,' *China Daily*, 14 August 1986.
[82] David Goldsworthy, "Regional Relations," in *Facing North: A Century of Engagement with Asia; Volume 2: 1970s to 2000*, ed. Peter Edwards and David Goldsworthy (Carlton, Vic.: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Melbourne University Press, 2003), p. 141.

1989. In the aftermath of the massacre, it was clear that Australia's 'friend' had been disguising a deeper authoritarianism. The massacre came as such a shock that many Australians, including Prime Minister Bob Hawke, had intensely emotional responses to the Chinese 'betrayal.'[83] In this context, the backpackers' criticisms of the Chinese government, and their attempts to overcome its bureaucracy, suddenly became laudable; and their rhetoric was applied to mainstream reporting about the political and cultural situation in China. Discussions of Chinese secrecy, opacity, bureaucracy and authoritarianism, which (after a short run following the release of Leys' *Chinese Shadows*) had been largely muted during the heady enthusiasm of the 1980s, resurfaced with a vengeance once the scale of the massacre was revealed. Contradicting the rhetoric of engagement and China's increasing openness, and echoing Lonely Planet's attitudes, Sinologist Daniel Kane announced that living in China placed Australians 'under incredible pressure.'[84] The *Sydney Morning Herald* similarly reported on 'the Chineseness of China,' which it claimed was evident in 'the walls and screens holding foreigners at bay.'[85]Adopting the backpackers' rhetoric, China's essence, its 'Chineseness,' was again conceived of in terms of secrecy and duplicity. While this linked with earlier fears of Chinese inscrutability, it had been revived by the backpackers' vocabulary. Further, the backpackers' self-aggrandising rhetoric was also adopted by the Western media corps who were working to overcome the bureaucracy to discover the 'truth' of what happened at Tiananmen. In an early report, correspondent Peter Smark lionised the journalists who strove to overcome Chinese bureaucracy and propaganda. Tellingly, Smark wrote of the tone adopted by the best journalists, which was 'disrespectful, funny, cynical and never apparently sincere': the same characteristics as adopted by Lonely Planet.[86]

Thus, just as the fellow-travellers' rhetoric prepared the ground for the idealism of the 'China Bubble,' the backpackers' cynicism provided the language for the post-Tiananmen turn away from China. Lachlan Strahan has traced the dramatic shift in Australian perceptions of China which occurred during the 1990s, after Tiananmen had shattered 'China's gilded image.'[87] While he has recognised that Orientalist clichés were redeployed in the massacre's aftermath, it is important to note that much of the vocabulary of disappointment had a more direct forerunner, in the culture of backpacking in China during the 1980s. By retaining a space and a language for a more cynical view of China during the heady days of the 'bubble,' the backpackers of the 1980s prepared the ground for a broader disenchantment with China. Although the disillusionment was

[83] Ibid., pp.144-5.
[84] Cited in Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 302.
[85] Peter Smark, 'Defiant but doomed,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Spectrum, 26 May 1989, p. 77.
[86] Peter Smark, 'Beijing charms the reptiles of the press,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 28 May 1989, p. 13.
[87] Strahan, *Australia's China*, pp. 301-6.

arguably short-lived, the cynical and bureaucracy-weary tone pioneered by early backpackers continued as an undercurrent in mainstream discourse, which would never again soar to the giddy idealism of the 1980s.

Experiencing Asia: the mainstreaming of backpacking in Southeast Asia

While the culture of backpacking affected Australian perceptions and experiences of China, its effects were most profoundly felt in Southeast Asia, and particularly Thailand. The rise of Thailand as an 'alternative' travel destination was even more dramatic than China's. In 1974, only 5,778 Australians chose Thailand as their primary destination. By 1984, the trickle had increased to 19,800 (340% increase). A decade later, Thailand had arrived as a major destination, with 71,800 visitors in 1994 (360% increase on 1984; 1242% increase on 1974). This was assisted by the highly successful promotional activities of the Tourist Authority of Thailand, especially the 'Visit Thailand Year' initiated in 1987, and the 'Amazing Thailand 1998-1999' campaign.[88] The Thai boom continued throughout the late 1990s and, as Chapter 8 will show, continued to increase exponentially in the 2000s.

Although different travel styles are not visible in the statistics, and some Australians came to Thailand on package tours, it is evident that many also followed an 'alternative' or backpacker travel. Backpacking to Southeast Asia had become mainstream by the mid-1990s.[89] By 2003, Anders Sorensen found that 'South East Asia is the most popular region for international backpackers.'[90] The popularity of backpacking in Southeast Asia was such that it became institutionalised as a rite-of-passage ritual for Australian youth. As such, it was increasingly imagined within the broader trope that held travel as educational, offering a personal way of coming to know the world, which had been current since the Grand Tour.[91] As travel blogger for the *Sydney Morning Herald* website Ben Groundwater wrote as late as 2009, 'travel is education,' which ensures 'your view of the world changes dramatically.'[92] As it became more popular, backpacking came to be conceived of partly as an educational process, undertaken by young Australians coming to know the world. This conception of travel changed the relationship between travel and politics. As Chapter 3 has shown, travel was considered an outcome of political knowledge during the 1950s and 1960s, as travellers set out to Southeast Asia to engage

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[88] Cohen, *Thai Tourism*, p. 4, Erik Cohen, "Thailand in 'Touristic Transition,'" in *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change*, ed. Erik Cohen (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), p. 297.
[89] See Welk, "The Beaten Track.", p. 85-86;
[90] Sorenson, "Backpacker Ethnography."
[91] Ibid.; Noy, "This Trip Really Changed Me."
[92] Ben Groundwater, 'How to cure your xenophobia,' *Sydney Morning Herald Blogs*, 'The Backpacker,' 8 April 2009, http://blogs.smh.com.au/travel/archives/2009/04/how-to-cure-your-xenophobia.html, accessed 9 April 2009.

with locals, and thus bridge the divides riven by the Cold War. By the end of the twentieth century, backpacker travel was becoming considered an introduction to political knowledge for young people. The idea that backpacking through Southeast Asia provided a way of coming to know the world positioned tourism as a crucible through which foreign policy attitudes were forged, or a laboratory for foreign policy attitudes.

Further, as a result of its popularity, many of the rumours and discourses about Southeast Asia developed by the backpacking culture spread to become the dominant rumours about the region. These rumours then went on to affect the experiences of subsequent visitors (both 'alternative' and mass) as well as broader Australian perceptions and attitudes to the region. As the final chapter of this thesis will show, these attitudes came to have tangible political effects during a string of crises which hit the region at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Rumours of poverty

As in China, the culture of backpacking in Southeast Asia was mediated by the infrastructure of 'alternative' tourism, with Lonely Planet in the vanguard.[93] Indeed, as in China, many travellers claimed that their Lonely Planet guidebooks were indispensible, and many routinely referred to *South East Asia on a Shoestring* as the 'Yellow Book,' or their 'bible.'[94] Tourism scholar Jeff Jarvis considered Lonely Planet guidebooks to be so influential that he also referred to backpacking in Southeast Asia as 'Yellow Bible tourism.'[95]While recognising its dominance among backpackers, Peter Welk points out that Lonely Planet did not invent the Southeast Asian backpacker culture, but rather evolved in a symbiotic relationship with that culture.[96] It is nonetheless evident that Lonely Planet played a central role in the mainstreaming of backpacking, bringing its ethos of 'authenticity' to a broader range of travellers, and forging a sense of identity.[97] As the example of backpacking in China has shown, Lonely Planet often helped initiate novice travellers in the

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[93] While other alternative publishers including Rough Guides and Let's Go guides have also been influential, Lonely Planet has been the undisputed market leader for Australian travellers.

[94] The *South East Asia on a shoestring* guidebook originally had a yellow cover. Jeff Jarvis, "Yellow Bible Tourism: Backpackers in South East Asia," in *Down the Road: Exploring Backpacker and Independent Travel*, ed. Brad West (Perth: API Network, Curtin University of Technology, 2005); Welk, "The Lonely Planet Myth," pp. 82-94; Kenny, "'Our Travellers' out There on the Road." For examples of usage, see 'Anthony (Coolangatta, Qld.) to Lonely Planet, September 1987, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 8; Suzanne and Laurence Adelman (Rose Bay, NSW), to Lonely Planet, 25 November 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 9; Bernadette Heenan (Laidley, Qld.), to Lonely Planet, 4 January 1988, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 2, Folder 11; Robyn Workman and Colin Skinner (West Pennant Hills, N.S.W.), to Lonely Planet, undated, in Records of Lonely Planet.

[95] Jarvis, "Yellow Bible Tourism."

[96] Welk, "The Lonely Planet Myth.".

[97] Kenny, "'Our Travellers' out There on the Road."

mores of the backpacking culture, and its complex culture of status.[98] As a result, it also helped shape visitors' perceptions and conceptions of Southeast Asia.

John Hutnyk has analysed the process by which the rumour of a destination is transmitted by repetition, and comes to be accepted as fact.[99] Lonely Planet marked Southeast Asia as a worthy destination for 'authentic' travel. Much of this authenticity was based on the region's poverty, and its place in the 'Third World.' The 'authentic' nature of Southeast Asia was premised on notions of it being underdeveloped. Nick Kontogeorgopoulos has summarised the backpackers' view of authenticity in Southern Thailand as privileging the 'primitive, poor and pure.'[100] In this sense, the backpackers' idea of Asian authenticity continued the aestheticisation and commodification of poverty which had begun on the overland trail. Poverty was rendered into a tourist sight/site; indeed, it increasingly became encoded as *the* authentic Asian experience.

To segregate themselves from package tourists in Bangkok and Pattaya, backpackers in Thailand sought more 'authentic' destinations, particularly the mountainous regions of the nation's far north and the islands of the south, from the 1980s. These destinations were imagined as 'primitive', 'traditional' and 'authentic,' in the case of the former, and 'paradisiacal', 'untouched' and 'unspoilt' in the case of the latter.[101] Their popularity with backpackers spurred the development of 'alternative' tourist infrastructure, which commodified poverty and underdevelopment for tourists' consumption. This infrastructure was also premised on poverty in another sense, as Thailand's low cost of labour made it a cheap destination, and thus attractive for young travellers. The commodification of poverty in Thailand saw the development of a particular kind of 'staged authenticity' by which, for example, minority hill tribes were encouraged to present themselves as remote, primitive, and 'untouched' by Western influences.[102] The rendering of poverty as the 'authentic' Asia was particularly important in the context of travel's assumed role as the laboratory through which young Australians could come to know of the world, influencing their ideas about Australia's region. Young Australians setting out without a developed understanding of Asian culture or politics, who hoped to pick up some of that knowledge during their travels, became immersed in a travel culture which peddled rumours of Southeast Asia as underdeveloped, poor, and primitive.

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[98] Sorenson, "Backpacker Ethnography," pp. 13-14.
[99] John Hutnyk, *The Rumour of Calcutta: Tourism, Charity and the Poverty of Representation* (London: Zed Books, 1996), p. 42.
[100] Nick Kontogeorgopoulos, "Keeping up with the Joneses: Tourists, Travellers and the Quest for Cultural Authenticity in Southern Thailand," *Tourist Studies* 3, no. 2 (2003), pp. 183-6.
[101] Cohen, *Thai Tourism*, pp. 31-66, 151-178.
[102] Ibid., p. 38-66.

While rumours were largely communicated by 'alternative' guidebooks, travellers' tales could, in turn, influence guidebooks. In letters to the publisher, travellers beseeched the authors to include various warnings. Adopting Lonely Planet's authoritative tone, backpackers portrayed their unique, contingent experiences of as objective facts; in some situations, even rumours picked up from other travellers were represented as truth. Writing to Lonely Planet during their tour of Asia in the 1980s, Kerry and Michael Snyder presented personal experiences of theft as universal facts: at one homestay in Bali, for example, owners had 'a habit of entering rooms & taking money,' and food which had been paid for had 'a habit of disappearing.' Similarly, they claimed that Jakarta had experienced an 'increase in pack slashing on buses,' despite the fact that, this being their first time there, the couple had no basis on which to make a comparison.[103] Another letter, from Sydneysider Adam Coleman, aped the guidebooks' commanding tone to such a degree that it advised Lonely Planet to 'watch your stuff and <u>DON'T</u> take drinks or food from strangers.'[104] This process of in-crowd advice was institutionalised through Lonely Planet's newsletters, initiated in the early 1980s. Passages from readers' letters were scrapbooked by Lonely Planet staff to create a travellers' digest, which was posted to subscribers. Following the convention of one-upmanship inherent to travellers' 'bullshit,' the selected excerpts tended to be negative and wryly amusing.[105] Alongside horror stories of giant aggressive rats, teeming cockroaches and ostentatiously rude waiters were sweeping warnings which generalised specific problems to cities, countries or even the entire region. One such warning, for example, held that hotel rooms in Southeast Asia were 'riddled with peep holes,' which are 'everywhere!'[106] By transmitting these stories in its subscribers' newsletter, the publishers allowed rumours which had been passed along by unknown (often pseudonymous) travellers to take on the imprimatur of the Lonely Planet brand, and thus acquire a higher level of authority.

Once an individual tourist's experience of a theft or scam became presented as a general experience ('Jakarta – increase in pack slashing on buses. Also in pickpockets outside of banks. And watch snatchers on buses'), it could harden into a set of expectations for future travellers.[107] If the warning was repeated enough, it could calcify into a new 'truth,' especially if published in a guidebook ('While violent crime is very rare in Indonesia, theft can be a problem...pickpockets are common.')[108] This led to advice ('A money belt worn under your clothes is the safest way...Don't leave valuables unattended...hold your handbag or day pack closely...Always lock

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[103] Kerry & Michael Snyder, location unknown, to Lonely Planet, undated, in in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[104] Adam Coleman to Lonely Planet, 28 February 19, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[105] Chandra Mukerji, "Bullshitting: Road Lore among Hitchhikers," *Social Problems* 25, no. 3 (1978), pp. 241-52. For a full discussion of the way bullshit functioned on the hippie trail, the direct antecedent to backpacking, see Chapter 6.
[106] Mark Johnson – UK, published in Lonely Planet newsletter, date unknown, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[107] Kerry & Michele Snyder, address and date not supplied, to Lonely Planet, in Records of Lonely Planet, Box 1, Folder 1.
[108] Peter Turner et al., *Indonesia: A Travel Survival Kit*, 4th ed. (Hawthorn, Vic.,: Lonely Planet Publications, 1995), p. 126

your hotel room door and windows at night and whenever you go out, even if momentarily...Bring your own locks for dorm lockers and for those hotel rooms that are locked with a padlock.')[109] This advice then created an expectation of danger, theft and unscrupulous locals, which could alter travellers' perceptions of local inhabitants, and shape their behaviour. Although this process also worked in positive ways (rumours about 'perfect' traveller destinations also abounded[110]), negative rumours could be particularly effective in distorting interactions between visitors and locals.

Alternative becomes normative: mainstreaming backpacker discourses of Southeast Asia

The increasing popularity of backpacking saw its rhetoric infuse mainstream tourist rumours of Southeast Asia. Of course, the movement of ideas was more complex than a simple co-option of backpackers' rumours by the mass market. Backpacking had developed alongside mass tourism in Southeast Asia, and there were leakages and interchanges between the two forms from the very beginning. The similarity between 'alternative' and 'mass' tourism promotion could be striking. In the first edition of *South East Asia on a Shoestring*, Wheeler outlined his philosophy: 'tourists stay in Hiltons, travellers don't. The traveller wants to see the country at ground level, to breathe it, experience it – live it.'[111] Bill Dalton's *Indonesia Handbook* espoused a similar philosophy: 'If you're paying more than $US5 per day for a room you're being culturally deprived of first-hand experience with the Indonesian people.'[112] While this was standard fare for the 'alternative' travel industry, more surprising is the extent to which the same rhetoric was used in 'mass' tourism promotion. As early as 1977, Qantas' *Detours* magazine advised readers that 'if your idea of a holiday is two weeks spent peering through the tinted windows of a tourist bus, or a month or more of deck quoits and dinner-at-eight...well, DETOURS may not be quite your bag of plastic souvenirs. If, on the other hand, you think travel is all about experiencing what the world really has to offer , come on in and take a look around.' Introducing its writers, *Detours* claimed that 'they'd fly third class if it existed, stay ten weeks in a gaslit hotel room rather than two in a poolside cabana, eat at a roadside stall rather than a plush Western restaurant,' and concluded that 'they're travellers rather than tourists.'[113] From the late 1970s, the ethos of 'alternative' travel had also spread to the very heart of mass tourism. Mainstream operators such

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[109] Ibid., p. 126.
[110] The most famous fictional representation of this phenomenon is Alex Garland, *The Beach* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1997).
[111] Tony Wheeler, *South-East Asia on a Shoestring* (South Yarra, Victoria: Lonely Planet Publications, 1977), p. 13.
[112] Bill Dalton, *Indonesia Handbook*, 5th ed. (Chico, California: Moon Publications, 1991), p. 45.
[113] Philip Mason, *Detours: The Qantastic Alternative Travel Magazine*, no. 1 (November 1977-January 1978), p. 3.

as Jetabout began to offer 'alternative' or 'independent' package tours, which allowed some freedom of accommodation and transport within a package framework.[114]

The extent to which the modes of alternative tourism had come to dominate the culture of travel in Southeast Asia is clearly evident from the late 1980s and into the 1990s.[115] Indeed, after this period, it is hard to pry the 'alternative' from the 'mass.' By 1989, mainstream travel media recommended the backpacker enclave of Khao San Road as a base for all travellers, as it 'is part of the Asian budget travel vocabulary.'[116] From the 1990s, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade began to publish informative pamphlets for young Australians backpacking overseas.[117] The move to the mainstream was also reflected in the alternative travel industry. By 1987, Lonely Planet's guidebooks were regularly consulted in the travel sections of metropolitan and regional newspapers, with travel journalists recommending that readers 'buy a copy of the Lonely Planet guide: *Thailand – a Travel Survival Kit* and treat it like your bible.'[118] It was also featured in high-end and fashion magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*.[119] Lonely Planet broadened its corporate base during the 1990s, publishing guides to traditional mass-tourism destinations including Western Europe and the United States alongside its 'off the beaten track' titles. It also created advertising alliances with the multinational corporation American Express.[120] Other corporations serving the backpacker market, including the travel agents STA Travel and Trailfinders, also began to dramatically expand in the 1980s.[121] As the market grew, a number of companies specialising in 'alternative' and 'independent' package tours sprang to success. Melbourne-based Intrepid Travel began operating in 1989, and found a market with promises that its 'travellers [become] a part of country - and not just tourists looking in.'[122] Four years later, Travel Indochina began to offer 'small group journeys' which similarly promised to 'escape the

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[114] For details of Jetabout's 'alternative' package tours, see the products described in *Detours: The Qantastic Alternative Travel Magazine*, no. 1 (November 1977-January 1978).

[115] For an analysis of the mainstreaming of one backpacking destination, Thailand, see Cohen, *Thai Tourism*, Cohen, "Backpacking: Diversity and Change," Cohen, "Thailand in 'Touristic Transition," and Philip Dearden and Sylvia Harron, "Alternative Tourism and Adaptive Change," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21 (1994), pp. 81-102.

[116] Elisabeth Mealey, 'It's all Thai to me,' *Sun Herald*, 'Holiday' section, 3 June 1989, p. 120.

[117] Pamphlet: 'Backpacking overseas? Some tips,' Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, date not known, Travel Ephemera Collection, National Library of Australia (henceforth NLA Travel Ephemera Collection).

[118] Elisabeth Mealey, 'It's all Thai to me,' *Sun Herald*, 'Holiday' section, 3 June 1989, p. 120.

[119] 'Travel Update', *Cosmopolitan*, April 1987, p. 22.

[120] 'Travel Wise 1: travel and money', American Express and Lonely Planet advertising brochure, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.

[121] STA's philosophy states: 'STA Travellers relish the journey more than the destination and they want to learn something from the people and places they visit. They are not content to just take in the sights through the foggy windows of a tourist bus.' 'Our Travellers', http://www.statravel.com.au/cps/rde/xchg/au_division_web_live/hs.xsl/sta_company_information.htm, accessed 6 May 2009.

[122] Darrell Wade, 'Our Story', http://www.intrepidtravel.com.au/about/, accessed 6 May 2009.

tourist traps to explore the essence of Asia's history, culture, natural beauty and, most importantly, her people.'[123]

Thus, the distinction between alternative tourism and backpacking on the one hand, and mass- and package-tourism on the other, was never clear cut. In Southeast Asia, the intertwining of the two modes reveals a far more complex scenario than has been recognised in tourism studies to date, in which the 'alternative' and 'mass' tourism industries developed in symbiosis. Further, it reveals that 'mass' tourists were influenced by the same notions of 'authenticity' as backpackers. By the late 1980s, the hill tribes of North Thailand were visited by approximately 100,000 trekkers per year, and this number grew substantially during the 1990s.[124] In 1995, the marketing feature of the Sydney Travel Show advertised such hill tribe visits, claiming that 'it is still possible to escape the madding crowds and find places untouched, let alone spoilt, by mass tourism.'[125] The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) began an aggressive marketing campaign from 1995 which billed Thailand as 'the adventure of a lifetime.'[126] The campaign was premised on highlighting the 'more untouched parts of Thailand' to a broader market.[127]

As the code of 'authenticity' became mainstream, so the rumour of Southeast Asia as a place of poverty and underdevelopment became adopted by a broader range of travellers. The idea that authentic Asia was poor and underdeveloped underpinned the growth of tourism to destinations including Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia. The influence of this rumour is also reflected in the growing popularity of voluntourism to the region. As Chapters 2 and 6 have shown, Australian goodwill towards Asian development had been expressed in the form of volunteer and/or humanitarian work since the early 1950s. During the 1990s, this goodwill became institutionalised, as the travel sector began to make linkages with NGOs to offer responsible tourism and voluntourism as a product. Westpac Travel initiated a 'Travel with a Purpose' campaign from 1992, linking with the Powerhouse Museum and World Wide Fund for Nature to offer tours through Asia.[128] Community Aid Abroad opened a not-for-profit tour company, One World Travel, which operated under the banner of 'responsible travel, respecting the people, understanding the culture, treading softly on the environment.'[129] In addition, a range

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[123] 'About Us': http://www.travelindochina.com.au/sites/travelindochina/home/global/about-us/index.aspx, accessed 19 February 2010.
[124] Cohen, *Thai Tourism*, p. 146.
[125] Cathy Mason, 'Beat a retreat', in 'Holiday: 1995 Travel Show', special marketing feature in *Sydney Morning Herald*, pp. 39-40, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.
[126] Brochure: 'Thailand, the adventure of a lifetime', Tourism Authority of Thailand/Travel Trade Marketing Feature, 1995, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.
[127] Brochure: 'Thailand, the adventure of a lifetime', Tourism Authority of Thailand/Travel Trade Marketing Feature, 1995, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.
[128] Westpac Travel, 'Travel with a Purpose' advertising brochure, November 1993, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.
[129] Brochure: 'Travel Wise Tours 1996-97,' One World Travel, 1996, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.

of voluntourism offerings began to sprout from the mid-1990s, and the phenomenon began to be documented in mainstream travel journalism.[130] Recognising the powerful symbolic message sent by Australians wishing to volunteer in Asia, the Australian government also initiated a range of new volunteer programs, including Australian Business Volunteers in 1981, Australian Youth Ambassador for Development in 1998, and the Volunteers for International Development Australia in 2005. These new programs were offered alongside Australian Volunteers International, the organisation which had grown out of the Volunteer Graduate Scheme of the early 1950s. By 2009, the Australian government had supported 12,000 volunteers in short-term placements across Asia and the Pacific.[131]

Of course, voluntourism's attraction was not purely altruistic. As Kevin Lyons and Stephen Wearing have recognised, voluntourism involves a significant 'fuzziness' which blurs the lines between volunteering and leisure.[132] In the industrial context, voluntourism was one of several experiential travel options which developed during the 1990s.[133] Further, according to Jim Butcher, voluntourism imbued prestige on the traveller, and thus was merely the latest incarnation of the centuries-long elitism of the traveller vs. tourist debate.[134] Indeed, ecotourism, responsible tourism and voluntourism companies overtly participated in a tourism market primed to consume rumours of Southeast Asia as a backward place. 'Responsible' tours marketed the fact that they could 'take you to some places where other travellers may not get to...this is experiential travel at its best.'[135] Even Community Aid Abroad's not-for-profit travel organisation, One World Travel, placed less emphasis on supporting local communities than on securing the most 'authentic' experience for its clients, marketing its destinations as 'as yet, unspoiled by tourism,' 'a beautiful country just opening up to the outside world,' and 'unspoiled areas of extraordinary beauty.'[136] Similarly, while espousing the values of 'Low Impact Travel,' Peregrine appeared more focussed on the 'impact' for future tourists, rather than the impact on local communities and the environment, explaining that 'at Peregrine, we have a responsibility to minimise the impact of our presence so that you can have the best possible holiday and others

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[130] See, for example, Lilian McCombs, 'Give a little and learn a lot,' *Sun Herald*, Travel section, 4 December 2005, p. 14; Kerry van der Jagt, 'Hedonism meets idealism,' *Sun Herald*, Travel section, 26 August 2007, p. 26; Louise Southerden, 'The feelgood factor,' *The Sun Herald*, Travel section, 11 March 2007, p. 20; Kevin Lyons, 'Travellers willing to give more,' *Newcastle Herald*, 27 April 2009, p. 53.

[131] Ludmilla Kwitko and Diane McDonald, *Australian Government Volunteer Program Review: Final Report* (http://www.ausaid.gov.au/partner/pdf/volunteer_review.pdf: AusAID, 2009), p. 1, accessed 2 June 2009.

[132] Kevin Lyons and Stephen Wearing, "All for a Good Cause? The Blurred Boundaries of Volunteering and Tourism," in *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism*, ed. Kevin Lyons and Stephen Wearing (Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CAB International, 2008), pp. 147-54.

[133] Cohen, "Thailand in 'Touristic Transition'," pp. 295-296.

[134] Jim Butcher, *The Moralisation of Tourism: Sun, Sand....And Saving the World?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

[135] Westpac Travel, 'Travel with a Purpose' advertising brochure, November 1993, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.

[136] Brochure: 'Travel Wise Tours 1996-97,' One World Travel, 1996, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.

can continue to enjoy the same precious experiences in the future.'[137] This was also the case with the government-sponsored programs, which developed glossy marketing material promoting personal development and adventure as much as benefits for locals across the region.[138]

As well as revealing the extent to which Asian poverty had become commodified as a tourist 'attraction' in itself, the popularity of voluntourism had a further effect, in symbolically linking tourism with altruism. Whilst recent academic work has begun to question the efficacy of voluntourism, mainstream and travel media have almost inevitably presented voluntourism in a positive light in Australia.[139] As the next chapter shows, the link between tourism and altruism came to take on distinctly political meanings in the twenty-first century.

Thus, the backpackers' search for 'authenticity' led to travellers developing a rumour of Southeast Asia as underdeveloped and poor. As the region became increasingly popular with mainstream tourists, this rumour began to spread more widely, and became the dominant image of Southeast Asia. This was significant in shaping Australian perceptions of its 'region' during the 1980s and 1990s. This bank of personal knowledge underpinned the vociferous debates about 'Asia' and 'Asians' which took place during the Hawke, Keating and Howard years. The dominance of personal 'knowledge' about Asia gained through travel and tourism to Southeast Asia also began to play an overtly political role following the string of crises which hit the region from the late 1990s, as explored in the next chapter.

The Pleasure Periphery

From the early 1970s, millions of Australians have headed to Asia for a beach holiday, professing no other motives than to relax and unwind. The beach holiday has introduced millions of Australian to a personal experience of Asia. Whilst the effect of such mass contact has been taken for granted, the sheer size of the industry, as well as the culture and experience of package- and sun, sand and surf tourism, have imbued the phenomenon with complex meanings.

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[137] Brochure: 'Guidelines for Low Impact Travel,' Peregrine, circa. mid-1990s, in NLA Travel Ephemera Collection.
[138] See the Australian Youth Ambassador for Development program's *Exchange* magazine, launched in 2007, which has adopted much of the style favoured by private voluntourism organizations.
[139] See, for example, Louise Southerden, 'The feelgood factor,' *The Sun-Herald*, travel section, 11 March 2007, p. 20; Kevin Lyons, 'Travellers willing to give more,' *Newcastle Herald*, Business section, 27 April 2009, p. 53; Lilian McCombs, 'Give a little and learn a lot,' *The Sun-Herald*, travel section, 2 December 2005, p. 14; Kerry van der Jagt, 'Hedonism meets idealism,' *The Sun-Herald*, travel section, 26 August 2007, p. 26.

Package and resort holidays to Asia developed far earlier, and were a far more popular phenomenon, than is commonly recognised.[140] Cruises through or to Asia had introduced some Australian to the region from the early decades of the twentieth century. The package tour to Asia was revolutionised in 1972, when Qantas introduced airfare-and-accommodation 'Jetabout' and 'Swingaway' tours offering nine days in Singapore or sixteen days in Singapore-Malaysia, for less than the equivalent return economy fare. The low rate unemployment and relative economic stability of the period, as well as the cheap labour costs in Asian destinations, meant that many Australians were well-placed to take advantage of the low prices. The 25,000 places offered in 1972 sold out in a matter of days, prompting Qantas to expand the tour the following year, offering a broader range of packages that included Thailand and Bali. The popularity of these package tours was such as to create a visible spike in Australian visits to Malaysia and Singapore, as evident in Figure 7.2.

Although the tourist 'bubble' of package holidays has been criticised by many cultural and tourism theorists, many of whom agree with the backpackers' view of authenticity, it is important to note that packages served as a comforting introduction to Asia for many Australians during the 1970s. The proliferation of how-to-travel manuals during this period reveals that organising flights, visas, transfers and accommodation was a difficult and confusing procedure for first-time travellers. The many books 'introducing' Asian nations to an Australian readership reveal that Australians were also unfamiliar with the cultural and social differences across the region.[141] In this context, guided tours showcased a nation's most significant sites in a way that was suitable for an inexperienced travel market. Jetabout-approved hotels and restaurants were staffed by experienced hosts who were accustomed to Western tourists and ways. They usually spoke English, and, being reliant on the tourist dollar, were mostly polite and friendly. Tour guides negotiated large, potentially threatening cities with ease, and were always available to explain any confusing aspects of the local physical or cultural landscape. Jetabout tours therefore minimised the potential for misunderstandings, and maximised the potential for Australian tourists to take home positive impressions of Asian lands and peoples.

The time saving factor of a guided tour was also crucial. Visitors' time was managed in such a way that one or two countries could be seen on a tour of nine or sixteen days, rather than the four to six months on the road spent by contemporary 'alternative' travellers on the hippie trail.

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[140] The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's publication on Australian relations with Asia, the only major analysis of Australian tourism to Asia in the context of the political impacts of tourism, only picks up the story in 1983. See Quilty and Goldsworthy, *Social and Cultural Engagement*.

[141] See, for example, Unice Carroll and Brian Carroll, *Going Overseas: An a to Z Guide for Every Australian* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1978).

Thus, the package tour effectively introduced Asia to a broader market of working people with only a week or two to spare, who may otherwise have holidayed in Australia or New Zealand. The great popularity of these tours shows that Australian travellers appreciated their gentle and efficient introduction to the region.

The Australian Invasion: Bali

Increasingly from the mid-1970s, package tours began to include a period of beach relaxation in their itineraries. Over time, package deals to Asian cities were joined by package deals to beach resorts. The Asian beach holiday became increasingly popular, and Bali soon became Australia's primary beach destination. Since the 1980s, this small island has attracted over 100 000 Australians per year, or approximately one-quarter of all tourists to Bali.[142] It is because of Bali that the numbers of Australian travellers to Indonesia rose as sharply as they did in Figure 7.2. Where 18,017 Australians nominated Indonesia as their primary destination in 1974, this number had risen by 487% to 87,900 only a decade later. By 1994, this number had risen to 214,200: a 243% rise on the previous decade and an increase of 1188% on the 1974 figure. Throughout this boom, the number of Australians nominating Indonesia as their primary destination was doubling approximately every five years. By 1998, Indonesia had overtaken Britain and the United States, becoming Australia's second-most popular travel destination after New Zealand.[143] The boom was one of holiday-makers. In 1996, the first year that the ABS included a statistical breakdown of the purpose of Australian travel by destination, only 12.5% of those travelling to Indonesia did so for business, with 76% travelling for leisure. By 2000, 53% of all Australians arriving in Indonesia arrived through Denpasar; a further proportion would have travelled to Bali after entering Indonesia through another port.[144]

Adrian Vickers has traced the development of Bali's rumour as a tropical paradise from the 1930s until the late 1980s. He has found that, throughout this time, most tourist images of Bali focussed on Bali's exotic culture.[145] In his 1969 travelogue, simply called *Bali,* Ronald McKie was consumed by the magic and mysticism of the island's culture, claiming that, 'after living among the Balinese, and absorbing something of their ineffable spirit, one can never be exactly the same

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[142] Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1989), p. 10.
[143] Compiled from ABS *Year Book* data.
[144] This figure was arrived at by a comparison of the WTO figure for all Australian arrivals in Indonesia (438,473) with the Bali Tourism Board's figure for Australian arrivals in Bali (231,739). World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, 2004; Bali Tourism Board, http://www.bali-tourism-board.com/files/Arrivals-to-bali-99-01.pdf, accessed 29 February 2010.
[145] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p. 2-6.

again.'[146] Indeed, McKie focussed on Balinese culture to the exclusion of all other factors, and did not mention Bali's beaches or other attractions. One year later, Sir Robert Blackwood recognised that Bali was becoming a major tourist destination, and wrote *Beautiful Bali* 'specifically and unashamedly for the use of the tourist.' Like McKie, however, Blackwood imagined that tourist would be most interested in the Balinese people, and so wrote his guide to 'ensure his [sic] intelligent appreciation of them.'[147] Although his guide concluded with a list of 'places of interest,' Blackwood did not mention any of the island's beaches, focussing instead on the inland sites where Balinese culture was performed.

As the tourism industry grew, this rumour of Bali changed. After the opening of the Ngurah Rai international airport in 1969, tourists from all over the world visited Bali in numbers. Much of the marketing from this period continued to highlight the island's exotic culture, a fact which led the major researchers of Bali's tourist industry of the 1980s, Adrian Vickers and Michel Picard, to focus their research on cultural tourism.[148] While the traditional rumour of Bali continued to attract some visitors, as evidenced by the growth of inland cultural tourism destinations including Ubud, the island's major hotel and resort developments focussed the tourist gaze onto the beach. This shift was encouraged by the Indonesian government and the World Bank, which shaped the Balinese tourism development program of the late-1960s, and placed the majority of tourism infrastructure facing the beach at Sanur.[149] The shift was confirmed and institutionalised in the development of Nusa Dua, an upmarket region of gated beach resorts, during the 1980s. Advertising for resorts at Nusa Dua inevitably promoted the resorts' luxury facilities, with mentions of Bali's 'artistic life' appearing only as an exotic sidelight in glossy brochures dominated by photographs of beaches and pools.[150] Although the rumour of Bali as an exotic, vital culture remained an element in the island's allure, it was increasingly offered as a sideline attraction, to be seen on a daytrip, rather than the major purpose of a visit.

From the 1970s, the typical Australian experience of Bali moved away from cultural tourism, and towards the model of a seaside vacation. Again, much of this shift can be traced to the initiative of the tourist industry. As a 1971 report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* explained, Bali was not only 'a multi-coloured landscape as seen in a dream,' but more importantly, it had become 'a matter of economics.'[151] In 1982, Jetabout offered a 9 day/7 night package including airfare

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[146] Ronald McKie and Beryl Bernay, *Bali* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1969), p. 8.

[147] Robert Blackwood, *Beautiful Bali* (Melbourne: Hampden Hall, 1970), p. ix.

[148] See Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*; Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1996).

[149] Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, pp. 116-133.

[150] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, pp. 192-3.

[151] Alexander Macdonald, 'Bali revisited – still island of escape,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1971, p. 27.

(departing from Sydney or Melbourne) and accommodation with daily breakfast, for as little as $487, at a period when the average male weekly wage was $338.80.[152] As White has shown, the low cost of services in Bali also made it attractive to busy working people and families, who wanted to relax and have their every need taken care of, whilst on holiday.[153] Indeed, airfare-and-accommodation packages to beachside resorts proved so popular that, by 1982, Jetabout offered many more inclusive tours to Bali than any other Asian destination.[154] Package tours encouraged a seaside experience. Jetabout offered accommodation exclusively on the beach: in 1982, it offered rooms at hotels in Sanur, Kuta and Seminyak; but not in Ubud or other inland centres.[155] Having pre-paid accommodation on the beach effectively limited many Australians' capacity to explore Bali's cultural attractions, most of which were inland, to day trips; as such, the makeup of tourist packages highlighted Bali as a beach, rather than cultural, destination.

The booming success of package tour offerings to Bali helped shift the rumour of the island away from its cultural to its seaside attractions. Where McKie and Blackwood did not even mention Bali's beaches during the period of World Bank-sponsored construction in Bali during 1969-1970, by 1972 Colin Simpson's *Bali and Beyond* read like an advertisement for Bali's beaches. Standing on 'a first-class room's balcony on the sixth floor of the Hotel Bali Beach,' Simpson wrote, 'the view was picture-postcard resort tropicality with coconut palms galore and the low tide baring a coral reef out where the deeper blue began.'[156] By 1974, Rae Hogan noted that many visitors came to Bali 'seeking escapism,' and so listed popular places to swim and surf, and the best souvenirs to purchase, alongside descriptions of Bali's dances and rituals in her *Guide to Bali*.[157]

Significantly, from the 1970s, Bali captured both the mass and the 'alternative' markets. The mass tourism boom in Bali developed alongside the hippie trail, which also positioned Bali as a beach paradise. The 'independent' travellers of the hippie trail initially preferred to stay in *losmen* accommodation rather than in Western-style resort hotels, but their interests were similarly focussed on the beach. The waves at Kuta increasingly attracted Australian surfers, and surfing magazines including *Tracks* enthusiastically spread the word about Bali's breaks.[158] The experience of resort and 'alternative' tourism was strikingly similar in Bali. Both conceived of the

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[152] Jetabout Holiday QH423, Qantas, *Jetabout Holidays Tours Manual* (Sydney: Qantas/Jetabout Holidays, 1982), p. 150; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Average Weekly Earnings, September Quarter 1982,' released 30 November 1982.
[153] White, *On Holidays*, p. 173.
[154] Qantas, *Jetabout Holidays Tours Manual*, pp. 135-82.
[155] Offerings for the 1982 season were the Sanur Beach Hotel, Bali Hyatt, Bali Beach Hotel, Alit's Beach Bungalows, Bali Sanur Bungalows and the Segara Village Hotel on the Sanur beachfront; at the Bali Oberoi at Seminyak; or at the Kuta Seaview, Petramina Cottages, Ramayana Seaside Cottages or Kuta Beach Club on Kuta Beach. Ibid., pp. 135-82.
[156] Colin Simpson, *Bali and Beyond* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972), p. 6.
[157] Rae Hogan, *Guide to Bali* (Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1974).
[158] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p. 187.

island as a place of beachside relaxation. Where hippies wanted to smoke dope and meet other countercultural travellers, mainstream tourists were attracted by the opportunity to relax and 'play at having servants for a time.'[159] For both groups, Bali provided a sense of 'colour' and a bevy of exotic souvenirs, but remained a backdrop to Western experiences, without a sense that engagement with the local people, their politics or their customs was necessary. In recognition of their similarities, the mainstream tourism industry quickly bridged the two phenomena, introducing 'alternative' travel to a broader market. As part of its youth-oriented Qantastic Tours, Qantas offered 'alternative' package deals to Bali alongside its 'mass' products from the late-1970s. Instead of pre-booked accommodation at a resort hotel, 'alternative' packages offered accommodation vouchers, which could be redeemed at a number of approved *losmen* across the island, and motorcycle hire. Thus, Bali's simultaneous development as a mass- and alterative tourist destination from the early-1970s encouraged an ever-growing number of Australian tourists to enjoy the island's sun, sand and sea.

As a result of this intense contact, Bali was a major conduit through which Australians experienced Asia in the tourist age. Again, the culture of travel helped shape Australian experiences of the island. Unlike package tours to Singapore and Malaysia, neither resort nor alternative tourism in Bali focussed on 'sights' to be seen, nor was it an active process of seeing, shopping, exploring and, occasionally, engaging. Although 'local' culture provided an interesting sidelight, the main focus of a Balinese holiday was the tourist's relaxation and pleasure. From the early 1970s, increased visitor numbers shaped a travel culture that situated Bali as a space of leisure, pleasure and relaxation, for Australians.

Sun, Sand and Schooners

As the number of Australians in Bali grew, the island became mentally annexed as an extension of Australia. Much of this occurred in the media. By the late 1990s, newspaper reports posited Bali as dominating the list of 'Australians' favourite playgrounds.'[160] Others wrote of 'Kuta's Aussie heartland,' which was attractive because 'Victoria Bitter is everywhere,' and the 'Kuta street sellers...speak their English with an Aussie accent.'[161] In 1998, the Australian Consul

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[159] White, *On Holidays*, p. 173.
[160] Greg Lenthen, 'Bali highest on list of Australians' favourite playgrounds,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1998, p. 3.
[161] Chris Johnston, 'A Bar called BALI,' *The Sunday Age*, 17 May 1998, p. 6.

in Bali, George Fraser, was cited in the tourism press that 'people in business have decided to bring the Gold Coast holiday to the tourists.'[162]

The annexation of Bali as a part of Australia was not merely a media phenomenon. Tourists, too, subconsciously appropriated the island, by the wholesale importing of Australian mores and culture. The blurred cultural space of Bali – at once Indonesian and uniquely Balinese, a Hindu island in a Muslim nation, and increasingly dominated by fellow-Australians – bred a sense that local mores were flexible, and all kinds of tourist behaviours tolerated. Vickers notes that, by the late-1970s, 'a kind of 'swinging singles' youth scene, characterised by loud music, drunkenness, and commercialising' had developed in Kuta.[163] This scene was celebrated in the 1977 edition of *South East Asia on a shoestring,* which claimed that 'Kuta is a little enclave where the most outrageous behaviour is tolerated, even found amusing.'[164] While mourning the passing of the hippy-era drug scene, the first edition of Lonely Planet's *Bali & Lombok – a travel survival kit* in 1983, noted that 'one drug has, however, been doing very well in Bali of late – alcohol.'[165] This 'scene' became a key experience for Australians during the 1980s and 1990s, and indeed led to the symbolic appropriation of parts of this distinctly Indonesian space as little parts of Australia. As Lonely Planet's *Bali & Lombok* noted, several bars were making 'a big pitch for the Aussie drinkers.'[166] One of the most popular night spots during the 1990s was called the 'Bali-Aussie', another called the 'Koala Blu,' (part of the Peanuts complex, this club was described by Lonely Planet as being 'rather like an Australian barnyard-pub.')[167] The popular Sari Club was 'always overflowing with Australian visitors,' and other bars sought to entice visitors with beer-drinking or vegemite-eating contests.[168] Organised pub crawls, whereby tourist buses transported revellers from one night spot to the next, saw a particularly Australian re-working of the traditional tourists' daytrip from the 1980s. The Australian-accented bar scene boomed. By the 1980s and into the 1990s, Bali had become the ultimate destination for a new type of Asian holiday, built around sun, sand and schooners. By 1995, the travel guide *Bali at Cost* described Kuta as 'a drinker's fantasy,' where 'short sun-filled days melt into hot nights of oblivion.'[169] A 1999 travel

[162] Cited in Chris Johnston, 'A Bar called BALI,' *The Sunday Age,* 17 May 1998, p. 6.
[163] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created,* p. 187.
[164] Wheeler, *South-East Asia on a Shoestring,* p. 56.
[165] Tony Wheeler and Mary Covernton, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit,* 1st ed. (South Yarra, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1983), p. 70.
[166] Ibid., p. 118.
[167] Reference to Koala Blu in Tony Wheeler and James Lyon, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit,* 4th ed. (Hawthorn, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 1992), p. 145.
[168] Lynne Maree Smith, *Bali at Cost* (Crows Nest, NSW: Little Hills Press, 1995), p. 109; Wheeler and Lyon, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit* , p. 145.
[169] Smith, *Bali at Cost,* p. 99.

profile noted that, in Bali, 'you can consume your own bodyweight in Bintang without breaking your budget.'[170]

The sun, sand and schooners model was again catered for by the tourist industry. From the late 1980s, Garuda Indonesia and Qantas heavily promoted package deals for 18-30 year olds. The advertising material highlighted Bali's party scene and tourist amenities, and made little mention of its 'exotic' culture at all. Advertising for Qantas' 'Troppo Zone: Bali's fun club for the 18-30s,' enthused that, 'if your idea of an unreal holiday is plenty of sun and beaches, parties where you can go wild with live bands and heaps of action, great discount shopping, excellent food, free water sports and non-stop action with a crowd of people all after the same things as you, then it's time for you to Go Troppo.'[171] Jetabout offered a similar arrangement, as did Garuda Indonesia's subsidiary, Bali Ocean Blue Club, which promised 'No kids or Boring Oldies' to mar the holiday.[172] As such, Kuta's nightclubs – rather than Ubud's culture or Denpasar's people – was the major attraction for a multitude of Australians from the 1980s. Although guidebooks continued to note that 'there is much, much more to Bali than Kuta,' and that 'to get any taste of the real Bali then you have to abandon the beaches,' it is evident that not all Australians were taking heed of the advice.[173] Rather than travelling to see, explore or engage with Bali, Australians travelled to it for the pleasures provided by the sun, sand and surf, and increasingly, booze and sex. As one young traveller was reported to say in 1998, 'it's a home away from home.'[174] As a result, Bali became embedded as the key point in Australia's pleasure periphery.[175]

The impact of the sun, sand and schooners holiday has been little investigated. While Vickers identified the trend in 1989, his broad focus on international tourism prohibited an in-depth investigation.[176] In his study of the Balinese tourist industry, Michel Picard only hinted at Australian booze tourism, focussing the bulk of his analysis on cultural tourism.[177] More work has been done on the international pleasure periphery, and especially resorts such as Ibiza and Cancun. From the moment they identified the existence of a 'pleasure periphery,' Louis Turner and John Ash pointed to its neo-colonial nature.[178] As Brian King has noted, resorts along the

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[170] Rachel Browne, 'Having a Bali high time,' *The Sun-Herald*, Travel Section, 2 May 1999, p. 76.

[171] Brochure: 'Bali Troppo Zone,' Qantas Holidays, 1993/1994. My thanks to Adrian Vickers for this source.

[172] See, for example, brochures: Garuda Indonesia, 'Bali Ocean Blue Club, for 18-35s,' 1988/89 and 1993/1994. My thanks to Adrian Vickers for these sources.

[173] Smith, *Bali at Cost* , p. 99; Wheeler and Lyon, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit* , p. 133.

[174] Cited in Chris Johnston, 'A Bar called BALI,' *The Sunday Age*, 17 May 1998, p. 6.

[175] Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), pp. 93-112.

[176] Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p. 187.

[177] Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p. 80.

[178] Turner and Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, pp. 93-112.

pleasure periphery 'exemplify stark disparities between Western elites, able to enjoy leisure and conspicuous consumption...and the local workforce, which must behave with neo-colonial servility towards white guests in compound-like settings from which they would otherwise be excluded.'[179] Brian King has further noted that islands have been imagined as sites of 'ultimate gratification' by Westerners.[180] In the words of 'Gazza,' a young Australian visiting from Port Hedland in 1998, 'This is Bali, my friend. Make a fuckwit of yourself, doesn't matter. What goes away stays away.'[181] The conception of Bali as the heart of Australia's pleasure periphery shaped Australians' experiences of and conceptions of Asia.

Mike Robinson has theorised that 'a deep-seated imperialistic assumption that large areas of the world exist solely for the benefit of tourists' becomes most evident at destinations on the pleasure periphery.[182] This assumption, evident in Gazza's words, meant that Australians' behaviour took little note of Balinese and Indonesian mores. One of the earliest examples of Australian behaviour going against social norms involved topless and nude bathing. Bali's traditional culture had once placed no taboo on toplessness; however by the 1980s, attitudes had changed. By 1974, Rae Hogan's guidebook advised that nude bathing was prohibited, and entreated tourists to be on their 'best behaviour at all times in strange places and circumstances.'[183] The next year, two Australian women, along with six Americans, were arrested for topless sunbaking in Bali, and sentenced to 20 days in gaol.[184] Signs entreating tourists to dress appropriately in government offices and temples began to appear around the island from the 1970s.[185] Local disapproval of tourists' behaviour also led to the development of anti-nudism campaigns during the 1980s. Despite such opposition, many Australians continued nude bathing. The first edition of Lonely Planet's *Bali & Lombok – a travel survival kit*, published in 1983, noted approvingly that 'bikini tops are a rare sight on Bali's beaches.'[186] Indonesian resentment simmered for years, periodically erupting into broad-ranging debate. Most recently, it sprang up as part of national discussions surrounding the controversial Indonesian anti-pornography bill, which was passed (with exceptions for Western tourists in Bali) in 2008.[187]

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[179] Brian King, "Resort-Based Tourism on the Pleasure Periphery," in *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies*, ed. David Harrison (New York: CABI Publishing, 2001), p. 175.
[180] Brian E.M. King, *Creating Island Resorts* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 167-9.
[181] Cited in Chris Johnston, 'A Bar called BALI,' *The Sunday Age*, 17 May 1998, p. 6.
[182] Mike Robinson, "Tourism Encounters: Inter and Intra-Cultural Conflicts and the World's Largest Industry," in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 43.
[183] Hogan, *Guide to Bali*, pp. 54, 70, 121.
[184] The sentences were reversed on appeal. 'Topless Bathing Appeal,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1975, p. 2.
[185] These signs were reproduced in guidebooks, including Wheeler and Lyon, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit*, p. 62.
[186] Wheeler and Covernton, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit*, p. 79.
[187] Ati Nurbaiti, 'House passes controversial anti-porn bill,' *The Jakarta Post*, 30 October 2008, www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/10/30/house-passes-controversial-antiporn-bill.html, accessed 23 May 2009.

A further point of cross-cultural conflict lay in the Australian drinking culture which had annexed whole swathes of Bali. While not necessarily conflicting with Balinese mores, this drinking culture challenged Indonesia's majority Muslim culture. By the mid-1990s, Michel Picard reported, stories of foreigners' licentiousness 'fill[ed] the Indonesian press,' suggesting broader disapproval.[188] The disapproval was recognised by some Australians; Steve Brooks' Balinese tourist novel, *Bali Sugar*, portrayed one character who pretended he was 'Norwegian or Argentinian [sic]' in order to disassociate himself from drunk and poorly behaved fellow-Australians.[189] The drinking culture was also tinged with colonial undercurrents: one of the most popular nightclubs in Kuta, the Sari Club, began to restrict Indonesians from its premises during the 1990s. Although reports of the details of this policy differ, with some sources claiming it was official procedure and others claiming it was an 'unspoken' rule, it is evident that the Sari Club enacted a form of neocolonialism by excluding Indonesian and Balinese guests, while retaining an exclusively Indonesian staff.[190]

Growing out of the 'hippy trail,' drug use on Bali was a further tourist activity which stirred tensions between Australians, Indonesians and Balinese. Indonesia's Suharto government was tough on drug use, and drug laws were strengthened periodically during the 1960s and 1970s. Nonetheless, Australians continued to use drugs in Indonesia. Some were caught, and faced heavy penalties. A 1976 crackdown saw twenty-one Australians arrested for drug offences, including Roy Tait, who faced the death penalty for attempting to smuggle marijuana through Bali's Ngurah Rai airport.[191] Despite the obvious disapproval of local authorities, Bali's party scene was premised on drug use. In the early 1990s, Lonely Planet touted Kuta as a destination for marijuana and magic mushroom highs.[192] A common belief that Indonesia's police were so corrupt that tourists could bribe themselves out of trouble fed a sense of impunity that no amount of police crackdowns could interrupt, and Australians continued to use and smuggle drugs through Bali into the twenty-first century.[193]

The dominance of sun, sand and schooners tourism in Bali evoked considerable angst amongst some Australians. In the media, articles about Bali often noted that the rapid development had negative impacts on the Balinese environment and society. Reports often followed the Paradise Lost trope, but some coverage isolated Australians' sun, sand and schooners tourism as the main culprit causing the degradation. Several reports portrayed the

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[188] Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p. 83.
[189] Steve Brooks, *Bali Sugar: A Tale of Tropical Love, God and Politicking* (Melbourne: Rawprawn Publishing, 2004), p. 8.
[190] Adrian Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed," *Griffith Review*, no. 1 (2003), p. 110.
[191] Hamish McDonald, 'Tougher line by Indonesia over drugs,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 November 1976, p. 7.
[192] Wheeler and Lyon, *Bali & Lombok - a Travel Survival Kit*, pp. 78-79.
[193] The string of high-profile drug arrests in the first decade of the twenty-first century is analysed in Chapter 8.

tourist scene in Bali as 'ugly.' Navel-gazing reports about the 'ugly development,' 'ugly Australians,' and 'ugly incidents' in Bali's Australian-dominated pubs revealed a recognition of the neocolonial imposition of tourism upon Bali's local communities.[194] As Rachel Browne noted in 1999, the ugliness highlighted the 'squalor of colonial-imposed tourism, the exploitation, the begging, the hard sell of appalling junk, squalid sex, the whole rotten disaster.'[195] Bali's large, open-air nightclubs, typically filled with young Australians, were singled out as particular sites for angst. As Christ Johnston wrote in 1998, 'this is the Bali that more sensitive travellers avoid. The Sari Club, a big, rowdy nightclub on the Jalan Legian, the heaving main road, is exactly what they hate about the new Bali. The cultured Australian...would deem it just another pitstop on a holiday from hell.'[196] As actress Lisa McCune revealed in a 1997 interview, she had spent some time in the Sari Club, and 'I felt a bit embarrassed sometimes standing near Australians. Their behaviour was a bit out of control.'[197] Thus, although Australians were coming to feel at home in Bali, an angst about the effects of the neo-colonial imposition of Australian ways on local communities – mediated by an underlying middle- and upper-class elitism – undermined their comfort within the travel press.

Recasting parts of Asia as Australia's pleasure periphery effectively depoliticised the experience. As late as 1984, David Cox and Betty Beath conceived of travel to Bali within the engagement discourse, encouraging Australians to holiday in Indonesia in order to develop an understanding of and affection for 'our neighbour to the north.'[198] In the context of the mantra of 'engagement' during the 1970s and 1980s, and the commonly repeated claim that Australia was a part of Asia, Bali presents a complex case. On one level, the fact that so many Australians were willing to travel to Asia, and not be overly concerned with the political significance of their journeys, signalled Australians' increasing comfort in their region. However, the distinct *lack* of political awareness also showed a growing intellectual disengagement from the region, at least by many 'ordinary' Australians. This mental disengagement was reflected in the simultaneous fall in the fortunes of 'Asia education' and the study of Asian languages – and Bahasa Indonesia in particular – which had been promoted during the 1960s and 1970s, but slid in popularity during the 1980s and 1990s.[199] The positioning of Bali as pleasure periphery encouraged Australians to

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[194] Ian Varrender, 'You're Welcome,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Travel supplement, 16 October 1999, p. 3; Doug Aiton, 'Paradise Regained,' *The Sunday Age*, Travel supplement, 3 September 1994; Rachel Browne, 'Having a Bali high time,' *Sun Herald*, Travel supplement, 2 May 1999, p. 76.

[195] Rachel Browne, 'Having a Bali high time,' *Sun Herald*, Travel supplement, 2 May 1999, p. 76.

[196] Chris Johnston, 'A Bar called BALI,' *The Sunday Age*, 17 May 1998, p. 6.

[197] Cited in Deborah McIntosh, 'True blue to Bali,' *Sun Herald*, Travel supplement, 19 January 1997, p. 78.

[198] Betty Beath and David Cox, *Spice and Magic* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1983), p. vii.

[199] John Legge, "Asian Studies from Reconstruction to Deconstruction," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 97-8; Murray Goot, "Speaking in

set political ideas to the side, and to relax in Asia without worrying about the local context. On one level, this depoliticisation of travel to Asia only led to a more profound sense of shock when politics did interfere with Australian holidays during the twenty-first century, as explored in the final chapter.

The prevalence of this unrestrained behaviour also had an effect on the way Balinese and Indonesians perceived Australians. Although a full study of Balinese and Indonesian perceptions of Australian tourists has not been conducted, Picard noted a significant rise in 'marked aggression against tourists, which sometimes led to killings,' in Kuta during the 1970s.[200] A 1976 survey cited by Picard found that the tourists' behaviour was judged to be 'entirely contrary to Balinese moral values and seemed to carry a risk of acculturation with dreaded consequences.'[201] The potential for Australian tourism to have a negative impact was noted within press coverage, including in the travel press. These tensions came to a head after the Asian Financial Crisis, the Bali Bombings of 2002 and 2005, and finally the Asian Tsunami of December 2004, a series of crises which had a deep impact on the Australia-Asia relationship, and which are the subject of the final chapter.

Conclusion

From the 1970s, Australian understandings of Asia changed at both political and personal levels. As politicians moved to engage and enmesh with Asia, millions of Australians began their own process of engagement through tourism. The first tourism boom to Asia began in the early 1970s, after cut-price holiday packages introduced hundreds of thousands of Australians to Southeast Asian destinations including Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. From its heady beginnings in the 1970s, mass tourism to Asia went from boom to boom, transforming Australian conceptions of Asia into a space for leisure. Thriving destinations such as Indonesia and Thailand were the most obvious examples of a broader trend, by which more Australians travelled to every Asian nation than ever before. From this period, Asia was no longer viewed simply through the prism of politics and diplomacy, but increasingly through the lens of personal experience. As a congregate of hundreds of thousands of personal experiences, Asia became a far more knowable, almost banal entity; Australia's pleasure periphery rather than the threatening north.

Tongues: Surveys of Opinion on the Teaching of Asian Languages," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), p. 118.
[200] Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p. 82.
[201] Ibid., p. 81.

The growth of the tourist industry introduced new parts of Asia to Australian experience, offering a glimpse at the diversity of cultures and lifestyles across a region that had once been imagined as a unitary 'Orient.' Where previously Australians had largely limited their travels to the former British colonies of Singapore and Hong Kong, Australian tourists – especially in the guise of backpacking 'travellers' – 'discovered' new parts of Asia from the 1970s. The rhetoric of authenticity led tourists to seek out new, untouristed destinations, thereby bringing broader swathes of Asia within the tourist fold. The growing popularity of 'alternative' and niche forms of tourism further fractured a singular experience of Asia, making the notion of a generic Asia more tenuous. At the same time, however, a contradictory phenomenon saw the development of an image of 'Southeast Asia.' Growing from the culture of backpacking, and its intrinsic focus on the 'authentic,' this rumour posited poverty and underdevelopment as the central element of the entire region, rather than any nations in particular.

With notable exceptions, most Australian travel experiences were not consciously shaped as 'engagement.' Australian backpackers in China or Thailand or holiday-makers in Bali rarely travelled with a greater political end in mind; most did not seek to bring the people of Asia closer to the people of Australia, as many had during the Cold War period. They travelled for a less self-conscious, more selfish, reason: their own pleasure. On one level, this lack of self-consciousness is laden with meaning, revealing that Australians did not consider Asia as a different, dangerous world, or consider Asians to be inscrutable Orientals. Rather, their pursuit of comfort and pleasure in Asia reveals that this was a region with which, to paraphrase John Howard, they felt 'relaxed and comfortable'. The very banality of many travel experiences was significant in itself: from the 1970s, millions of 'ordinary' Australians felt increasingly at home in Asia, a goal that pro-engagement figures had been working towards since the 1950s. However, there is another level of meaning, which takes account of the fact that Australians' comfort came at a cost. As Richard White has pointed out, Australian holiday patterns changed from the 1970s, towards an increasingly comfortable model that demanded high levels of service.[202] The fact that more Australians were travelling to Asia indicates that many sought to take advantage of its lower labour costs, to achieve a higher level of pampering and luxury than they could afford at home. Rather than feeling comfortable in another's country, some Australians travelled to Asia feeling a sense of their (economic) supremacy. In doing so, they translated colonialist modes into a post-colonial, postmodern context, and imprinted their experiences with neocolonial meanings.

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[202] White, *On Holidays*, pp. 172-3.

Further, in every popular destination, Australians' perceptions and behaviours were influenced by the culture of travel. From the cynicism induced by the backpacker culture in China in the 1980s, the images arising out of 'alternative' travel to Southeast Asia in the 1990s, and the casual hedonism of 'sun, sea and schooners' holidays in Bali, Australian experiences of Asia were heavily mediated by the tourism industry during the last three decades of the twentieth century. This did not render the political meanings of travel to Asia impotent. Indeed, rumours encouraged by tourism had a complex relationship to Australian political views. In some cases, Asian tourism provided the vocabulary for political debate in Australia. The language and attitudes of backpackers in China was adopted more broadly after the Tiananmen Square massacre shattered Australia's idealised view of the People's Republic. Further, the focus on Southeast Asia's underdevelopment, and Bali's positioning as a quasi-Australian space, were overwhelmingly adopted by media and politicians in the wake of a series of crises which hit the region from 1998. In these times of crisis, travel rumours provided the discursive context in which the Australia-Asia relationship developed, a phenomenon which is explored in the final chapter.

8

Bombs, Gaols and Monster Waves: destabilising the pleasure periphery

Travel took on darker associations in the twenty-first century. The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-98 presaged a decade of political, economic and environmental crises across Asia. The use of passenger aircraft as weapons in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 lent a frightening undertone to leisure travel. The association between holidaying and danger hit home for many Australians after the Bali Bombings of 2002 and 2005. The widely-reported outbreak of SARS in late 2002 further confirmed the association between travel to Asia and danger, as did the Asian Tsunami of 2004. The drug-related arrest of Schapelle Corby, among several other high-profile arrests, evoked deepening anxiety from Australians worried about their safety as tourists. The string of crises foregrounded the extent to which Australians had come to relate to Asia through their identity as tourists by the end of the twentieth century. Both political rhetoric and media coverage presented the crises through the figure of the tourist. As the normative mode through which Australians had come to know Asia, the figure of the tourist was re-centred by both media and some politicians as a central symbol of Australian nationalism in itself. Popular responses to

Asian crises were also shaped by connections forged through tourism, as hundreds of millions of dollars were donated to those who had suffered at Australia's favourite tourism destinations.

This period of crisis reintroduced an overtly political element to Australian travel to Asia, but this time tourism itself was at the forefront of Australian foreign relations. Instead of following the path set by a broader political context, tourism had taken centre stage. The issue of managing travellers' safety overseas was a particularly loaded issue which affected Australia's diplomatic relations with nations across Asia.

Despite all the crises, Australian travel to Asia remained remarkably resilient. While much of the rhetoric around travelling to Asia had changed, the actions did not. Despite a constant stream of bad publicity, Australians continued to travel to Asia in staggering numbers. The Arc of Instability doubled as Australia's Pleasure Periphery.

Regional Instability

As the previous chapter has shown, Australians became comfortable with the notion of political and personal engagement with Asia during the last decades of the twentieth century. This sense of comfort was soon tested by a number of political upheavals, economic crises and natural disasters which hit the region from the last years of the twentieth century. The first rumblings of disquiet emerged during the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997- 98. Asian currencies declined by between 40% and 75% during the crisis, and stock markets plummeted.[1] The financial upheaval led to political instability across the region, and, most dramatically, exacerbated the fall of the Suharto government in Indonesia.

Although business travel to destinations including South Korea, Hong Kong and Malaysia fell, leisure travellers largely ignored the financial crisis, and the total number of Australians travelling to Asia rose marginally despite the instability.[2] The most popular holiday destinations posted a significant increase in the number of Australian visitors. A comparison of ABS and WTO statistics suggests that, while multi-destination travel with a stop-over in Indonesia fell, the number of Australians taking single-destination holidays rose. This pattern is confirmed by the relative stability of Bali's foreign arrival figures, compared to the whole of Indonesia.[3] As Michael

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[1] World Tourism Organization, *Tourism 2020 Vision*, vol. 3: East Asia and the Pacific (Madrid: World Tourism Organization, 2000), p. 19.
[2] While the total number of Australians travelling to Asia rose, the rate of growth slowed from 9.4% growth per annum in 1996 to 1.2% in 1998. World Tourism Organization, *Tourism Highlights 1999* (Madrid: World Tourism Organization, 1999), p. 6.
[3] Michael Hitchcock and I Nyoman Darma Putra, *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2007), p. 110.

Hitchcock and I Nyoman Darma Putra have recognised, a sharp fall in the Indonesian rupiah relative to the Australian dollar – precipitated by the Crisis – actually rendered Bali ever more affordable, and encouraged more tourists than ever. Enthusiastic articles in the mainstream travel press reported on Bali's increasing affordability as the 'cheerful' upside of the Financial Crisis.[4] As the *Sun-Herald* reported, there was 'barely a spare seat' on flights to Bali, 'as holiday makers continue to converge on cheap destinations and healthy exchange rates.'[5] A similar pattern emerged in Thailand, encouraged by a sustained promotion campaign by the Tourism Authority of Thailand.[6]

While economic crises did not affect Australian travel to a great extent, a number of political upheavals did impact on patterns of Australian travel. The imminent return of Hong Kong to the Chinese led to a travel surge in 1996, as Australians rushed for a final experience of British colonial life, and a sharp (albeit short-lived) fall in the years following the handover in 1997.[7] Similarly, the numbers of Australians travelling to Cambodia following the violent 1997 election campaign fell sharply.[8] A coup in Pakistan in 1999 had a similar effect.[9] Further, although Indonesia had weathered the Asian Financial Crisis, Figure 8.1 reveals it suffered a distinct downturn following the 1999 conflict in East Timor, which resulted in that nation's independence. Outcries about the Indonesian military's brutal suppression of East Timor's independence movement led to an attempt to leverage the political power of tourism through an organised 'Boycott Bali' campaign. As Vickers, Hitchcock and Putra have argued, this movement represented the first time that Australians recognised that their visits to Bali took place within the Indonesian political context.[10] Although it is impossible to tell whether it came as a result of an organised campaign or a more diffuse antipathy, ABS statistics reveal a downturn in the number of Australians nominating Indonesia as their primary destination in 1999 and 2000. The simultaneous rise of overall entry into Indonesia, as reflected in WTO statistics, reveals that although some holidaymakers to Bali stayed away, this crisis did not have a serious impact on Australian arrivals in Indonesia. Nonetheless, the 1999 'Boycott Bali' campaign was an important moment in the history of Australian travel to Asia, representing the first organised attempt by Australians to leverage their power as tourists. It is evident that, from the late 1990s, Australians

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[4] Ibid., p. 111.
[5] Debbie Neilson, 'Barely a spare seat to Bali,' *The Sun-Herald*, 30 August 1998, p. 31.
[6] Hitchcock and Putra, *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali*, p. 136.
[7] World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, World Tourism Organization, Madrid, various editions.
[8] World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, 2002.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Adrian Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed," *Griffith Review*, no. 1 (2003), p. 112; Hitchcock and Putra, *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali* , p. 113.

were becoming increasingly aware of the importance of tourism to the national economies of Southeast Asia, and began to recognise the political power they held as tourists.

Figure 8.1: Numbers of Australians travelling to Indonesia, 1989-2005. Source: WTO, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics,* various editions; ABS, *Australian Yearbook,* various editions. Note that the ABS records primary destinations only, whereas WTO records all entry.

Tourism and Terrorism

Travel acquired darker associations after four commercial airliners were used as weapons in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States. The scale of the attacks threatened the post-Cold War sense of order, and led to major reappraisals of policy at government level.[11] The extent of the shock was such that both the media and many 'ordinary' citizens came to conceive of September 11, 2001 as 'the day the world changed.'[12] In Australia, the political rhetoric surrounding terrorism was quickly focussed on the figure of the tourist. In the wake of the attacks, Prime Minister John Howard assured Australians that 'there's no evidence in front of me that suggests that anything is going to happen in Australia,' but warned that Australians' taste for travel did place them at risk, overseas.[13]

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[11] Christian Hirst, "The Paradigm Shift: 11 September and Australia's Strategic Reformation," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61, no. 2 (2007), pp. 180-190.

[12] See, for example, Geoffrey Barker, 'The day the world changed: the fallout for Australia,' *Australian Financial Review Magazine*, September 2005, pp. 96-7; Paul Monk, "The World Has Changed – What Do We Do Now," *Quadrant* 49, no. 9 (2005), pp. 35-40. For further analysis of this concept, see Lelia Green, "Did the World Really Change on 9/11?," *Australian Journal of Communication* 29, no. 2 (2002), pp. 1-14; Nesam McMillan, "Beyond Representation: Cultural Understandings of the September 11 Attacks," *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 27, no. 1 (2004), pp. 380-400; Christian Reus-Smit, "The Day the World Changed?," *Dissent*, no. 7 (2001-2002), pp. 7-10.

[13] Both cited in McMillan, "Beyond Representation: Cultural Understandings of the September 11 Attacks," p. 386.

As well as being highlighted in official rhetoric, the terrorist threat became increasingly tangible for travellers. Airport security across the world was strengthened, signalling to passengers that they were undertaking an activity that had the potential to attract terrorist attacks. Subsequent aircraft-based terrorist plots were thwarted in the United Kingdom in 2006, leading to further surveillance and strict restrictions on carry-on luggage. The visibility of anti-terrorist measures for travellers created a palpable focus for tensions in the post-September 11 environment.[14] As tensions began to focus around travel as a particular risk, economists predicted a worldwide fall of 15-20% in tourism arrivals as a result of the attacks.[15]

Australian travellers were clearly shaken by the terrorist threat. Overall, rates of Australian travel to Asia remained steady, falling only 0.3% from 2001 to 2002.[16] When this is contrasted to the three decades of strong rises which had preceded it, however, this figure reveals that the threat of terrorism did have a direct effect on Australian travel habits. Further, the pattern of travel changed, as Australians began to perceive a threat from Islamic fundamentalism, in Asia. Australian travel to all Muslim-majority countries in the Asian region fell by an average of 18% from 2001 to 2002.[17] Travel to Pakistan fell by 23%, to the Maldives by 21%, Indonesia by 15% and to Malaysia by 13%. Travel to nations with significant Muslim minorities also fell, though at a less dramatic rate, with India recording a 4% drop in Australian visitors, and Singapore a 2% fall. The Philippines proved the exception, with visitor numbers holding roughly steady. Australians also began to feel increasingly ambivalent about the popular holiday destination of Thailand.[18] By contrast, nations with no popular association with Islam enjoyed significant, and sometimes dramatic, rises in the number of Australian visitors in the year following the 2001 attacks. The whole of Indochina and East Asia recorded an average of 27% more Australian tourists, with Cambodia enjoying 117% growth from 2001 to 2002, Mongolia 54%, Lao PDR 32%, Vietnam 15%, China 14%, South Korea 12%, Japan 10%, Macau 6%, Taiwan 5% and Hong Kong 4%. Thus, despite the negative associations assigned to travel following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, Australians did not stop travelling to Asia, but many did begin to differentiate between what they considered to be 'safe' and 'dangerous' destinations by avoiding majority-Muslim destinations. This is consistent with behaviour displayed by travellers and

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[14] Mark Balnaves and Anne Aly, "Media, 9/11 and Fear: A National Survey of Australian Community Responses to Images of Terror," *Australian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 3 (2007), pp. 101-12.
[15] Philip D. Adams, Peter B. Dixon, and Maureen T. Rimmer, "The September 11 Shock to Tourism and the Australian Economy from 2001-02 to 2003-04," *Australian Bulletin of Labour* 27, no. 4 (2001), pp. 256-7.
[16] World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, various editions.
[17] Ibid. These statistics do not include the Muslim-majority nations of Bangladesh, which attracts only marginal numbers of Australians, and Brunei, for which statistics aren't available.
[18] Ibid.

tourists across the Western world in the post-September 11 period.[19] It also serves as further evidence that Australians did not conceive of one monolithic 'Asia,' but differentiated between regions and particular destinations, after thirty years of close tourist contact.[20]

This pattern was not to last, as a further crisis appeared to confirm the associations between travel and danger, and changed the shape of what were 'safe' and 'dangerous' destinations. The SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) epidemic broke out on mainland China in 2002, before spreading to 30 countries on six continents, the worst affected being Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Singapore and Canada. Travel was soon identified as a risk factor in the spread of SARS. On March 15, the World Health Organisation took the unprecedented step of releasing travel advisories advising tourists to avoid affected areas.[21] Over the following four months, from March to July 2003, reports continued to focus primarily on the danger to travellers, rather than locals. Airports, airlines, hotels and other travel infrastructure became the focus for SARS-related coverage, and airports introduced additional security features to identify and isolate infected travellers. The potential danger led to increased controls on travellers, as passengers' health and symptoms were monitored, and in some cases, entire plane loads of passengers quarantined to prevent the further spread of the deadly disease.[22] Again, the atmosphere of public anxiety focussed on the figure of the traveller.[23] The result was a near-collapse of tourism to East Asia in early 2003, with Bob McKercher finding that the numbers of tourists fell by approximately 70% across the region.[24] The SARS epidemic, therefore, saw East Asia acquire some negative associations of its own.

Bringing it Home: Bali Bombings

Although the 2001 attacks and SARS virus had some impact on Australian travel to Asia, it was the Bali Bombings of 2002 that had the most dramatic effect on Australian tourist behaviour. Late on the night of 12 October, bombers targeted Paddy's Pub and the Sari Club, two popular tourist nightclubs on Kuta Beach, killing 202 and injuring 209. Australia suffered the greatest number of casualties, with 88 dead. As John Howard stated at the Memorial Service held

[19] Jorge E. Arana and Carmelo J. Leon, "The Impact of Terrorism on Tourism Demand," *Annals of Tourism Research* 35, no. 2 (2008), p. 312.
[20] For the development of this pattern, see Chapter 7.
[21] World Health Organization, 'World Health Organization issues emergency travel advisory,' http://www.who.int/csr/sars/archive/2003_03_15/en/, accessed 26 February 2010.
[22] Bob McKercher, "The Over-Reaction to SARS and the Collapse of Asian Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 31, no. 3 (2004), p. 717.
[23] Tom Christensen and Martin Painter, "The Politics of SARS - Rational Responses or Ambiguity, Symbols and Chaos?" *Policy & Society* 23, no. 2 (2004), p. 19.
[24] McKercher, "The Over-Reaction to SARS and the Collapse of Asian Tourism," p. 716.

at the Australian Consulate in Bali one week after the bombings, the events of 12 October had 'shocked our nation to the core.'[25]

The shock was so deep because the attacks were interpreted as having targeted Australians. This interpretation of events was encouraged by the Australian media. Many commentators agreed with the *Australian*'s foreign editor, Greg Sheridan 'there can be little doubt that Australians were specifically targeted.'[26] Television networks punctuated the sense of shock by interrupting ordinary programming to present advertisement-free news coverage.[27] As Marita Surken has noted in the context of post-September 11 America, the media's suspension of advertising created a lacuna suggesting that the day-to-day life of the nation must cease so that full focus can be devoted to processing the shock and mourning the lost.[28] Media reports also foregrounded the connection between Australia and Bali, focussing coverage around the trope of terrorism at 'home,' 'our doorstep,' or 'our backdoor.'[29]

Although media practices routinely privilege 'hometown' angles for overseas stories, this trend was particularly pronounced in the coverage of the Bali bombings. In a broad analysis of over 500 articles reporting the bombings, sociologist Brad West has found that media presentations focussed 'on the suffering of Australians in Bali, paying little attention to the loss of locals and other international tourists.'[30] Indeed, in a quantitative analysis of *The Australian* and *The West Australian*, communications scholar Beate Josephi has found that 99% of all 'soft' coverage (analysing the bombings' impact on named individuals) focussed on Australians.[31]

The tendency to personalise the attack around the figure of the Australian tourist was not limited to the media. Government statements also betrayed a belief that Bali was more Australian than Indonesian. DFAT claimed that the attack 'brought home to Australia the global reach of

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[25] John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP address to memorial service, Australian consulate, Bali,' 17 October 2002, http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/10052/20021121-0000/www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/2002/speech1929.htm, accessed 14 July 2009.

[26] See Robert Schutze, "Terror in 'Our Backyard': Negotiating 'Home' in Australia after the Bali Bombings," *Crossings* 8, no. 1 (2003).

[27] The wraparound coverage in print media also ran largely without advertisements. In her study of coverage *The West Australian*, Beate Josephi noted that only one advertisement ran alongside Bali bombings-related coverage in the week following the event. See Beate Josephi, "Expressing Concern: Australian Press Reporting of the Bali Bomb Blasts," *Australian Journalism Review* 26, no. 1 (2004), p. 56.

[28] Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 53-54.

[29] See, for example, 'Terror hits Home,' special feature, *The Australian*, intermittently from 12 October - 15 November 2002; 'Bali terror on our doorstep,' special feature, *Adelaide Advertiser*, intermittently from 12 October – mid-November 2002; Paul Kelly, 'The Islamic front is at our back door,' *The Australian*, 19 October 2002, p. 30.

[30] Brad West, "Collective Memory and Crisis: The 2002 Bali Bombing, National Heroic Archetypes and the Counter-Narrative of Cosmopolitan Nationalism," *Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 4 (2008), p. 342.

[31] Josephi, "Expressing Concern," pp. 59-60.

terrorism.'[32] Similarly, the Australian Federal Police website referred to the bombing as 'Australia's September 11,' and not Bali's or Indonesia's.[33] As a result of the political rhetoric and the media coverage, some Australians were under the impression that all 202 victims were Australian.[34]

The bombings had a distinct effect on the way Australians perceived Asia. Vickers has argued that, before the bombings, Bali 'stood apart from the rest of Indonesia at the idyllic end of a spectrum in the Australian imagination.' After the bombings, however, Australians replaced it in its Asian context, into 'the Asia of danger where Indonesia proper is found.'[35] Sociologist Brad West has also argued that media reports distanced Bali from Australia.[36] Instead of being considered a de-facto part of Australia, Bali began to look increasingly unfamiliar in the wake of the bombings.

These new attitudes were not limited to perceptions of Indonesia, and a tendency to regionalise the attack was common to many politicians, the media and the broader society. In the wake of the bombings, John Howard and Alexander Downer referred to terrorism as a 'significant problem' throughout the entire Asia Pacific region.[37] They also identified Asia as a particular threat to Australia in claims that they would not hesitate to launch a pre-emptive strike against any Asian nation, if terrorism was suspected.[38] Kavi Chongkittavorn's study found that media reports also implicated the entire Southeast Asian region in the terrorist attack.[39] One tabloid commentator claimed that Australians should not have been so shocked by the bombings, as Bali was in 'Asia, where relatively few white people live and bombs seemingly go off like clockwork.'[40] The Bali bombings, therefore, began to shake Australians' new-found comfort in Asia, and rumours about Australia's pleasure periphery began to jostle with political and media reports portraying Asia as a dangerously unstable region.

[32] Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Transnational Terrorism: The Threat to Australia* (Canberra: National Capital Printing, 2004), p. 52.
[33] Australian Federal Police, *Bali Bombings 2002*, http://afp.gov.au/international/operations/previous_operations/bali_bombings_2002; updated 2 May 2006, accessed 6 February 2008.
[34] See, for example, EauSalee, *September 11 2007*, http://eausalee.livejournal.com/87212.html, updated 11 September 2007, accessed 6 February 2008; Danegerus, posting on Lee, *Right Thinking from the Left Coast*, http://right-thinking.com/index.php/weblog/comments/indonesian_railroad/, updated 28 May 2005, accessed 6 February 2008;
[35] Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed," p. 107.
[36] D. Cameron, 'Cheap holiday haven has a high price in the end,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October 2002, p. 2, cited in West, "Collective Memory and Crisis: The 2002 Bali Bombing, National Heroic Archetypes and the Counter-Narrative of Cosmopolitan Nationalism," p. 344.
[37] See, for example, 'Terrorism 'significant problem' in Asia-Pacific, Downer says,' in *Asian Political News*, 9 December 2002.
[38] Greg Sheridan, 'PM finds new way to lose friends,' *The Australian*, 7 December 2002, p. 17.
[39] Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Evaluating Western Media Perceptions of Thailand after the Bali Bombing," in *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Kumar Ramakrishna and See Seng Tan (Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, 2003), pp. 181-200.
[40] Nick Bray, 'The round-the-clock television coverage,' *The Courier Mail*, 19 October 2002.

Travel Advisories and the Arc of Instability

The Bali bombings evoked a distinct political response. The link between regional terrorism and tourism led to questions about the government's responsibility for Australians overseas. A Senate Committee found that, at the time of the Bali Bombing, 'probably not one' Australian in Bali realised that the official travel advice for Indonesia advised the deferral of non-essential travel.[41] In response to criticism, the Commonwealth government began to utilise the system of travel advisories managed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to a far greater extent.[42] In the days following the bombings, John Howard stated that 'the situation [in Indonesia] is, in our view, more dangerous now than it has been here at any time in the past,' and advised that 'unless you feel very strongly that you should stay, you should consider going back to Australia.'[43] In August 2003, DFAT's travel advice website, smarttraveller.gov.au, was launched with a $10 million publicity campaign.[44] In addition, travel advice was propagated by email subscription, through posters at DFAT offices and Australian consulates, a fax-back system, and through touch-screen kiosks in major Australian airports.[45] DFAT also launched the 'Charter for Safe Travel', a partnership program with the travel industry, by which travel agents dispensed DFAT's travel advice as prospective tourists made their booking.[46]

The government's efforts at developing a more forceful system of travel advisories proved extremely effective. DFAT's website was so popular in the wake of the bombings that it experienced technical problems caused by overloading.[47] Hits on DFAT's website rose by 60% in the year from June 2001 to June 2002.[48] By 2004-2005, the smarttraveller.gov.au website was recording 217 000 page views per week, a 32% rise on the previous year.[49] Newspaper articles also regularly relayed the government's advisories, thus making the information available to an even broader audience.

The public information campaign was designed to ensure Australians were aware of the risks involved in travelling to Asia. However, they also strengthened the perceived link between travel

[41] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002: Security Threats to Australians in South East Asia* (Canberra: Senate Printing Unit, 2004), pp. xiv-xv, 53. Travel Advice for Indonesia has remained at this level ever since September 2001, www.smarttraveller.gov.au, accessed 28 July 2009.
[42] For an example of criticism of government travel advice before Bali in the days following the bombing, see Mike Riley, Tom Allard and Marian Wilkinson, 'Why didn't they tell us what they knew?' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 19 October 2002, p. 5.
[43] Mark Baker, 'Get out now, says PM,' *The Age,* 19 October 2002, p. 1; Roger Martin, 'Howard's advice is to get out now,' *The Australian,* 19 October 2002, p. 6.
[44] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002,* pp. 53-4.
[45] Ibid., pp. 53-4.
[46] Alexander Downer, *Speech: 'Charter for Safe Travel'* Sydney: 11 June 2003.
http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2003/030611_safetravel.html, accessed 28 July 2009.
[47] Hilary Doling, 'Australians defiant as travel warnings grow,' *Sun Herald,* 3 November 2002.
[48] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002,* p. 55.
[49] Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Annual Report 2004-2005," Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/04_05/downloads/CompleteAnnualReport.pdf, accessed 29 July 2009, p. 9.

to Asia and danger. DFAT travel advisories followed Howard's rhetoric, and regionalised the perceived threat of terrorism. Within days of the blast, DFAT had amended travel advice not only for Indonesia, but also for Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore. On 25 October 2002, Alexander Downer raised the alarm that the Thai holiday resort of Phuket was a potential target for future terrorist attacks, and advised Australians to defer non-essential travel to Thailand, even though no credible threat had been identified.[50] Terrorism warnings were soon posted for almost every Southeast Asian destination, including those with little or no previous terrorist activity.[51]

The institutionalisation of DFAT travel advisories brought tourism to the forefront of Australia's diplomatic relations with Asia. The system of travel advisories came under strong criticism from Southeast Asian governments and tourism bodies. Critics argued that the advisories were unbalanced, questioning the rationale behind the relatively low level advisories posted for the United States of America and the United Kingdom, despite a consistent record of attack, and the relatively high levels of advisories for Southeast Asian nations that had little or no experience of terrorism.[52] This situation continued long after the 2002 bombings. In mid-2009, travellers were advised that the terrorist threat justified a higher degree of caution in Thailand (which had not suffered from a major terrorist attack targeting Westerners), than the United States and the United Kingdom, both of which had sustained multiple attacks.[53] The issue of travel advisories clouded Australia's diplomatic relations with Southeast Asian nations throughout the decade.[54]

By emphasising the terrorist threat in Asia, and downplaying similar threats in Western nations, the Australian government perpetuated the view that Australia was surrounded by an

[50] Michael Harvey, 'Megawati told no,' *Sunday Times (Perth)*, 27 October 2002, p. 4; Dan Pederson, 'Frowns appearing for land of smiles,' *The Courier-Mail*, 2 November 2002, p. 19.

[51] For example, see smarttraveller.com.au as archived on 9/1/2004 at http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/36139/20040109-0000/www.dfat.gov.au/consular/advice/index.html.

[52] Mark Forbes, 'Terror warnings spark angry Asian backlash,' *The Age*, 23 October 2002, p. 8; Jake Lloyd-Smith, 'Canberra slammed over travel warning,' *South China Morning Post*, 1 November 2002, p. 14; Mark Baker, 'Mahathir hits Australia on travel warnings,' *The Age*, 7 November 2002, p. 2; Mark Baker, 'Asian leaders rebuke Western nations over travel warnings,' *The Age*, 5 November 2002, p. 1; Amy Kazmin, 'Thai premier hits at terror warnings,' *Financial Times*, 3 November 2002.

[53] At 14 July 2009, the advisory for Thailand was at Level 3 (High Degree of Caution), while the advisory for both the United Kingdom and United States was at Level 2 (Exercise Caution), despite the fact that the wording for the United Kingdom was more severe than that about Thailand: 'The United Kingdom remains a potential target for terrorist activity, with terrorist attacks occurring in 2005 and 2007. UK authorities rate the threat level as 'Severe' which means that an attack is highly likely…' as opposed to this for Thailand: 'We continue to receive reports that terrorists may be planning attacks against a range of targets, including tourist areas and other places frequented by foreigners.', www.smarttraveller.gov.au, accessed 14 July 2009.

[54] See, for example, Tom Allard, 'Drop travel warning, Megawati urges PM,' *Sun Herald*, 27 October 2002, p. 56; Tom Allard, 'Megawati pleads: tell Australians it's safe to come back,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 2002, p. 6; Mark Baker, 'Asian leaders scorn travel alerts,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 November 2002, p. 1; Jennifer Hewett, 'Familiar rants need not deter Australia,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 November 2002, p. 13; Darren Goodsir, 'East Timor urges end to travel warnings,' *The Age*, 15 November 2002, p. 4; Mark Forbes, 'Rudd to face pressure on travel warning,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 2008. The most recent reiteration came during the recent state visit of President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, in March 2010. Yudhoyono was reportedly 'disappointed' that Kevin Rudd insisted on retaining strong travel advisories. See Philip Coorey and Hamish McDonald, 'Time for new spirit of trust,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 2010, p. 1.

'arc of instability'. Although the idea that Australia was threatened by its Asian neighbours dated back to the nineteenth century, the concept had become somewhat outdated during the days of 'engagement.' After the Bali bombings, however, the portrayal of Asia as an 'arc of instability' became increasingly common. Two days after the attack, the *Australian Financial Review* editorialised that the bombings had confronted Australians with the reality that they were living in an 'arc of instability.'[55] A key proponent of this trope was Kevin Rudd, then the Opposition Foreign Affairs spokesperson, with close links to DFAT. On 23 October 2002, Rudd spoke to the Sydney Institute about Australia's region, describing it as an 'arc of instability,' and an 'arc of insecurity.'[56] The media immediately picked up the message, with the *Age*'s Ross Gittins arguing that Indonesia was the heart of an 'arc of instability' on the same day.[57] Reinvigorated by both the Liberal government and the Labor Opposition, the notion of an 'arc of instability' became increasingly accepted after 2002.[58]

The trope of the Asia-Pacific region as an arc of instability was linked to tourism in the media. After the bombings, media reports suggested that travelling was the most dangerous activity Australians routinely embarked on: in the words of a commentator for the *Herald-Sun*, there was a 'war on tourism.'[59] The tourist was recast as a target for terrorists; as Howard had previously implied, Australians were in danger as soon as they left Australian shores. As Sharif Shuja noted in 2006, 'there seems to be a growing sense of recognition that the most serious terrorist threat we face is from terrorism in our region, not at home.'[60] Shuja identified John Howard as a central propagator of this discourse, however Rudd's strong use of the term 'Arc of Instability,' and the broader media coverage, all strengthened the notion that Australia's pleasure periphery was now a dangerous place.

The notion of an arc of instability portrayed the Asia-Pacific region as fundamentally insecure and dangerous. As such, it created a permanence around the sense of threat that followed the Bali bombings, and institutionalised danger as an endemic characteristic of an area which was still promoted as Australia's pleasure periphery. The term 'arc of instability' became popularised both in government and media reports; however, as Rumley has pointed out, the

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[55] Tim Dodd, 'Push for action will escalate,' *Australian Financial Review*, 14 October 2002, p. 8.

[56] Kevin Rudd, "Arc of Instability - Arc of Insecurity," *The Sydney Papers*, no. Spring (2002), pp. 105-19.

[57] Ross Gittins, 'Now, more than ever, we must engage with Indonesia,' *The Age*, 23 October 2002, p. 17.

[58] The trope became increasingly applied after 2002 in both government and academia, to describe the Asia-Pacific region. See Ron Duncan and Satish Chand, "The Economics of the 'Arc of Instability'," *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 16, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1-9.; Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffin, eds., *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2006); Robert Ayson, "The 'Arc of Instability' and Australia's Strategic Policy," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61, no. 2 (2007), pp. 215-31.

[59] Jill Singer, 'Now, a war on tourism,' *Herald-Sun*, 18 October 2002, p. 20.

[60] Sharif Shuja, "Australia's Response to Terrorism in the Asian Region," *National Observer*, no. Spring (2006), p. 56.

'arc' trope is a construct, and the region is by no means homogenously unstable.[61] Instead, the popularity of this construct reveals more about Australians' sense of insecurity in the region, than about the state of the region itself.[62]

Nostalgia and Paradise Lost

The logic of the Pleasure Periphery doubling as an Arc of Insecurity saw both the government and the media portray a new image of the Australian in Asia, positioning the tourist as a symbol of the threat to an innocent Australian nation. Both media and government used the figure of the tourist to emphasise that the attacks had been unprovoked attacks on the Australian nation. Three days after the bombing, John Howard referred to the Bali victims as 'young innocent Australians who were engaging in an understandable period of relaxation.'[63] At an Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting a fortnight after the bombings, a joint ministerial statement branded the bombings as a 'mass slaughter of the innocent.'[64] The trope of innocence lost also appeared in official publications. Two years after the attacks, the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee reported that 'the average tourist...regarded Bali as a safe haven.'[65]

In line with the conventions of media reporting of terrorism, the victims of the Bali Bombings were also presented as uniquely innocent within the mainstream media.[66] The obituaries published in many national, metropolitan and regional newspapers focussed on the fun-loving nature of many of the victims.[67] The *Hobart Mercury* wrote that the victims had been 'mostly young tourists, killed as they danced on a warm tropical night on a paradise island renowned for its peace, surf and laid-back lifestyle.'[68] Reports routinely lionised tourists' determination to enjoy themselves, presenting leisure as simultaneously innocent and, in light of the danger faced by the innocent, heroic.

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[61] Dennis Rumley, "The Emergence of Australia's Arc of Instability," in *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security*, ed. Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes, and Christopher Griffin (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2006), p. 18. For further discussion see Ayson, "The 'Arc of Instability' and Australia's Strategic Policy.", especially pp. 221-2.

[62] Ayson, "The 'Arc of Instability' and Australia's Strategic Policy," p. 228. See also Anthony Burke, *Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 209.

[63] Ross Peake, 'Foul, evil, vile and wicked – Howard,' *Canberra Times*, 15 October 2002, p. 2.

[64] Michael Harvey, 'Mass slaughter of the innocent' in Bali condemned as APEC summit ends Declaration targets terror,' *The Hobart Mercury*, 29 October 2002, p. 4.

[65] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002*, xvii-xviii.

[66] For a discussion of conventions of terrorism reporting, see McMillan, "Beyond Representation: Cultural Understandings of the September 11 Attacks," p. 388.

[67] An example cited by Josephi reads, 'He was a quintessential working class boy. He loved his footy, his mates and betting on horses. But most of all, Adam Howard, a 27-year-old professional punter from Double Bay, loved to party.' Josephi, "Expressing Concern: Australian Press Reporting of the Bali Bomb Blasts," p. 63.

[68] Lawrence Bartlett, 'Bali aftershocks take heavy toll,' *Hobart Mercury*, 26 December 2002, p. 28.

Families and friends who had lost loved ones used similar language, evoking the tragedy of young tourists being targeted while at their most innocent.[69] John Golotta remembered his daughter as an 'innocent girl...she had never done anything wrong.'[70] At a memorial service, Brian Deegan remembered his son as 'endearingly naïve, believing everything he was told, and trusting everyone.'[71] As the *Gold Coast Bulletin* reported, 'adding an edge to it all is that they were killed while at play - on holiday - when danger is least expected.'[72] In reporting the losses, the media recast the language of innocence onto Australia as a whole. The *Age* wrote that Australia as a nation was now 'scarred by the graves of innocents,'[73] and the *Herald Sun* despaired the loss of Australia's 'comparative innocence' along with its playground in Bali.[74]

In particular, the sense of a lost Australian innocence was retrospectively implanted onto pre-bombings Bali. Vickers has noted that the trope of Paradise Lost has been a dominant form shaping rumours of Bali since the 1930s.[75] Following the Bali bombings, this trope was again applied, but this time in reminiscences about Bali before the bombings.[76] While the trope of Paradise Lost continued to be employed in relation to Bali, the sense of what 'paradise' had been shifted. Whereas previous rumours posited 'traditional' Bali as a Paradise which had been destroyed by mass tourism, the post-bombings rhetoric presented the mass tourist experience of Bali as Paradise in itself. In mainstream media and popular discourse, the same nightclubs that had evoked angst in the 1990s were recreated as Paradise, which had been lost forever after the bombings.[77] Reporters mused about days spent on the 'carefree holiday strip,' back when there was 'no threat.'[78] The *Adelaide Advertiser* claimed that 'Bali, the virgin holiday haven, had been defiled.'[79] Reflecting on the pre-bombing situation, David Marshall, the father of a Bali victim, stated, 'I think Australians, as a whole, thought of Bali as the safest place on earth to be.'[80] During a memorial service, Evangelical priest Rev. Rob Sutherland nostalgically evoked the days when 'a holiday in Bali [was] not much different to a holiday on the Gold Coast.'[81] Deegan

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[69] Richard White points out that other tragedies which befall tourists on holidays, including road accidents, are often perceived with a heightened sense of emotion. See Richard White, *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 134-5.

[70] Michael Gordon, '50 days beyond Bali,' *The Age*, 20 November 2002, p. 1.

[71] Penelope Debelle, 'The agony of the first farewell,' *Sunday Age*, 20 October 2002, p. 2.

[72] 'When grief turns to anger,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 18 October 2002, p. 22.

[73] Michael Gordon, '50 days beyond Bali,' *The Age*, 20 November 2002, p. 1. See also Michelle Cazzulino, Cindy Wockner and David Murray, 'Evil and Innocence: the Bali bombing mastermind and a heartbroken girl robbed of her parents', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 November 2002, p. 1.

[74] Neil Mitchell, 'A nation on the edge,' *Herald-Sun*, 23 October 2002, p. 21.

[75] Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1989).

[76] Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed."

[77] For a discussion of Australian angst about Bali's drinking culture, and particularly the Sari nightclub, see Chapter 7.

[78] Derek Ballantine, 'Terror in paradise: national day of mourning – day by day – Diary Thursday,' *Sunday Mail*, 20 October 2002, p. 14.

[79] Rex Jory, 'Our haven defiled, our world changed,' *Adelaide Advertiser*, 15 October 2002, p. 18.

[80] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002*, p. 103.

[81] Cited in Mary Powis, 'A 'clear and obvious' evil,' *North Shore Times*, 23 October 2002, p. 4.

claimed he not only mourned the loss of his son, but also the loss of 'a fun-loving haven for Australian children.'[82] A recurrent theme was the nostalgic recasting of Bali as the place 'where our kids go to play.'[83] Ten days after the bombing, journalist Mary-Lou Cowdy longingly looked back at a Bali that had once been 'the ideal place to spread your wings on your first international holiday.'[84] In a longer essay titled *Bali: Paradise Lost?*, writer Emma Tom mourned the loss of her 'innocent' holidays, and mused that, 'like the blonde backpacker version of yourself at 21, the island of the gods had become unrecognisable' after the bombings.[85] Thus, while the trope had been first been used by government, and John Howard in particular, the Australian media perpetuated a period of national mourning for the lost 'innocence' of a holiday in Bali.[86] This reporting was so widespread that it led to a retrospective reappraisal of Australian tourism to Southeast Asia, as a whole. As the Cairns Post reported, the Bali bombings had been 'tourism's end of innocence.'[87]

Their nostalgic recollection of personal experiences in Bali led some Australians to conceive of the bombings as a personal 'betrayal.' In her essay, Tom used the trope of betrayal to articulate her confusion at how 'her' holiday paradise had become 'some incomprehensible new front of a war supposed to be confined to the deserts on the other side of the planet.'[88] The emotive and affective language of initial coverage suggests that Australians had retrospectively reconceived of their pleasure periphery as a 'sacred space,' a significant shift in Australian understandings of Asia.[89] As Brad West, Jeff Lewis and Adrian Vickers have noted, the language of Anzac, Australia's most important nationalist symbol, was consistently applied to describe both the 'sacrifice' of victims and the courage of survivors, by both government and media.[90] Indeed, some commentators claimed that, by targeting Bali, the bombers had struck at the

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[82] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002*, p. 111.

[83] Robyn Thompsett, cited in Peter O'Connor, 'For Australians, attack on Bali brings terror close to hone', *Associated Press Newswires*, 14 October 2002; 'Victim's mother,' cited in Jill Singer, 'Now, a war on tourism,' *Herald-Sun*, 18 October 2002, p. 20.

[84] Mary-Lou Cowdy, 'When heaven turned to hell, *Newsquest Media Group*, 22 October 2002.

[85] Emma Tom, *Bali: Paradise Lost?* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Pluto Press, 2006), p. 5.

[86] See, for example, David Mutton cited in Phil Smith, 'Australians struggle to cope with Bali bombing,' *Reuters News*, 17 October 2002.

[87] Chris Herde, 'Tourism's end of innocence', *Cairns Post*, 18 December 2002, p. 14.

[88] Tom, *Bali: Paradise Lost?*, p. 5.

[89] For a detailed analysis of emotion and affect in coverage of the Bali bombings, see Emma Hutchison, *The Politics of Post-Trauma Emotions: Securing Community after the Bali Bombing* (Canberra: Department of International Relations, RSPAS, Australian National University: Working Paper 2008/4, 2008).

[90] West, "Collective Memory and Crisis: The 2002 Bali Bombing, National Heroic Archetypes and the Counter-Narrative of Cosmopolitan Nationalism."; Jeff Lewis, "Paradise Defiled: The Bali Bombings and the Terror of National Identity," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006), pp. 223-42.; Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed." See also Schutze, "Terror in 'Our Backyard': Negotiating 'Home' in Australia after the Bali Bombings."

nation's 'heart,' revealing the symbolic power of the Australian holiday to Bali, which had developed in the thirty years before 2002.[91]

The Archetypal Australian and Asian travel

The nostalgia surrounding a perceived pre-bombings innocence led to defiant claims that Australians would 'not let the terrorists win' by curtailing travel habits. John Howard was a key proponent of a new discourse, which positioned travel to Asia as a symbol of Australian nationalism. During his visit to Bali, on 18 October 2002, Howard claimed that Australians had a 'birthright of freedom to explore the world.'[92] He repeated this at the National Memorial Service for the Bali Bombings at Parliament House on 24 October 2002, stating that Australians 'will continue to live the kind of lives that we regard as the birthright of all Australians.' Howard immediately linked this 'birthright' with travel, claiming that 'we will not be deterred from living our lives. The young of Australia will not be deterred from travelling in the years ahead.'[93] Indeed, travel was the only characteristic of Australia's 'birthright' singled out by Howard. As Howard reiterated at the Memorial Service held at the Australian Consulate in Bali, 'we will never lose our openness, our sense of adventure. The young of Australia will always travel. They will always seek fun in distant parts.'[94] Summing up in an interview with the *Age* a month later, Howard claimed that the tourists caught up in the bombings had been 'going about something that is quintessentially Australian.'[95]

This linking of the national character to travel to Asia was also prominent in the media. Within days of the bombing, media commentators insisted that 'we must not let it stop us being international citizens by inhibiting our overseas travel,' and advised young people to 'mourn, then explore the world.'[96] The *Herald Sun* made defiant claims that 'they are not going to stop us eventually travelling...because, if that happens, they've won.'[97] Writing on the National Day of Mourning, conservative commentator Piers Akerman noted that, although 'Bali has not been on my map for decades,' he 'would now consider visiting...to show that ordinary people won't be

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[91] 'Aimed right at Australia's heart,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 17 October 2002, p. 20. See also 'Distractions are what killers want.' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 24 October 2002, p. 24.

[92] Cited in Alan Atkinson, *Three Weeks in Bali: A Personal Account of the Bali Bombing* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2002), p. 97.

[93] John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, National Memorial Service Reflection, The Great Hall, Parliament House,' 24 October 2002, from http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/10052/20021121-0000/www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/2002/speech 1941.htm, accessed 14 July 2009.

[94] John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP address to memorial service, Australian consulate, Bali,' 17 October 2002, http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/10052/20021121-0000/www.pm.gov.au/news/speeches/2002/speech1929.htm, accessed 14 July 2009.

[95] Michael Gordon, '50 days beyond Bali,' *The Age*, Insight Section, 30 November 2002, p. 1.

[96] Nick Richardson, 'Mourn, then explore the world,' *Herald Sun*, 18 October 2002, p. 20.

[97] Leanne Woodgate, cited in Mark Buttler, 'Survivors wish an end to terror,' *Herald Sun*, 25 December 2002, p. 5.

cowed to submission by terrorists.'[98] One month after the attacks, even regional newspapers, including the *Northern Territory News*, ran features encouraging Australians to 'thumb our noses at those terrorists who have set out to destroy our sense of holiday travel overseas,' by continuing to travel to Bali.[99]

It is evident that some 'ordinary' Australians were also linking tourism with defiance in the face of the terrorist threat. Only a fortnight after the attacks, a *Sydney Morning Herald* article reported that Web 2.0 blogs and forums were filled with declarations that Australians would return to Bali.[100] This defiance continued to be expressed for some years through events such as the 'No Fear' party, which was held at the appropriately named Bali Aussie Bar in Legian on the night of the execution of the three captured Bali bombers, Imam Samudra, Amrozi and Mukhlas, in November 2008.[101]

Thus, in the emotional rhetoric following the Bali bombings, tourism had been posited as a central characteristic of Australian national identity, and the tourist became reformulated as a symbol of the ideal Australian: innocent and yet heroic. Following the Bali bombings, the tourist came to stand alongside the figure of the Anzac as a symbol of national identity. The Bali bombings repositioned the Asian holiday as a sacred space for the performance of tourism, which became re-imagined as a national trait.

Schapelle Corby: The Tourist's Innocence Lost?

The trope of Australian tourism to Bali as an embodiment of national character was internalised by a wide range of 'ordinary' Australians. Its popular currency was most evident in reactions to the arrest and trial of Schapelle Corby. Detained at Ngurah Rai Airport in October 2004 on charges pertaining to 4.1 kg of marijuana found in her luggage, Corby's passionate proclamations of innocence aroused a broad band of sympathy in both the Australian media and public. Much of the sympathy emanated from conceptions of Corby as an archetypal Australian tourist. Corby's defenders presented her as a typical 'Aussie tourist,' an image which had come to characterise 'innocence' after the Bali bombings. As an Aussie tourist, she was cast as an 'innocent abroad.'[102] She was repeatedly presented as 'just another tourist' before her capture.[103]

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[98] Piers Akerman, 'Clean out the snake pits and we'll play ball,' *Daily Telegraph*, 29 October 2002, p. 16.
[99] Col Newman, 'Don't let terror slam door on our lifestyle,' *Northern Territory News*, 13 November 2002, p. 11.
[100] Kirsty Needham, 'We shall return, vow blogspace defiant ones,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 2002, p. 6.
[101] Sarah Dougherty, 'In Bali, Australians are partying, no fear,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 November 2008, p. 7.
[102] Terry Wilson, 'Bali drug allegations just don't add up,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 27 October 2004, p. 23.

The fact that the drugs had been found in a bodyboard bag was emphasised, and encouraged reporters to imagine that she 'was looking forward to just hanging out and doing some bodyboarding,' or to conjure up nostalgic images of Corby's previous Bali holidays.[104] Reporters aligned her with the victims of the Bali bombings by routinely presenting her as an innocent tourist, who was also 'young,' 'youthful' or even a 'kiddie,' despite the fact that she was a 27-year-old divorcee at the time of her arrest.[105] The conscious presentation of Corby as a young tourist – the image of an innocent Australian – encouraged emotive reactions from Australians who recognised that 'this could be any one of us travelling to Bali.'[106]

The mainstream media was a central player in aligning Corby with the 'innocence' of Australian tourism to Bali before the bombings. As John Schwartz has noted, every major media outlet, with the exception of the *Australian* newspaper, presented Corby in an extremely sympathetic way.[107] In the months following her capture, and peaking around the time of her trial in May 2005, reports presented Corby as the girl next door, 'an ordinary Australian, [and so] an ideal figure for everyday media identification.'[108] Again, those aspects of Corby's past which did not correlate to this archetypal ordinary Australianness, such as her marriage to a Japanese man, and the years she had spent living in Japan, were glossed over. As Graeme MacRae has recognised, support for Corby hinged on a broad recognition that she could be 'one of our daughters,'[109] or, in the words of one caller to Neil Mitchell's 3AW talkback show, 'the daughter of Australia.'[110] It is evident that this feeling of association was fostered by the shared experience of a holiday to Bali. Much of Corby's power to stir the popular imagination came from her role as a representative of the Australian nation. Corby's story was popularly read as an allegory of the Australian situation in Asia: having innocently ventured into Asia, Corby had become implicated in international intrigues which she did not understand. The fact that Corby had had to 'wisen up' reflected beliefs that the Australian nation, too, had been forced to grow up in a

[103] For example, see Philip Cornford, 'Weighing the evidence,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 2005; Nick Squires, 'Tourist's drug case plea,' *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 April 2005, p. 19; Cindy Wockner, 'Schapelle Corby's Holiday in Hell,' *Herald-Sun*, 21 May 2005, p. 31.
[104] Tony Wilson, 'Waiting game weighing on Schapelle,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 8 January 2005; Paul Weston, 'Going by the board: friend tells of dope-charge surfer's cleanskin lifestyle,' *The Sunday Mail*, 13 March 2005, p. 13.
[105] Tom, *Bali: Paradise Lost?*, p. 7.
[106] Sharon Vogel, Nerang, 'Do something to save Schapelle,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 8 March 2005, p. 14.
[107] John Schwartz, "Pot and Prejudice: Australian Media Coverage of the Corby Saga," *Metro*, no. 145 (2006), p. 142.
[108] Stephen Crofts, "Media Constructions of the Schapelle Corby Trial: Populism Versus Multiculturalism," *Australian Journal of Communications* 33, no. 2/3 (2006), p. 8.
[109] Graeme MacRae, "Fear and Loathing in Our Own Holiday Paradise: The Strange Tale of Schapelle Corby (Et Al.)," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 17, no. 1 (2006), p. 80.
[110] Jackie, cited in Farah Farouque and Liz Gooch, 'The Bali Backlash,' *The Age*, 31 May 2005. See also 'The agony of a young woman and her family,' *The Canberra Times*, 5 February 2005; Bille Chatfield, Carrara, 'Schapelle could be anyone's child, so support her,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 10 March 2005, p. 56.

world of terror.[111] In this way, Corby also symbolised the emotional force of the nostalgia surrounding the loss of Australia's innocent Balinese holiday.

The media reports underpinned a much broader vein of sympathy in Australian society. As a result of her representing the 'innocence' of a pre-bombings Balinese holiday, many Australians came to feel deep, emotional connections with Corby. Complete strangers felt they were on a first-name basis with her, and Corby was almost universally referred to as 'Schapelle.' Making full use of Web 2.0 technology, members of the public suggested they considered Corby's 'Australianness' as synonymous with her innocence. As 'Brad' wrote on a *Gold Coast Bulletin* message board, Corby was 'aussie and innocent, 2 qualities that will see [her] home.'[112] Her Australian innocence, in the sense of unworldliness, led some to believe in her innocence in the case brought against her. As one blogger wrote on a ninemsn.com message board, Schapelle was just a 'girl from the Sunshine State, far from home, surrounded by strangers and a legal system beyond anything she knows'; innocent in both senses of the word.[113]

Thus, Corby became adopted as a symbol of the 'innocence' of pre-bombings Australia amongst supporters. This is evident in notions that support for her cause was an 'Australian' characteristic. Representing Corby's home constituency, the *Gold Coast Bulletin* was host to the most vehement attitudes. Its readers wrote to assure Corby that 'Australia unites' behind her cause,[114] 'the whole of Australia loves you,'[115] and that 'true Aussies are on your side.'[116] In similar language, other messages claimed that 'real aussies wont cop less' than her immediate release, and 'all real Aussies' should boycott Bali.[117] By the dialectic logic of nationalism, those who did not support her became branded 'UnAustralian.' Thus, Channel 7 was 'UnAustralian' for broadcasting a negative piece about Corby,[118] and even the Australian government, the sovereign representative of the Australian nation, was 'not true blue,' having failed to pressure Indonesia for Corby's immediate release.[119] Others invoked the Anzac spirit, aligning her cause with 'wot our anzacs fought 4.'[120] Her success as a symbol of nation stirred the blood of patriotic

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[111] For a deeper analysis of reactions to Corby's captivity, see Agnieszka Sobocinska, "Prisoners of Opinion: Australians in Asian Captivity, 1942-2005," *Australian Studies (Journal of the British Australian Studies Association)* 1, no. 1 (2009).
[112] Brad in 'Schapelle Corby – Messages of Support,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 14 May 2005. Grammatical and spelling errors as in original for all Web 2.0 posts.
[113] Lachlan McEachran, in *The Corby Trial: Have your say*, http://news.ninemsn.com.au/article.aspx?id=63349, updated 8 February 2008, accessed 8 February 2008.
[114] Glen Hogan in 'Schapelle Corby – Messages of Support,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 14 May 2005.
[115] Anonymous in 'Schapelle Corby – Messages of Support,' *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, 14 May 2005.
[116] Catherine in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 1 June 2005.
[117] Brad, in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 30 May 2005; Anonymous in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 30 May 2005.
[118] M Howitt in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 30 May 2005.
[119] Anonymous in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 1 June 2005.
[120] Anonymous in 'Schapelle Corby: Your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 30 May 2005.

Australians, leading some to extremes, professing that 'I would go to war for Schapelle,'[121] and that 'people are ready 2 die for this girl.'[122] The battle over what was 'really' Australian simmered throughout 2005, and exploded later the same year during the Cronulla Beach riots in December. Corby's captivity provided an early rallying point for 'real' Australians, and became a nostalgic symbol of the beleaguered nature of the innocent Aussie abroad. The vehemence with which the Australian public reacted to the Corby trial, which has puzzled commentators and academics alike, was largely a popular reaction against the 'innocence lost' in the Bali bombings, and a popular statement about the centrality of the tourist experience to twenty-first century Australian nationalism.

Innocents Abroad

The emotional resonance of popular nostalgia about the Balinese holiday was most evident in the public outcry over the Corby trial. This reaction strengthened the cast of media reporting, which began to routinely portray all Australian tourists, and particularly those in Asia, as 'innocent.' This coverage continued, even as a string of drug offences in Indonesia saw ten more Australians jailed in Bali, and a further Australian, Nguyen Tuong Van, facing a Singaporean firing squad for narcotics trafficking. Even in the face of the declared guilt of the Bali Nine, who were captured with kilograms of heroin that they had planned to smuggle to Australia, media coverage continued to argue that, although they were drug traffickers, 'they too were tourists.'[123] Similarly, the arrest of model Michelle Leslie on drugs charges in August 2005 instantly led to comparisons with Corby, and early media portrayals had conflated her role as a 'tourist' in Bali with innocence, resulting in headlines such as 'Model of Innocence.'[124] While exonerating the tourist, blame was apportioned to Asia itself, which was portrayed as inherently dangerous for Australians, due to its corrupt police and justice systems and poor conditions in jail.[125] In one article, Leslie was dubbed the 'new face of a Bali drug nightmare.'[126] The mood towards exonerating the responsibility of tourists, while condemning 'Asian' systems, was caught in a headline appearing in the *Sunday Telegraph* at the height of the Corby, Bali 9 and Leslie cases: 'How dealers target Australians – Naive tourists fall prey to Bali's flourishing drug trade as police

[121] Paul, 'Schapelle Corby: your reaction to the verdict,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 30 May 2005. Adrian Vickers has also traced the way in which the survivors of the Bali bombings were likened to Anzacs, in Vickers, "A Paradise Bombed."

[122] Anonymous, 'TXT: Schapelle Corby your reaction to the verdict', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 1 June 2005.

[123] Stephen Fitzpatrick, 'Back to Bali,' *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 7-8 February 2009, p. 13.

[124] 'Model of Innocence,' *Cairns Post*, 23 August 2005, p. 10.

[125] 'Asia's deadly drug trap,' *Hobart Mercury*, 27 August 2005, p. 25, Erin O'Dwyer, 'A hell away from home,' *Sunday Age*, 9 October 2005, p. 11.

[126] Sian Powell, 'New face of a Bali drug nightmare,' *The Australian*, 23 August 2005, p. 3.

hunt their next prize trophy.'[127] In the wake of the Corby and Leslie trials, even those who were clearly guilty were presented as victims of injustice. In one article, heroin smuggler Holly Deane-John, who had been incarcerated in Thailand for five years, was re-cast as an innocent 'trapped by an Asian crackdown.'[128]

The Bali bombings and the hysteria surrounding Corby's sentencing had created a new trope, by which the Australian tourist in Asia became the epitome of the national trait of heroic innocence. As a symbolic representative of Australia's national 'innocence,' the tourist in Asia became imbued with deeply nationalistic meanings, particularly when their innocence was placed under threat.

Touring the Tsunami

The dominant position of the tourist in twenty-first century Australian self-imagining saw subsequent political, natural and health crises throughout Asia understood through the figure of the tourist. This was particularly evident in media reports, and tourists were routinely portrayed as the representative victims of events in which they played only a marginal role. This pattern was particularly evident following the 2004 Boxing Day earthquake and resulting tsunami, which wiped out hundreds of towns and villages across the Indian Ocean littoral, killing over 280,000 and displacing a further million. The vast majority of those killed or displaced were Indonesians, Sri Lankans and Indians. A number of foreign tourists, holidaying at resorts in Thailand and Sri Lanka, also perished. Approximately 2,500 foreigners died in Thailand, with Sweden and Germany reporting over 500 deaths each. Among the dead were twenty-six Australians.

Information-gathering processes were hampered by the scale of the disaster, resulting in an inordinate media focus on a handful of missing tourists in the early days of the crisis.[129] However, even accounting for these difficulties, it is evident that the central news agencies responsible for relaying information to media outlets introduced a bias in the way they presented information about the tsunami's death toll. The day after the tsunami, Reuters reported that the death toll had risen to 11,300, but its headlines and digests focussed on the five Australians who had been reported missing.[130] The next day, the Associated Press Newswires placed the death toll

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[127] Ellen Connolly, "How dealers target Australians – Naive tourists fall prey to Bali's flourishing drug trade as police hunt their next prize trophy,' *Sunday Telegraph,* 28 August 2005, p. 4.
[128] Erin O'Dwyer, 'The truth behind bars,' *The Sun-Herald,* 9 October 2005, pp. 53, 56. See also Jim Kelly, '133 – That's how many lonely Aussies are locked up on drug charges overseas,' *Sunday Times (Perth),* 29 May 2005, p. 43.
[129] 'NSW: No reports as yet of Australians killed in Asian earthquake,' *Australian Associated Press General News,* 26 December 2004; 'Remote Australian islands hit by minor wave following earthquake,' *Associated Press Newswires,* 27 December 2004.
[130] 'Five Australians missing after Asian tsunamis,' *Reuters News,* 27 December 2004.

at 22,000; however, the information they passed on to media outlets also concentrated on the six Australians who were now confirmed dead.[131] The bias introduced by news agencies influenced media reports.

Although the difficulty of collecting and verifying information about the disaster was responsible for some of this bias, its extent and consistency, as well as its continuation even as more detailed information became available, reveals a determined focus on tourists at all levels of the media system. The majority of reports in all Australian newspapers presented the tsunami through the personal experiences of tourists holidaying in Sri Lanka or Thailand. The determined focus on tourists came despite the fact that many had only a limited grasp of the event's enormity. The earliest reports quoted tourists speaking of 'cuts and bruises.'[132] The focus on tourists led to intense media coverage of a Finnish boy who was orphaned by the tsunami in Thailand, which grew to such an extent that media reports claimed without irony that 'this blond, blue eyed boy is the face of the tsunami tragedy.'[133] Apart from reports about this one boy, much of the coverage was skewed towards the Australian angle. At its worst, non-stories which featured Australians were privileged, while reports about the tsunami's impact on Asian populations were ignored. One such non-story, published in the *Cairns Post*, detailed how a holidaying Australian stripper had slept through the tsunami after a night out drinking, and had awoken to find 'paradise turned into hell.'[134] Another, published in several media sources, ignored the growing death toll and instead focussed on the 'bizarre' story of a shark which had been washed into a hotel swimming pool by the tsunami, as told by an Australian tourist.[135] Stories about the impact on local communities across the Indian Ocean littoral were often sidelined in 'factboxes' listing the disaster's statistics, or contained within reports focussed on the Australian aid response. Through this determined focus on tourists and Australians, reporters were wont to minimise the impact of the damage across Asia, with one reporter claiming that the tsunami had gone 'unnoticed in the chaos of India.'[136]

The focus on tourists centred reports on a few popular holiday resorts, and particularly Phuket in Thailand, and so shifted it away from the areas in Indonesia and Sri Lanka where the

[131] Mike Corder, 'Australian death toll in tsunami disaster rises to six, government says,' *Associated Press Newswires*, 28 December 2004.

[132] 'NSW: Australian tourists recall devastation caused by earthquake,' *Australian Associated Press General News*, 26 December 2004; 'Aussies tell of quake devastation,' *Australian Associated Press Bulletin*, 26 December 2004.

[133] Editorial, *Herald-Sun*, 29 December 2004, p. 22; 'Tsunami's orphan – two years old and his family's missing,' *Daily Telegraph*, 29 December 2004, p. 1.

[134] Peter Michael, 'Big night out a lifesaver for party girls,' *Cairns Post*, 28 December 2004, p. 3.

[135] Gosia Kasubska & Amanda Banks, 'Amid the chaos – a shark in the pool,' *The Australian*, 28 December 2004, p. 7; Paul Anderson and Shelley Hodgson, 'Tourists fly home to safety,' *Herald-Sun*, 28 December 2004, p. 6.

[136] Edwina McCann, Katie Hamann, 'Scenes of despair go unnoticed in the chaos of India,' *The Australian*, 28 December 2004, p. 1.

greatest damage had occurred. As a result, much of the reporting rehashed many of the images and clichés that had gained currency after the Bali bombings. A common trope was, again, that of 'paradise' turning into 'hell' or 'hell on earth.'[137] Reporting also confirmed that Asia was an 'arc of instability,' in which nature, as well as politics, threatened Australian lives. As the *Canberra Times* reported, Southeast Asia was a 'region of tension,' in which 'Tsunamis [are] a part of life.'[138] The fact that such coverage was blatantly inaccurate (tsunamis are rare in the Indian Ocean), only highlights the influence of the diplomatic trope of Asia as an arc of instability, on media portrayals of the region.

Indeed, highlighting the impact on tourists was often an editorial decision. As the *Canberra Times* noted, Australians found it hard to empathise with those who were 'not people like us,' cynically imagining that 'natural disaster...comes fairly naturally to most of those who have suffered most.' Using such an idea, the newspaper justified its coverage of the experience of a minority of Western tourists with claims that it 'may help bring some of the disaster home.'[139] A further editorial noted that the disaster had 'acquired a particular poignancy because so many of the devastated places were tourist areas.'[140] Previous tourist experiences were recognised as points of connection for those who otherwise had no links with the region, and so reports focussing on Australian experiences were assumed to hold greater relevance to readers back in Australia.[141]

Tourism and Aid

The focus on the figure of the tourist did create a personal sense of connection between many thousands of Australians and the devastation caused by the Asian Tsunami. This sense of connection led to unprecedented displays of Australian empathy. By 30 December, a reported $20 million had been donated to 15 targeted fundraising campaigns for victims of the tsunami.[142] Within days, the Australian Red Cross had received $3 million in donations, with World Vision receiving $2.5 million.[143] Oxfam Community Aid Abroad launched an Earthquake Tsunami Emergency Appeal, which raised $1.5 million within 48 hours.[144] In total, the Red Cross raised

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[137] 'Tourists trapped in holiday horror,' *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 27 December 2004, p. 4; 'Wave of terror,' *Hobart Mercury*, 28 December 2004, p. 1.

[138] Steve Connor, 'Tsunamis part of life in a region of tension,' *Canberra Times*, 28 December 2004, p. 15.

[139] Editorial, 'To serve the national city and through it the nation: Tsunami must trigger help,' *Canberra Times*, 28 December 2004, p. 12.

[140] Editorial, *Canberra Times*, 28 December 2004, p. 13.

[141] Kimina Lyall, *Out of the Blue: Facing the Tsunami* (Sydney: ABC Books, 2006), pp. 238-239.

[142] Mark Phillips, 'Aussies donate $20 m to tsunami victims,' *Australian Associated Press Bulletin*, 30 December 2004.

[143] Ian Royall and Gerard McManus, 'Aussies donate $7m to cause,' *Herald-Sun*, 30 December 2004, p. 9.

[144] 'Oxfam thanks Australian donors for their support,' *Asia Pulse*, 30 December 2004.

over $128 million, World Vision raised $118 million, and Oxfam Community Aid Abroad raised $27.5 million.[145] The public mood for fundraising led to such high-profile events as the World Vision tsunami concert appeal, a telethon broadcast across all three commercial networks and raising over $15 million; and the Wave Aid concert, held in Sydney in late January 2005, which attracted a crowd of 50,000 and raised $2.3 million.[146] In total, post-tsunami fundraising generated approximately $260 million in donations.[147] The depth of Australian empathy was also evident in the unprecedented numbers of Australians volunteering to help in the humanitarian effort. Within days, the Australian government partnered with Australian Volunteers International (AVI) to launch a hotline for prospective volunteers. During the next three months, 10,393 Australians registered their wish to volunteer in the tsunami clean-up.[148] The public appetite for charity was largely motivated by personal connections made while travelling. The media focus on tourist resorts had strengthened the sense of personal connection to the disaster felt by many returned holiday-makers. The public response to the tsunami highlighted the broad range of personal connections which Australians had forged with Asia, over more than 60 years. These personal connections and empathetic links had a distinct effect on the way in which 'ordinary' Australians related to Asia, in the twenty-first century.

Further, the public response affected the government's aid package. The Australian government quickly pledged $10 million in relief funding, before lifting the figure to $35 million and then, as the scale of the disaster became clearer, to $60 million. In the weeks following the tsunami, Australians' donations began to attract as much media and public attention as the disaster itself. The government's effort began to pale in comparison to the scale of private donations. As fundraising continued to dominate public debate, the Federal government announced a $1 billion tsunami-related aid package to Indonesia on 5 January 2005.[149] The mood for giving grew to such an extent that criticisms of the 'comparatively modest contribution' of other levels of government began to be heard.[150] Partly as a result of the public mood, state governments also pledged significant sums, as did private organisations, including banks and

[145] 'Financial Update,' *Australian Red Cross*, www.redcross.org.au/ourservices_aroundtheworld_emergencyrelief_AsiaQuakeTsunamis_programsalloc.htm, accessed 20/8/2009; 'Asia Tsunami Disaster,' *World Vision*, www.worldvision.com.au/issues/Emergencies/PastEmergencies/Asia_Tsunami_Disaster.aspx, accessed 20/8/2009; 'Annual Report 2005,' *Oxfam Australia*, www.oxfam.org.au/about/annual_report/2004-2005.pdf, accessed 20/8/2009, p. 33.
[146] 'Millions pledged in tsunami benefit telethon,' *ABC News Online*, http://www.abc.net.au/news.newsitems/200501/s1278809.htm, accessed 13/8/2009; 'Waveaid,' www.waveaid.com.au, accessed 13/8/2009.
[147] Jackie Randles, "Responding to Disasters," *Living Ethics*, no. 59 (2005), p. 6.
[148] P. Arbon et al., "Australian Nurses Volunteering for the Sumatra-Andaman Earthquake and Tsunami of 2004: A Review of Experience and Analysis of Data Collected by the Tsunami Volunteer Hotline," *Australasian Emergency Nursing Journal* 9, no. 4 (2006), p. 173.
[149] Ravi Tomar, "Australia's $1billion Tsunami-Related Aid Package to Indonesia: Progress on the Eve of the March Ministerial Meetings," (Canberra: Research Note, no. 36, 2004-05, 7 March 2005, Parliamentary Library, 2005).
[150] See, for example, Editorial, 'Is Victoria Doing its Bit?' *The Sunday Age*, 9 January 2005, p. 16.

corporations.[151] As Marianne Hanson has noted, this was an 'unprecedentedly magnanimous' reaction that was not matched by any other nation.[152] Although the Federal Government's aid package resulted from a complex range of political and diplomatic motivations, it is evident that the empathy of the Australian public created a political environment demanding substantial official aid. The altruism of both government and private donations, encouraged by bonds forged through travel, therefore came to have a concrete effect on Australia's relations with Asia. Foreign policy experts have concluded that Australia's generous aid package improved Australian political relations with the region, both in the short term and in subsequent years.[153] In the wake of the Asian Tsunami, personal connections forged by tens of thousands of 'ordinary' Australians whilst on holiday directly affected both private and official foreign aid commitments, and began to shape official relations with the region.

Tourism as Aid

While only a relatively small number of Australians became personally involved in aid delivery, the travel media and travel industry began to co-opt the language of foreign aid, in order to promote travel and tourism as a form of economic assistance to the developing world. Indeed, after the crises of the twenty-first century, some stakeholders began to present tourism as a form of aid in itself. As Chapter 7 has shown, the rise of responsible tourism and voluntourism during the 1990s had begun to link leisure travel with broader discourses about aid and economic development. Following the Bali bombings, travel articles in metropolitan newspapers overtly linked tourism with aid, exhorting Australians that the best way to help the Balinese was to 'spend, spend, spend... you'll be doing everyone a favour.'[154] This rhetoric became increasingly common in the climate of giving which followed the tsunami. Again, travel journalism and the travel industry were at the forefront of this trend. As travel journalist Michael Gebicki wrote in the *Sun-Herald*, not only were Thai resorts cheaper and beaches less crowded following the tsunami, but 'it's hugely comforting to think that another glass of Singha beer, another foot massage or another night in a hotel is going to percolate through the economy to

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[151] Bianca Wordley, 'Australians dig deep to help survivors,' *Australian Associated Press Bulletin*, 28 December 2004; 'NAB sets up tsunami appeal and contributes $100,000,' *Australian Associated Press General News*, 28 December 2004.
[152] Marianne Hanson, "Issues in Australian Foreign Policy, January to June 2005," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no. 4 (2005), p. 565; Rizal Sukma, "Indonesia and the Tsunami: Responses and Foreign Policy Implications," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60, no. 2 (2006), pp. 213-28.
[153] Hanson, "Issues in Australian Foreign Policy, January to June 2005," p. 566.
[154] Michael Gebicki writing for the *Sun-Herald*, cited in Tom, *Bali: Paradise Lost?*, p. 65.

help the people of Phuket get back on their feet.'[155] James Reed of travel agency Destination Asia answered all queries about how to help in Thailand's reconstruction efforts by advising Australians to 'continue to support Thailand by promoting its beauty and its people and come on a holiday here.'[156] The logic of 'tourism-as-aid' was also propagated by the Thai tourist authorities, and in particular the Phuket Tourist Association, which began to publicise the need for tourists almost immediately following the disaster. In response, metropolitan newspapers highlighted the toll the tsunami was taking on the survivors, claiming that their most 'desperate need is a share of the world's tourist dollars.'[157]

The idea of tourism-as-aid was increasingly presented as the ideal solution to underdevelopment and poverty in the post-tsunami period. A stakeholder for this type of tourism, 'development entrepreneur' Lelei Lelaulu, claimed that youth travel was one of the world's 'most potent development tools,' and tourists should 'be mobilised to help developing countries combat poverty.'[158] This rhetoric effectively neutralised neocolonial critiques of tourism in the Third World, and assuaged any guilt which Australians may have experienced when faced with their comparative privilege on Asian holidays. While the rhetoric of tourism-as-aid was pushed most strongly by the travel industry and travel media, it was also adopted by some Australian tourists. Rohan Geyser of Townsville explained his decision to travel to Bali in the wake of the 2002 bombings with claims that 'the Balinese need us.'[159] As Andy Boucher, a member of a football team which lost several members in the Bali bombings stated on returning to Bali the next year, 'I don't think in this particularly instance with a community that's been very kind to us, we can say, "Sorry, we're not coming anymore."'[160] The tourism-as-aid phenomenon reveals that Australians held a great deal of goodwill and empathy towards Asia, some of which had been built up during holidays in their pleasure periphery. Following the successive crises of the early 2000s, many Australians sought ways to assist the residents of the tourist resort areas of Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka.

[155] Michael Gebicki, 'After the wave, a battle for business,' *Sun-Herald*, 30 January 2005, www.smh.com.au/news/Thailand/After-the-wave-a-battle-for-business/2005/02/16/1108500134125.html, accessed 9 March 2005.
[156] James Reed cited in Paul Edwards, 'After the tsunami,' *The Sunday Age*, 23 January 2005, www.smh.com.au/news/Asia/After-the-tsunami/2005/02/15/1108829995799.html, accessed 9 March 2005.
[157] Paul Edwards, 'After the tsunami,' *The Sunday Age*, 23 January 2005, www.smh.com.au/news/Asia/After-the-tsunami/2005/02/15/1108829995799.html, accessed 9 March 2005.
[158] Cited in 'Use Youth Travel to fight poverty urges development experts [sic],' *Travel Mole News*, 1 October 2009, http://www.travelmole.com/printable.php?id=1138715, accessed 1 October 2009.
[159] Rohan Geyser, cited in Marian Carroll, 'The buzz is back,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 December 2004, www.smh.com.au/news/Indonesia/The-buzz-is-back/2004/12/06/1107228687818.html, accessed 9 March 2005.
[160] Andy Boucher, cited in Eric Unmacht, 'Kuta bounces back,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 2005, www.smg.com.au/news/indonesia/kuta-bounces-back/2005/07/08/1120704555504.html, accessed 10 July 2005.

However, the outpourings of aid to tourist centres were not entirely altruistic, and some tourists' claims that they travelled to assist the local people acted as justifications for their continuing desire for neocolonial pleasures, within a society rendered even more economically desperate through economic or natural disasters. Indeed, the concept of travel-as-aid and travel-as-nationalism nullified much of the angst accompanying the neocolonialist claiming of Bali as Australia's 'backyard.' One year after the first Bali bombing, a *Sydney Morning Herald* travel article gushed that 'there's never been a better time to get a bargain in Bali,' explaining that this was because 'the Balinese are understandably desperate to revive the tourism industry on which more than half their economy relies.' The writer blithely described the bargains she had managed to negotiate as a result of this desperation, as 'everyone at the roadside stalls and craft shops was desperate to bargain – one lady appeared ready to weep when we refused to name our price on a painting.'[161] Reports about the newly-affordable luxuries gushed about the 'super-friendly' staff, listing the many things they would do to serve Australian tourists.[162] As Lisa Brigid Mackey enthused in the *Sydney Morning Herald* travel supplement, 'staying in a luxury, five-star resort is nothing to be ashamed of.' Continuing on, Mackey noted that 'people say luxury hotels damage impoverished environments, exporting profits...But let them make their own decisions; we do. Colonialism is passé.'[163] By 2009, a mainstream travel journalist casually referred to Bali as 'a lucky country colony,' and blithely noted that this colonialism was now being spread to other beach destinations in Asia, notably Phuket in Thailand.[164] Now that, at some level, Australians' journeys could be read as 'aid' or economic development, the guilt surrounding holiday travel to Asia became more muted. As colonialism was passé, the neocolonial meanings underpinning luxury Australian holidays at bargain prices were rarely addressed. Neocolonial meanings no longer held the same depth of resonance, after Australian travel to Asia had been recast as innocent and heroic.

The recognition of tourism's importance to local economies imbued some tourists with a new sense of empowerment. Increasingly, the sense that tourism was a form of aid led some tourists to adopt magnanimous postures, and to decry examples of 'ungrateful' local behaviour. At its height, this has resulted in what Tim Lindsey of Melbourne's Asian Law Centre has identified as the feeling that 'Australians should be immune from [Asian] legal systems.'[165] Such was the case of Annice Smoel, a Melbourne woman who was arrested and detained in Thailand

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[161] Amanda Hooton, 'Name your price,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Forty-Eight Hours supplement, 20 December 2003, p. 13.
[162] Kate Cox, 'Blissfully busy in paradise,' *Sun Herald*, Travel supplement, 25 June 2006, p. 12.
[163] Lisa Brigid Mackey, 'The idyll rich,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Travel supplement, 22 January 2005, p. 7.
[164] David Wilson, 'Undiscovered Thailand,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 November 2009, http://www.smh.com.au/travel/traveller-tips/undiscovered-thailand-20091117-ijy9.html, accessed 22 November 2009.
[165] Tim Lindsey, cited in Erin O'Dwyer, 'The truth behind bars,' *The Sun-Herald*, 9 October 2005, p. 56.

in May 2009, for being in possession of a bar mat stolen from the Aussie Pub in Phuket. Despite the fact that Smoel had also been accused of drunkenly abusing police and local authorities, her case received mostly sympathetic press coverage in Australia. Her lawyer was widely quoted stating that the Thai authorities' 'behaviour to date has been completely ridiculous. To lock up this Melbourne mother...seems simply crazy.'[166] The power of the Australian tourism dollar in tourism-dependent countries was brought forward as a legitimate reason for releasing Smoel. The Victorian Premier, John Brumby, insinuated that, 'at a time of global financial crisis when everybody wants tourism, this isn't going to help them. Who'd go to Thailand for a holiday if you can get arrested for having fun in a bar?'[167] The portrayal of Smoel's behaviour as simply 'having fun in a bar' reveals that, like Corby's, her case had been interpreted through the trope of 'innocence lost.' The reporting around the Smoel case, therefore, continued in the post-Bali bombings trope, which held that holidaying in Asia s was an intrinsic characteristic of the 'innocent' Australian. In Smoel's case, this trope had concrete repercussions. The fear of an Australian backlash led the governor of Phuket to personally intervene in her case, and she was soon released.

The paradoxical boom

As a result of the crises of the first decade of the twenty-first century, and the highly emotive rhetoric about tourism which followed, the pattern of Australian travel to Asia changed. As Figure 8.2 shows, many Australians reconsidered their travel habits in the wake of the Bali bombings, leading to a notable dip in the number of Australian arrivals across Asia. The diplomatic trope of an 'arc of instability,' which regionalised the post-Bali bombings threat, also led to a significant drop in Australian travel to Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, and a slight drop in visitors to the Philippines, Cambodia and Lao PDR in the year following the 2002 Bali bombings. Australian travel to Thailand fell sharply, from 351,508 in 2002 to 291,872 in 2003.[168] ABS statistics (plotted in Figure 8.3) confirm this trend, as well as revealing a sharp drop in travel to China and Hong Kong, which can be attributed to SARS, as well as the Bali bombings.

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[166] 'I was not abusive to Thai police: Annice Smoel,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 20 May 2009.
[167] Rachel Brown, 'Australian's bar mat arrest 'ridiculous',' *ABC News,* 19 May 2009, www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/05/19/2575199.htm, accessed 20 August 2009.
[168] World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics,* various editions.
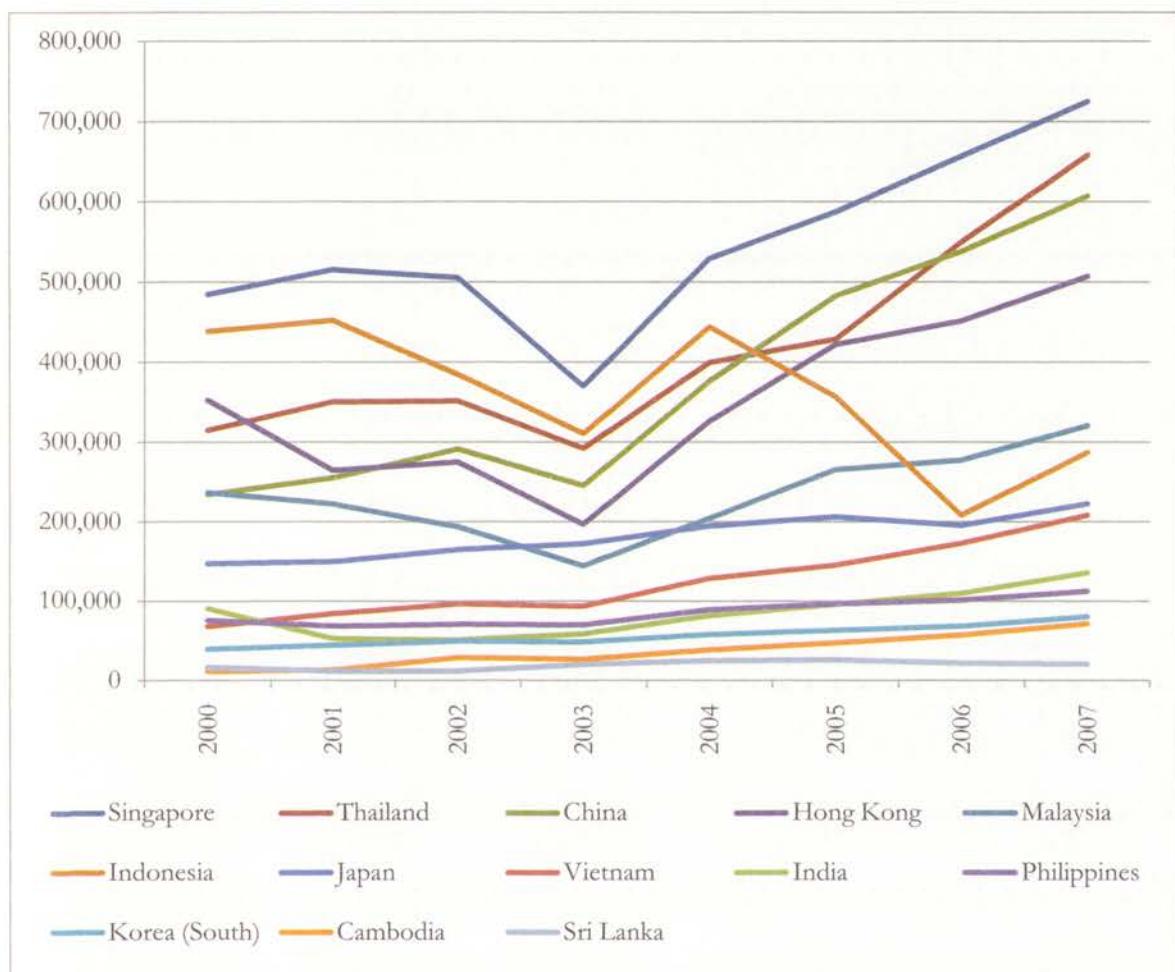
Figure 8.2: Australian Arrivals in selected Asian destinations, 2000-2007.
Source: World Tourism Organization, *Yearbooks of Tourism Statistics*.
To assist in deciphering this graph, the legend is listed in decreasing order, based on numbers at 2007.
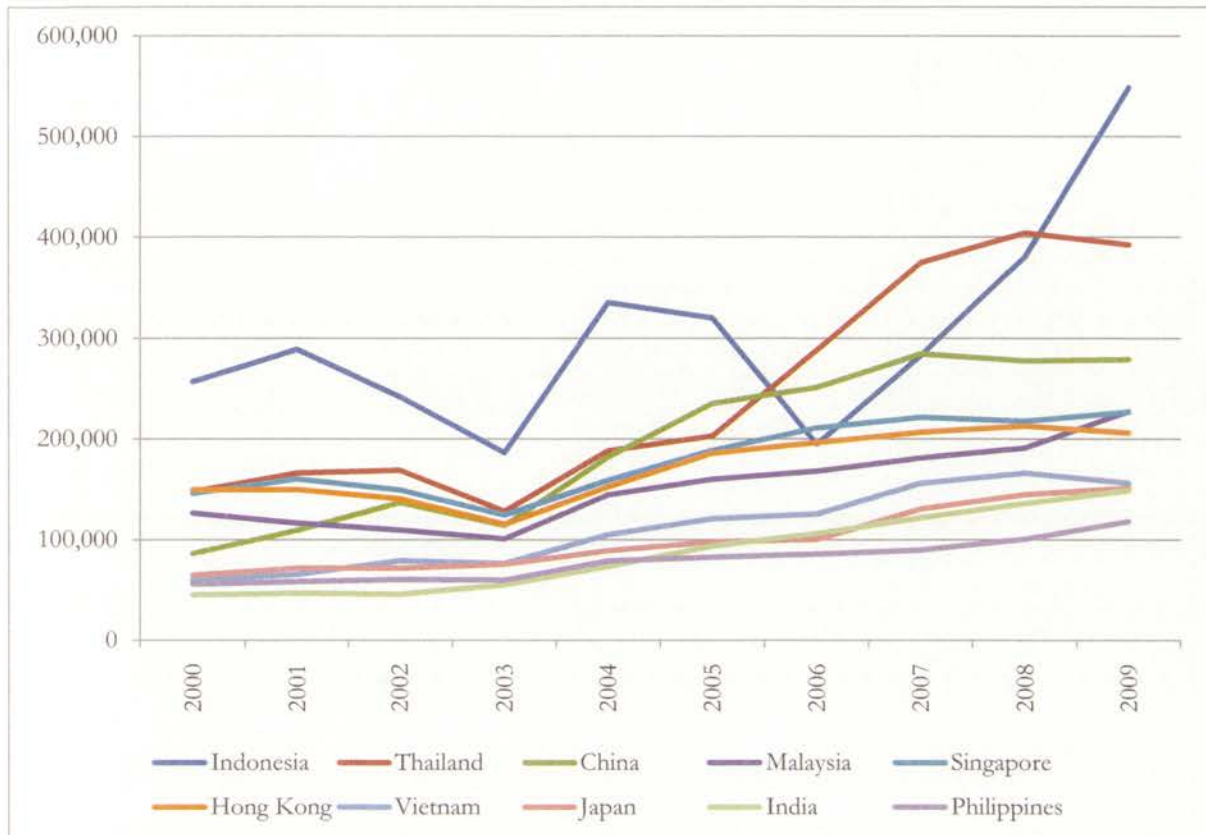Thus, Singapore is the top line, then Thailand, China, etc.

Figure 8.3: Australian Travel to selected Asian destinations, 2000-2008.
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Resident Departures time series*.
Legend in decreasing order, based on numbers at 2009. Thus, Indonesia is the top line, then Thailand, then China, etc.

The Bali bombings in 2002 had a particularly dramatic impact on travel to Indonesia. As Figure 8.4 shows, ABS statistics reveal that the number of Australians choosing Indonesia as their primary destination fell from 288,800 in 2001 to 241,700 in 2002 and to 186,400 in 2003. This brought the figure back to 1992 levels. However, the crash was not long-lasting. Qantas revealed that almost three quarters of travellers booked to fly to Bali on the day following the bombings carried on with their plans.[169] Only two months after the attack, the *Jakarta Post* was reporting that Bali's tourism industry had bounced back, with higher-than-average bookings for the 2002-2003 season.[170] Australian expatriates in Jakarta pledged their determination to defy the Australian government's strongly worded advice to leave Jakarta.[171] The surprising trend led the Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee to note that, despite 'persistent [government travel] advice, Australians have continued to flock to Bali in their thousands.'[172]

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[169] Catharine Munro, 'Should Australia have upgraded Bali warning, would anyone care?', *Australian Associated Press General News*, 18 October 2002.
[170] 'Bali hotels fully booked, Garuda adds on extra flights,' *The Jakarta Post*, 29 December 2002, p. 2.
[171] Matthey Moore, Darren Goodsir and Scott Rochfort, 'Expats assail Downer for go-home advice,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 19 October 2002, p. 2; Michael Madigan, 'Expatriates refuse to leave,' *Courier Mail,* 19 October 2002, p. 11.
[172] Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade References Committee, *Bali 2002* , p. xvi.

Two years after the first bombing, more Australians travelled to Indonesia than they had in 2001. According to ABS figures, the number of Australians indicating Indonesia as their primary destination leapt from 186,400 in 2003 to 335,100 in 2004. This figure was almost as high as the record-breaking year of 1998, when 349,600 Australians visited the archipelago to take advantage of its economic downturn.
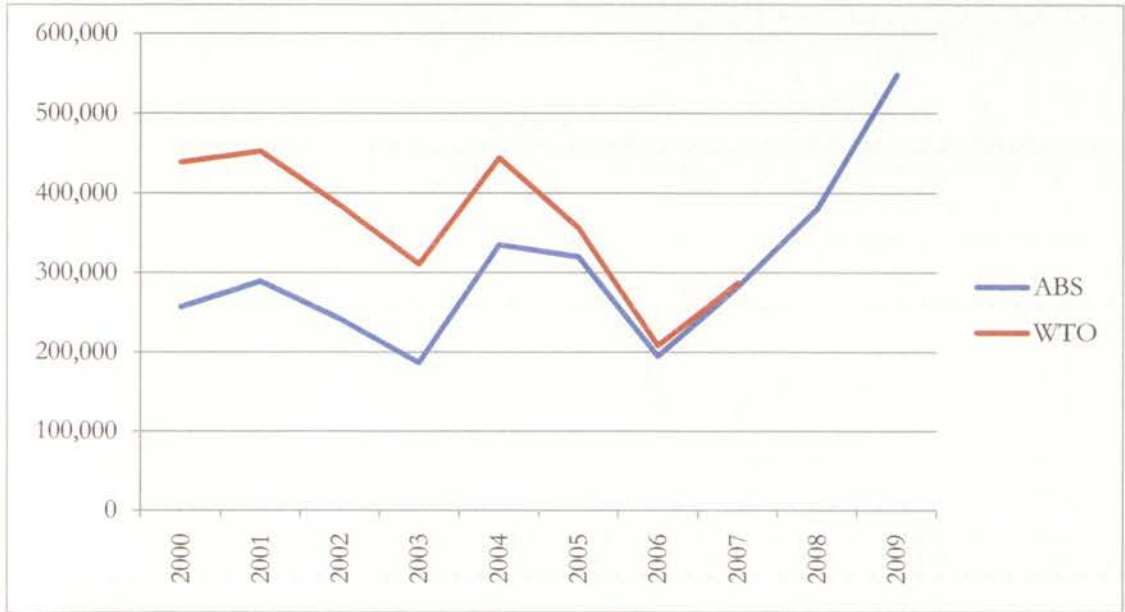

Figure 8.4: Australian Travel to Indonesia, 2000-2009.
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Resident Departures time series*, World Tourism Organization, *Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, various editions.

Just as the industry was picking up, however, a second round of bombings in 2005 precipitated another collapse in the number of Australian visitors to Indonesia. Following this attack, the numbers of Australians choosing Indonesia as their primary destination plummeted, from a recovery-level 335,100 in 2004 to 319,900 in 2005 and down to 194,700 in 2006. Mass cancellations followed in the wake of the second bombings in October 2005, leading to and an end-of-year total of 319,900 Australian visitors. An online poll in the days following the Second Bali bombing found that 76% of the 11,416 respondents would not go to Bali.[173] This time, however the regionalisation of fear did not occur, and Figures 8.2 and 8.3 both reveal that while rates of travel to Indonesia plummeted, the rest of the region enjoyed strong growth. Indeed, after the sharp fall in 2002, most of Asia began to enjoy yet another Australian tourist boom.

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[173] 'Reader Poll: Bali bombings – the tourist fallout,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 2005, http://smh.com.au/polls/world/results.html, accessed 4 October 2005.

Australians remained cautious about travelling to Indonesia throughout 2006, and only 194,700 nominated Indonesia as their primary destination that year. However, all caution was abandoned from 2007, which recorded a 45% rise to 282,500, and then to an all-time high of 380,600 in 2008. The rise continued into 2009, when 548,500 Australians visited Indonesia. This was not only a record number; but was 44% higher than the previous record, posted in 2008, and 57% higher than the previous 1998 record.[174] The speed of this recovery is particularly unusual, as tourism research has shown that the frequency of terrorist attacks makes a greater difference on tourist perceptions than their severity.[175] With this attack, as well as the incarceration of several Australians on drugs charges, Bali developed a demonstrable record of crises. Yet Australians continued to travel to Bali, apparently undeterred. This pattern was unexpected. Indeed, the confusion was such that the ABS stopped releasing its short-term departures trend estimates in April 2009, to be reintroduced 'when more stability emerges in the underlying behaviour of passenger movements.' As at March 2010, these trend estimates were still suspended.[176] In its wake, tourism theorists including John Coshall, Jorge Arana and Carmelo Leon have begun to rethink previous industry wisdom, positing that tourism is more robust in the face of disaster than has been previously thought.[177]

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[174] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Dataset, 'Short term movement, resident departures – selected destinations: original,' http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/ABS@Archive.nsf/0/6F5E31F3531875CDCA2576C100178925/$File/340109.xls, updated December 2009, last accessed 1 March 2010. See also 'Australia now largest source market for Bali,' *Travel Mole*, 8 June 2009, www.travelmole.com/stories/1136737.php?news_cat=&pagename=searchresult, accessed 20 August 2009.

[175] Abraham Pizam and Aliza Fleischer, "Severity Versus Frequency of Acts of Terrorism: Which Has a Larger Impact on Tourism Demand?" *Journal of Travel Research*, no. 40 (2002), pp. 337-39.

[176] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures – January 2010*, released 5 March 2010, http://abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3401.1/, accessed 21 March 2010.

[177] John Coshall, "Interventions on UK Earnings and Expenditures Overseas," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 3 (2005), pp. 592-609; Arana and Leon, "The Impact of Terrorism on Tourism Demand."
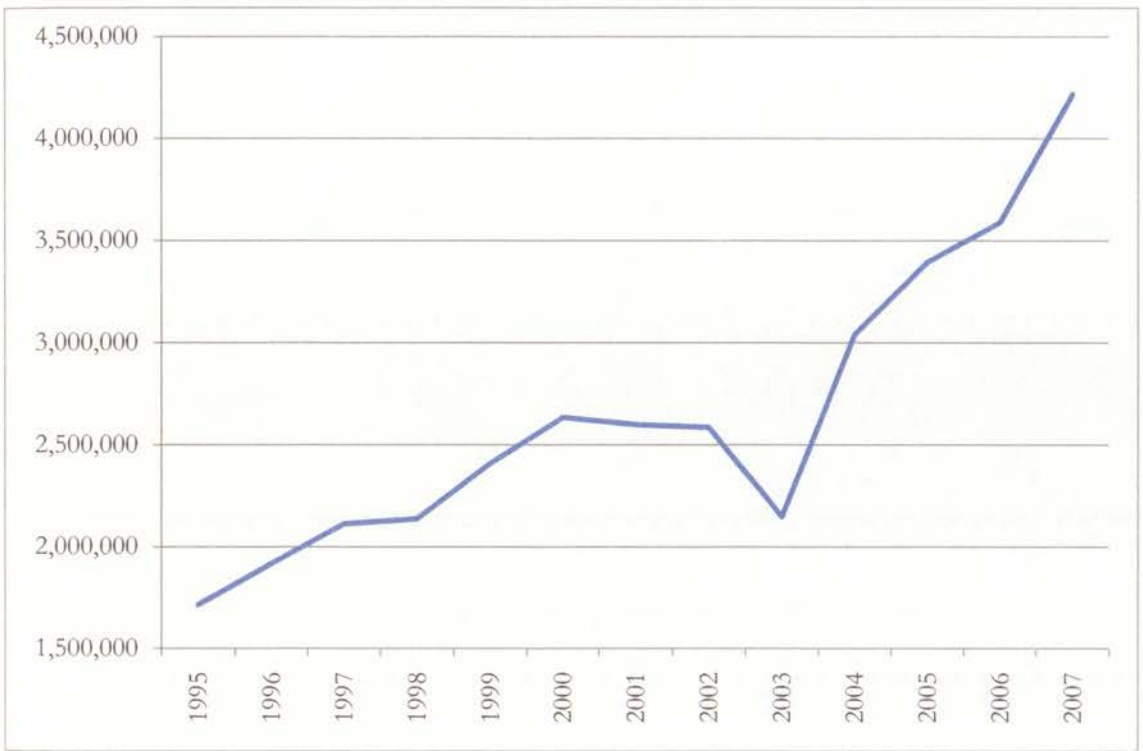
Figure 8.5: Aggregate of Australian Arrivals in all Asian destinations, 2000-2007.
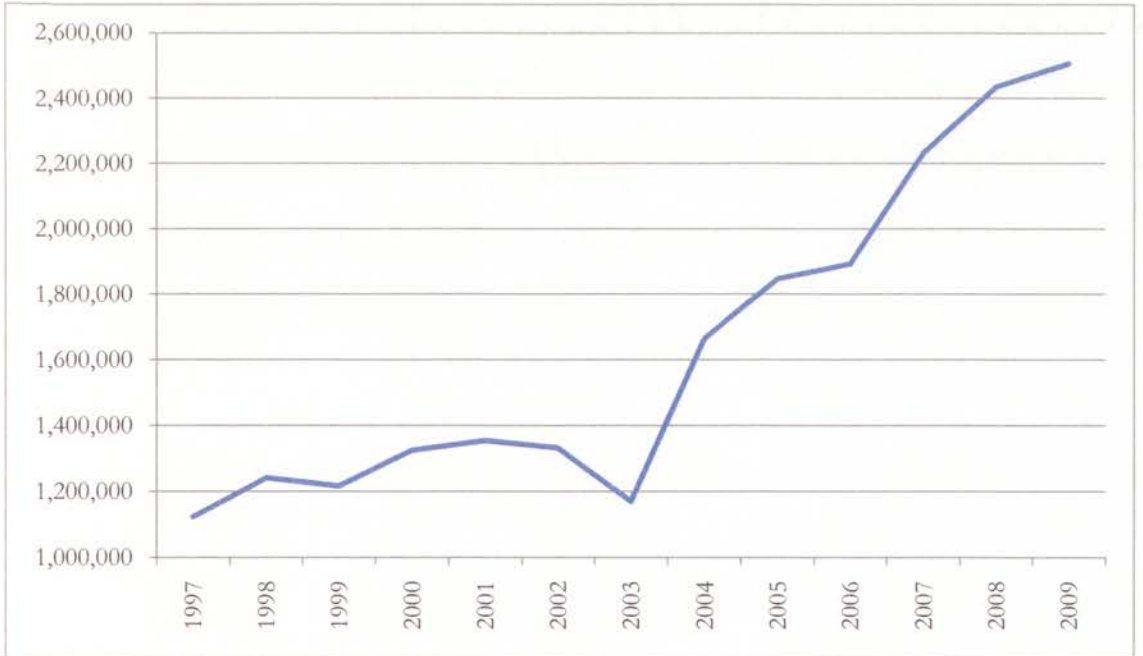Source: World Tourism Organization, *Yearbooks of Tourism Statistics*.

Figure 8.6: Aggregate of Australian travel to all Asian destinations, 1997-2009.
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Dataset, 'Short term movement, resident departures –
selected destinations: original.'

As Figures 8.5 and 8.6 show, the tourist boom was not confined to Indonesia. As Figures 8.5 and 8.6 show, Australians have flocked to all destinations across Asia in the decade of crises. In 2008 and 2009, the rate of Australian resident departures overtook the number of visitor arrivals for the first time in Australia's history.[178] By 2009, 6,280,000 Australians departed Australia for a short-term journey. Of those, 43% travelled to Asia, 24% travelled to Oceania (predominantly New Zealand), 16% travelled to Europe, 12% to the Americas, and 5% to Africa and the Middle East. In the decade from 1999 to 2009, the numbers of Australians travelling to Southeast Asia grew by 217% and to North East Asia by 210%. Where before the crises, the record number of Australians in Southeast Asia had been the 2001 figure of 881,000, by 2009, this had almost doubled to 1,727,000. In 2009, 2,679,500 Australians – more than one in ten – nominated an Asian nation as their primary destination.[179] As Figure 8.7 shows, the rate of growth in the past decade has been particularly intense, with almost 4.5 million discrete entries to Asia in 2007.
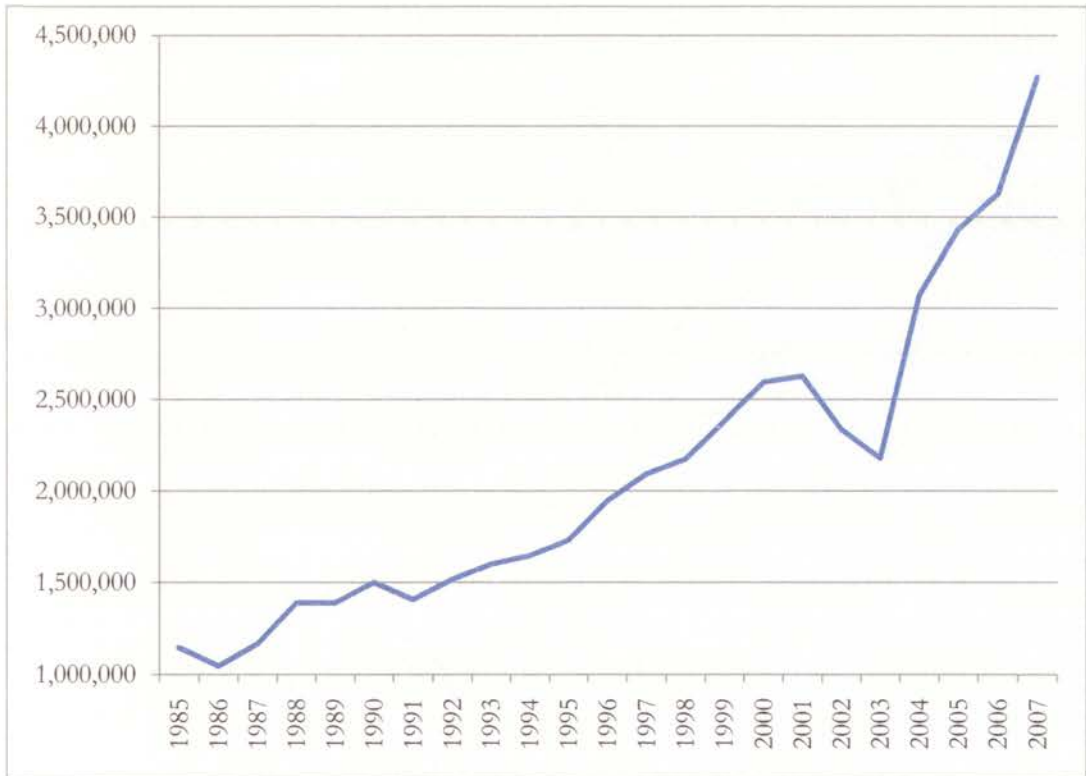
Figure 8.7: Aggregate of Australian Arrivals in all Asian destinations, long term trend, 1985-2007.
Source: World Tourism Organization, *Yearbooks of Tourism Statistics*.

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[178] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Overseas Arrivals and Departures – December 2009,* released 8 February 2010, http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/3401.0FEature%20Article1DEc%202009?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=3401.0&issue=Dec%202009&num=&view=, accessed 3 March 2010.
[179] All statistical analysis in this paragraph based on Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Short-term Movement, Resident Departures – Selected Destinations: Original,' Time series spreadsheet, http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats.ABS@archive.nsf/0/6F5E31F8531875CDCA2576C100178925/$File340109.xls, last accessed 3 March 2010.

The sharp growth suggests a paradox, whereby Australian travellers flocked to Asia in record numbers, despite a proliferation of events and discourses which presented this as an extremely risky activity. Indeed, it appears that although the crises of the first decade of the twenty-first century changed the meanings and discourses surrounding travel and tourism, they had no negative impact on longer-term rates of Australian travel to Asia.

The paradoxical boom and Australian relations with Asia

This apparent paradox is the result of several factors. Firstly, after the initial shocks of the 11 September 2001 and 12 October 2002 attacks, Australians quickly became accustomed to the threat of crisis in Asia. Commenting on the lack of holiday cancellations following the Asian tsunami, managing director of the Centre for Asia Pacific Aviation, Peter Harbison, claimed that travellers had become inured to traumatic worldwide events, and 'the airline industry and tourism industry...is very well geared to recover from these constant shocks.'[180] Explaining why she was returning to Bali in 2004, when she had cancelled a trip there immediately following the bombings two years previously, Melburnian Louise Bassett stated, 'I think people are getting more used to terrorism...I don't think anywhere is safe...and you have to decide if you will live in fear and let the terrorists win, or take precautions but still enjoy great locations.'[181]

Secondly, the number of Australians travelling to Indonesia, and Bali in particular, has been fostered by the discourse of a shared suffering binding Australians and Balinese closer together. Immediate responses to both bombings included an outpouring of emotion for the Balinese. The inter-faith dialogues and prayers held on 21 October 2002, and the Hindu purification ceremony on 15 November, served to emphasise that the Balinese should be recognised as victims, and not perpetrators, of the attacks. Similar ideas were perpetuated by the popular T-shirts sold on the tourists strip at Kuta, bearing slogans such as 'Bali cries' and 'Bali loves peace.'[182] The sense of shared grief led to a feeling of unity; as one message among the wreaths laid outside the Sari Club site read, 'Bali-Australia: Friends forever.'[183] The feeling of unity with the Balinese, and the sense that Australians could 'do something' to help them, was shared by many Australians. David and Gayle Dunn, who lost a son in the first bombings, travelled to Bali

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[180] Cited in Scott Rochfort, 'Resorts are gone but holidays must go on,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 30 December 2004, p. 5.
[181] Louise Bassett, cited in Marian Carroll, 'The buzz is back,' *Sydney Morning Herald,* 6 December 2004, www.smh.com.au/news/Indonesia/The-buzz-is-back/2004/12/06/1107228687818.html, accessed 9 March 2005.
[182] 'The Bali Bombings 2002 Memorial Collection,' *National Museum of Australia,* www.nma.gov.au/shared/libraries/attachments/friends/archive/bali_bombings_2002_memorial_coll/files/17980/Bali_bombin gs_rf.pdf, accessed 21 August 2009.
[183] Cited in Hitchcock and Putra, *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali,* p. 132.

to 'talk to some of the Balinese people...and get to understand them as well...and see how they feel and if there's anything we can do for them.'[184] June Corteen, who lost her twin daughters in the bombings, also went to Bali, because 'I want to help...The Balinese are beautiful people and it wasn't their fault.'[185] The refrain of support for the Balinese was retained even during the peak of the Corby trial, as calls for a Bali boycott were tempered by voices reminding Australians that 'the ordinary people of Bali,' who 'helped Australians after the terrorist bombing,' would be the victims of such a boycott.[186]

Indeed, rather than keep Australian tourists away, the memorialisation of the bombings has been interwoven with this sense of unity. The memorial to victims of the first Bali bombings, located on the spot where the Sari Club once stood, has come to act as a site of nationalist pilgrimage. Balinese scholar I Nyoman Darma Putra has argued that the Bali Memorial 'is a bit like Gallipoli in the ways it has meaning for Aussies.'[187] In a report on Australian visitors to the memorial, journalist Stephen Fitzpatrick found that 'it arguably fulfils some of the same mythmaking and national identity role that places such as Gallipoli and the Kokoda Track perform.'[188] Media scholar Robert Schutze has found that Bali has been appropriated as a place for the enactment of Australian nationalism, and suggests it is 'a site for the consummation of Australian mateship.'[189] In a period of heightened national sentiment, the Bali memorial has become something of a twenty-first century pilgrimage site. As the act of travelling therefore became imbued with nationalist meaning following the bombings, so a holiday to Bali could become a performance of national identity.

A third apparent reason for the post-crisis boom lies in the discourse of defiance, noted earlier in this chapter. As popular commentator Hugh Mackay stated, 'terrorism is effective as a weapon only if we respond to it.'[190] While this rhetoric was most enthusiastically promoted by the tourism industry, some travellers turned to it in order to explain their continued travels. Asked about why he had taken his family to Bali, and why he was dining in the same restaurant in Jimbaran Bay where the second bombers had struck less than two years before, Perth man Willem Meyerink answered, 'If you start being driven by fear, you're losing it.'[191] This rhetoric continued after subsequent attacks across Asia. Explaining why he was travelling to India in the

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[184] Cited in Tim Palmer, 'Balinese try to cleanse the 'evil' from the blast site,' *7.30 Report*, ABC, broadcast 18/11/2002. Transcript at www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2002/s729529.htm, accessed 21 August 2009.
[185] 'Grieving mother sets out on mercy mission,' *Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 2002, p. 5.
[186] Bob Parker, 'Bali people need tourists,' in 'Letters: Your Say', *Herald Sun*, 5 May 2005, p. 20.
[187] Cited in Stephen Fitzpatrick, 'Back to Bali,' *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 7-8 February 2009, p. 14.
[188] Stephen Fitzpatrick, 'Back to Bali,' *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 7-8 February 2009, p. 14.
[189] Schutze, "Terror in 'Our Backyard': Negotiating 'Home' in Australia after the Bali Bombings."
[190] Hugh Mackay, 'Scared, angry, nonchalant? How are you reacting to terror?' *The Age*, 7 October 2002, p. 13.
[191] Peter Wilmoth, 'Warning? Sure, but let's not ruin the holiday,' *The Sunday Age*, 15 July 2007, p. 1.

wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, for example, Australian William Arthur explained that, 'I'm very anti-terrorism and I'm not going to let them win. The motive of terrorism is to make us stay at home terrorised.'[192] Often, all three tropes were woven into a rich fabric of justification. As Robyn Geyser of Townsville responded when questioned why he had brought his family to Bali in the wake of the attacks, 'I could get killed in a car crash – you just never know, and, besides, the Balinese need us.'[193]

Yet, these rhetorical shifts cannot account for the staggering numbers of Australians travelling to Asia since 2003. Rather than being primary reasons motivating travel, the rhetoric of defiance against terrorism, and of unity with the Balinese, helped to neutralise the negative meanings which the Bali bombings and the Asian tsunami had imprinted onto tourism to Asia. Painting tourist travel as an essential element of the Australian way of life, and stating a determination not to let terrorism interrupt this pattern, functioned alongside the rhetoric of tourism-as-aid, to dull the negative rumours associated with travel to Asia in the post-crisis period. Tourism was not dangerous, nor was it exploitative of local misery; rather, it made a statement about the strength of the Australian spirit in the face of terrorism, while simultaneously assisting the local populations to rebuild their lives after political and natural disasters. When joined with the rose-tinted memories of Bali as Australia's playground, and the long-established clichés of Paradise, these new modes of thinking recreated a rumour of Bali that was overwhelmingly positive. This positive rumour of Bali, alongside with the negation of negative rumours noted above, sparked Australians' willingness to venture to Asia again.

The Price is Right

The staggering number of Australians travelling to Asia in the wake of twenty-first century crises suggests more than just a vague willingness, however; it represents an unparalleled wave of enthusiasm, and so serves to sharpen the paradox. While the rhetoric painting travel to Asia as a positive action has no doubt impacted on Australians' willingness to travel to Asia, it appears that the primary reason for the boom is more prosaic. A comparison of ABS and WTO statistics for travel to Indonesia, as in Figure 8.4, reveals that, following the second Bali bombing, nearly all Australians entering Indonesia have nominated it as their primary destination.[194] Relatively few

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[192] Cited in 'Mumbai attacks don't deter travelers,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 December 2008, http://www.smh.com.au/travel/mumbai-attacks-dont-deter-travellers-20081202-6ph9.html, accessed 3 December 2008.
[193] Cited in Marian Carroll, 'The buzz is back,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, Travel supplement, 4 December 2004, p. 7.
[194] WTO notes all entry into member-nations, as logged by local immigration authorities. ABS logs the primary destination noted by Australians on their departure cards. WTO figures tend to be far higher than ABS figures, due to multi-destination visits, which are not reflected in Australian departure cards.

travellers enter Indonesia as part of a multi-stop journey; instead, the great majority of Australians visit it for a single-destination holiday, such as those offered as package deals.

Whilst the rhetoric of defiance and tourism-as-aid helped negate the negative meanings of travel to Asia, the major reason for the dramatic rise has been the unprecedented affordability of travel to Asia, which buttressed its firmly-entrenched rumour as Australia's pleasure periphery. Fears about the disastrous economic impacts of a collapse of tourism resulted in a wide-spread discounting of tourism products. In the wake of every twenty-first century crisis, airfare and accommodation prices reached new lows, as the tourism industry sought to attract visitors despite the negative publicity caused by political and environmental instability. In mid-2005, Qantas Holidays offered a package including return airfares from Sydney to Phuket, eight nights' accommodation, daily breakfast and airport transfers for $899.[195] Packages to Bali were particularly cheap, and typically involved a bevy of value-added extras to entice visitors. In June 2005, Flight Centre offered a ten-night package, including airfares from Sydney, accommodation, a tour, two massages, and a BBQ seafood dinner, for $895.[196] At the same time, budget airline Air Paradise International offered a six night airfare-and-accommodation package for $659, departing Sydney.[197] The record low prices were retained after the second Bali bombings of 2005. In May 2006, Jetset offered a four-night package for $949, which included all children's airfares and meals, in addition to transfers, entry to the Waterbom theme park, and nine free tours.[198] In 2006, the average weekly income for a full-time employee was just over $1058.[199] In this context, six nights in Bali on an Air Paradise package could be enjoyed for as little as 62% of the average weekly wage. After the period of crises, a holiday in Bali could be enjoyed without any saving or sacrifice. This compared favourably to pre-bombing conditions. In 1994, a seven-night accommodation-and-airfare Jetabout package cost $1,791, or 267% of an average weekly wage.[200] As *Sunday Age* travel writer Lee Mylne enthused in 2006, 'with deals such as these, who can afford to stay at home?'[201]

The discounts continued for several years. The introduction of low-cost carriers on many Asian routes, as well as the combined effect of a rising Australian dollar from 2008 and the

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[195] Qantas Holidays, 'Non-stop to Phuket,' advertisement in *The Sun Herald,* Travel supplement, 5 June 2005, p. 12.
[196] Flight Centre, 'The Captain's Best Deals,' advertisement in *The Sun Herald,* Travel supplement, 26 June 2005, p. 6.
[197] Air Paradise International, 'Paradise on Sale,' advertisement in *The Sun Herald,* Travel supplement, 26 June 2005, p. 19.
[198] Jetset, 'Free Kids Airfare to Bali,' advertisement in *The Sun Herald,* Travel supplement, 28 May, 2006, p. 4.
[199] Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Average Weekly Earnings – November 2006,' released 22 February 2007, http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/FA388B642F7C5B5ECA2572DD001ECF7F?opendocument, accessed 21 March 2010.
[200] Doug Aiton, 'Paradise regained,' *The Sunday Age,* Travel supplement, 3 September 1994, p. 11; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Average Weekly Earnings, states and Australia – November 1994,' released 2 March 1995, http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DEtailsPage/6302.oNov%201994?OpenDocument, accessed 22 March 2010, p. 1. Average full-time adult weekly total earnings in November 1994 were $670.80.
[201] Lee Mylne, 'Pocket-sized packages,' *The Sunday Age,* Travel supplement, 13 August 2006, p. 4.

Global Financial Crisis of 2008-9, compounded the value for money. As at March 2010, return flights to Bali cost $332 from Perth and $744 from Sydney. Hotel packages for a resort in Nusa Dua cost as little as $109 for four nights, twin share, while hotels in Legian could be booked for $139 for six nights, twin share.[202] Six-night packages from Sydney, including a wealth of value-added extras, were offered for $975, equating to 77% of the average weekly income.[203] The discounting was wildly successful, and is a primary reason for the post-crisis tourism boom.

Indeed despite the changing rumours of Asia, it is evident that the experience of a holiday to Bali remained much the same. This is reflected in the many travel blogs and message boards which have accompanied the development of Web 2.0 technology. The Bali Travel Forum maintains complete archives of its message boards and JBRs (Just Back Reports) from 1997 until the present day.[204] JBRs range from the very brief to the very detailed, and allow visitors to share their holiday stories, experiences and advice with others. A comparison of the Bali Travel Forum's JBRs reveals that the basic interests of Australian travellers in Bali were much the same after the bombing, as beforehand. On 31 May 2006, for example, 'princessdd' from Adelaide posted her 'JBR of sorts.' She had stayed south of Kuta, and apart from a day-trip to Ubud, spent most of her time shopping or patronising the Day Spa at Waterbom park. After listing her shopping ('friend bought 17 pairs of shoes, I managed 9 pairs of sunglasses, 14 handbags, 5 pairs of shoes, silver jewellery, costume jewellery and lots lots more'), 'princessdd' noted that she was looking forward to returning to Bali, as 'I think I am addicted!'.[205] The only tangible sign that this blog had been posted after the period of crises was a response posted by 'diannewall,' who replied 'great to see you helped the economy.'[206]

Other blog sites and message boards reveal a similar story. On her website, 'My Bali Holidays,' one Australian blogger provides details of four Balinese visits. Noting that 'there was a bombing in Bali in 2002 and that scares off a lot of tourists,' and also noting that the SARS scare had depressed travel to Bali further, the blogger noted that 'there were many good deals around

[202] 'Indonesia Holiday Deals,' Flightcentre.com, http://www.flightcentre.com.au/world-travel/indonesia/travel-deals, accessed 21 March 2010.
[203] 'Bali from $332,' Student Flights.com, http://www.studentflights.com.au/flights/details.jsp?specialOid=GENeveDPS&enquiryType=flights&gclid=COX66o2fyaACFcIvpAodRGt8zg, accessed 21 March 2010; Flight Centre, 'Bali airfare + 6 nights from $599,' http://www.flightcentre.com.au/sku/1102276, accessed 22 March 2010; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Average Weekly Earnings – Australia, November 2009,' released 25 February 2010, http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/7F76D15354BB25D5CA2575BC001D5866?opendocument, accessed 22 March 2010.
[204] http://www.balitravelforum.com/. Last accessed 22 March 2010.
[205] 'JBR of sorts,' posted by princessdd on Wednesday 31 May 2006, http://www.btf-archives.com/archive200605/74617.html, accessed 12 January 2010.
[206] 'Great to see you helped the economy eom,' posted by diannewall on Wednesday 31 May 2006, http://www.btf-archives.com/archive200605/74632.html., accessed 12 January 2010.

to beg people to go to Indonesia.'[207] Having visited Bali once before in 1994, she decided to return in 2003, along with her husband and their seven-year-old son, 'because it is cheap.' As a result of the discounting, the family could afford to stay at the luxurious Grand Hyatt in Nusa Dua. The value-for-money was such that the whole family returned to Bali in 2004, again staying at the Grand Hyatt, and returned yet again in 2006.[208]

The increasing affordability of travel to Asia enticed Australians to visit Bali and other Southeast Asian destinations with increasing regularity, despite the crises which hit the region. The affordability was such that some Australians began travel to Bali every year, or even twice a year; a phenomenon which is becoming increasingly evident on travel blog sites. Returning to Brisbane from her sixth trip to Bali, blogger 'Jo' had already booked her seventh for six months later.[209] Dozens of similar posts, alongside hundreds of mundane posts rating hotels, standards of service, and listing favourite places to eat and shop, reveal that the experience of Bali had not changed a great deal after the crises of the twenty-first century, even if the discourses had.

The neocolonial meanings of the Australian beach holiday to Bali also remained the same. The experience of the package holiday to Bali, replete with luxury resorts, shopping, massages and other forms of pampering; or, on the other hand, a continuation of the sun, surf and schooners model, was predicated on the depressed labour costs of 'underdeveloped' Southeast Asia. The bargain prices paid by Australians only served to underline the low cost of labour – and resulting low cost of living.

Indeed, the neocolonial meanings of Australian travel only became stronger as the holidays became cheaper, much of the angst surrounding Australian travel to Bali disappeared, replaced by the positive image of the Australia tourist which had developed in the post-crisis era. The discourses arising the Bali bombings and Asian Tsunami had recast Australian mass-tourism to Bali in a more positive light. Reports nostalgically remembered a time when Australians looked at Bali as 'an Australian space,' as the 'de facto seventh state,' with no sense of the neo-colonialist meanings of such an annexation.[210] As Fiona Allon has noted, a key theme of post-Bali bombings reporting focussed on the familiarity and Australianness of the holiday in Bali.[211] By nostalgically evoking Bali as a Paradise Lost, post-crisis coverage had dulled the recognition of neocolonialism implicit in Australian tourism to Bali.

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[207] 'My Bali holidays in 2003,' http://www.my-bali-holidays.com/Bali-holidays-2003.htm, accessed 12 January 2010.
[208] 'My Bali Holidays in 2006,' http://www.my-bali-holidays.com/Bali-holidays-2006.htm, accessed 12 January 2010.
[209] 'JBR – Sanur Beach Villas March 10=long,' posted by joeyrobby on Sunday 21 March 2010, http://www.balitravelforum.com/msg/85409.html, accessed 22 March 2010.
[210] Richard Chauvel, cited in Farah Farouque and Liz Gooch, 'The Bali Backlash,' *The Age*, 31 May 2005; Eric Ellis, 'I've been to Bali too', *The Australian*, 4 September 2004, p. 28.
[211] Fiona Allon, "Bali as Icon: Tourism, Death and the Pleasure Periphery," *Humanities Research* XI, no. 1 (2004), pp. 34-6.

Of course, criticisms of the 'Ugly Australian' abroad did make an occasional appearance, usually in elitist comparisons with more sensitive travellers. Comparisons between the masses and the rarefied traveller have been a constant of travel for hundreds of years, and reappeared again in the wake of the post-crisis discounting. As Sacha Molitorisz wrote in 2005, the 'Abominable Australian' and 'Ugly Australian' could still be found around the world, with headquarters still in Bali. However, even elitist criticism took a milder formulation. After the Bali bombings, Molitorisz claimed, the 'Ugly' coexisted with the 'Ambassadorial Australian,' who can also be found – 'even in Bali.'[212]

While rarefied travellers debated how to display one's 'Ambassadorial' status, many others preferred to enjoy their budget holidays without giving their political meanings undue thought. Like all Australians in Asia, however, they too were influenced by the proliferation of rumours about Asia which had arisen in the period of crisis. One traveller profiled in the 'Travel snaps' section of the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s glossy *Sydney Magazine* insert, summed up the complex of rumours which surrounded the act of travel in the post-crisis period. Having just returned from Bali, Michael Young was asked to list the highlights. Without a moment's pause, Young replied 'warm, gentle, beautiful locals, stunning sunsets, the cost of everything (so cheap!). Supporting a tourist industry clearly struggling. The king's palace in Ubud, opulent and ornate in its decoration.'[213] Although the decade of crises had seen the tourist assume a new importance in Australian self-imagining, it had not dulled the (complex) pleasures of an Asian holiday.

Conclusion

The first decade of the twenty-first century was one of recurrent crisis across Asia. Fears about terrorism which arose following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States began to coalesce around the act of travel, which was conceived of as particularly risky and prone to terrorist attacks. The new fears appeared confirmed by the Bali bombings of October 2002 and 2005. This event stirred up a great deal of popular emotion, and furthered the sense that, far from being Australia's playground, Bali had become a dangerous place for Australians to visit. Further crises, including the SARS and Bird Flu scares of 2003 and 2005, the arrest of Schapelle Corby in October 2004, and the Asian Tsunami of 26 December 2004, added to the conception that travel to Asia was a dangerous activity.

[212] Sacha Molitorisz, 'Where was I?', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Travel supplement, 26 November 2005, p. 5.
[213] Michael Young, 'travel snaps,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, The Sydney Magazine supplement, 28 April 2005, p. 121.

Tourism and tourists became increasingly important to the national self-image in the wake of these crises. Following the first Bali bombings in 2002, John Howard co-opted tourism as an Australian 'birthright,' and aligned the figure of the tourist with the national identity. In the wake of the bombings, the tourist's suffering came to be understood as the nation's suffering, and attacks on tourists were re-positioned as attacks on the national body. The Australian media helped perpetuated these notions, presenting Australian tourists as embodiments of 'national' characteristics including mateship and 'innocence,' and thus weaving these new meanings into the narrative of Australian travel to Asia. In this new narrative, the tourist acted as a proxy for the Australian nation. Tourists made links with Asia, developed Australia's political relations with its region by influencing its aid agenda, and were also at the front line of reprisals. As such, all subsequent political, natural and epidemiological crises in Asia were presented primarily through their impacts on Australian tourists.

The rhetorical weaving of travel to Asia into the 'national' character suggests that Australians will continue their travels. Rendered into a 'national' characteristic, the holiday to Asia could be conceived of as a form of national service. The alignment of tourism with aid, and the sense that Australians were engaging in global efforts to stamp out poverty simply by travelling for their own pleasure, furthered the idea that travel to Asia was an act of citizenship. Indeed, while the numbers of Australians travelling to Asia fell after each crisis from 2002-2005, their personal engagements with the region, developed over more than sixty years, proved to be very resilient. Despite major crises and panics about both political and biological security, and a broader culture of fear surrounding the act of travel, Australians returned to Asia in unprecedented numbers. This reveals that, at the level of experience and people-to-people contacts, there can be no separation of Australia from its region: the two are enmeshed.

Much of this enmeshment occurred despite, rather than because of, political and economic engagements. Indeed, the rate of tourist integration has overtaken official ties, so that the government's agenda in dealing with Asian nations is often set by the demands of tourists, especially those who have found themselves in trouble. In the twenty-first century, travel to Asia has become a central element of Australian life, and a key element of Australia's official relations with its region.

However, the growing numbers of Australians in Asia do not necessarily point towards increasingly friendly relations between Australia and Asia, either at the individual or official level. Many Australians travelled to Asia with no sense of the political or cultural context of their destination, perceiving it instead as their 'pleasure periphery.' As this thesis has shown,

Australian travellers in Asia resolutely follow the mores and codes set by other Australians, and other travellers, and pay little heed to local customs or sensitivities. Indeed, the continuing neocolonialism upon which much of the holiday experience is predicated reveals that many Australians still regard Asian nations and Asian peoples through colonial tropes. Australians may be enmeshed with Asia at the beginning of the twenty-first century, but this enmeshment continues along hierarchies of power that place Australians in a dominant position, whilst in Asia.

While the impacts of tourism at political, economic and cultural levels were debated by politicians, in a variety of media, and online, millions of 'ordinary' Australians quietly continued to travel to Asia, in ever greater numbers. Indeed, rather than curtailing their proclivity for Asian holidays, Australians were very ready to find arguments to continue travelling. While some pointed to the discourses perpetuated by government and the media, the most powerful reason of all was their comfort in Asia, which could be had at a low price. By the twenty-first century, the rumour of Asia as a pleasure periphery had become so powerful, and so dominant, that no amount of crises could keep Australians away.

Conclusion

This thesis has traced the way in which travel and tourism have shaped and mediated Australian relations with Asia. The importance of informal links within formal government relations has been noted by both academics and diplomats. Despite the rhetoric, however, few attempts have been made to trace the range of non-diplomatic contacts and discover how they have influenced Australia-Asia relations. This thesis has attempted to fill this gap, through an historical analysis that followed Australian travels in Asia over a broad geographical, political and temporal scope. It explored a broad archive, including diplomatic tropes and government files; media reports; travel writing, travel journalism and instructional material; the personal diaries and letters that visitors wrote in Asia and the souvenirs and photographs they brought home with them; and plotted this wealth of experience within statistical studies tracking Australians' movements over space and time. It has also positioned Australian travel to Asia within a broader theoretical context, integrating elements from the theories of travel and tourism and postcolonial theory, to take account the complex nature of travel and cross-cultural experience.

An analysis of the ways in which travel and tourism have engendered changes in Australian conceptions of Asia reveals that foreign policy is shaped not only by official diplomacy, conducted between august representatives of nation states; but is also shaped by uncountable, and often unrecorded, meetings between individuals, their personal experiences, and the ways in

which these experiences are represented. These complex performances create the culture in which official relationships can take place, and so determine the discursive boundaries within which policy can be formulated. Of course, I do not deny the influence of other factors. International political shifts, wars, terrorist attacks, national independence movements, immigration and myriad other events have all influenced Australian ideas about Asia. Further, other modes of representation, including literature and art, as well as the globalisation of culture, have also played important roles in changing Australians' attitudes. In an era defined by the increasing regularity of movements across borders, however, I posit that travel is a particularly important, and often ignored, element contributing to the cultural context of official relations between Australia and Asia.

Although diplomatic ties create the conditions in which travel can take place – especially with regards to passports, visas and transport links – the level of 'warmth' in diplomatic relations does not necessarily dictate either the quantitative or the qualitative nature of Australian travel to Asia. Many Australians travelled to the People's Republic of China during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, despite the absence of official diplomatic ties with that nation. Indeed, far from being determined by them, travel can provide the cultural context for subsequent diplomatic relations. Travellers to both communist and non-communist Asia during the Cold War pioneered a discourse of 'engagement,' which would later be accepted as a diplomatic trope. Similarly, travellers to China in the 1980s developed a vocabulary of dissatisfaction which was adopted by the government in its official response to the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989. In this way, travel has functioned as a laboratory in which both personal attitudes and official foreign policy were generated. Through such examples, it is evident that diplomacy and official relations are a product of broader ideas about Others that circulate in Australian society. Diplomatic relations exist within a social and cultural context, and are shaped by many of the same preconceptions, stereotypes and experiences that structure Australian knowledge about Asia. As travel is a central component in the formation of knowledge about the Other, it is also a central component of the culture in which foreign relations can take place.

Recently, tourism has also shaped Australia's diplomatic relations with Asia in a more immediate way. Since the Bali bombings of 12 October 2002, the safety and wellbeing of Australians overseas have become important political issues, and the government's system of travel advisories has complicated Australia's official relations with several Asian nations. As the quiet force shaping the culture in which foreign relations are forged, and as the pace-setters of Australia's relations with Asia, Australian travellers and tourists demand attention.

The bank of Australian travel to Asia has had significant effects on personal and political attitudes. Firstly, it is evident that increasing contact has fostered a wider understanding of Asian people, cultures and political systems, which has resulted in a cogent sense of engagement between Australians and Asians. Travel has made Australians more comfortable with Asia, and provided the cultural context in which a policy of political, economic and social engagement could occur. Many significant ties, of all kinds, developed between Australians and Asians overseas. While the personal effects of these relationships are unquantifiable, they also had a wider impact on Australian society. Some Australian soldiers fighting during the Pacific War became sympathetic to the anti-colonial movement after seeing the level of political enthusiasm in Indonesia, and wrote letters to Australian publications calling for solidarity with their cause. Soldiers serving in the BCOF deployment developed romantic liaisons with Japanese women, and fought to have their unions recognised both by the Army and the broader community. Cold War tourists on both sides of the ideological divide set out to learn about Asian societies and cultures, and some gained a deeper understanding of the region's political and social contexts. Some developed affective attachments, based on sentiment and mediated by ideals of cross-cultural friendship. Finally, the mass contact between Australians and Asia taking place across millions of holidays and over more than forty years, has engendered new relationships, new rumours, and a growing comfort with Asian influences. Tourists have proudly displayed the souvenirs and photographs, clothes and jewellery they had acquired during their holidays, and bragged about the discounts they had managed to negotiate. More self-conscious 'travellers' have worn their Afghan coats or Thai fishermen's pants back in Sydney or Melbourne, and many have circulated their stories of Asian adventure widely. Further, many have increasingly integrated elements of Asian culture – particularly its food culture, and interior and landscape design – into their Australian lives. As the number of experiences rose, so the sense of comfort with Asia spread to policy-makers and diplomats (many of whom were also tourists), encouraging official policies of multiculturalism and anti-racism, a growing inclusiveness in Australia's immigration program, and the rapid growth of Australian trade with Asia.

The great reservoir of understanding, empathy and goodwill that Australians had built during their travels became most tangible in the aftermath of several crises during the early twenty-first century – and especially the Bali bombings of 2002 and the Asian Tsunami of 2004. The pledging of friendship and unity with the Balinese, made more poignant by a sense of a shared tragedy, was also an extension of a national affection for the 'beautiful' people who had made their holidays so pleasurable. Likewise, the hundreds of millions of dollars which were

donated by 'ordinary' Australians in the weeks following the Asian tsunami were the result of a sense of personal connection that had developed during their travels.

Australian conceptions of Asia changed through a long-term process of interaction and negotiation between preconceptions, experiences and representations. Australians travelling to Asia inevitably left home with a bank of preconceptions. These rumours shaped many of their experiences, and also framed the ways they interpreted their time in Asia. However, the nature of experience is such that, sometimes, experiences challenge preconceptions; indeed, some Australians travelled to Asia seeking a new perspective. At many points, travellers re-evaluated what they 'knew' about Asia, to incorporate the new things they had seen, and new sensations they had experienced. Prisoners of War in Japanese captivity were forced to re-evaluate the relative strength of Australia to Asia. Although the challenges were not imprinted on their bodies in such a brutal way, some Cold War travellers also came to re-evaluate their ideas about Australia's modernity in the face of Asian cities that were, if anything, more modern than Sydney or Melbourne. Backpackers travelling through China in the early 1980s found that, contrary to all reports, the Chinese were not always polite and efficient, and neither their morality nor their morale were exceptional. If preconceptions were challenged often enough, or if they were represented to a wide audience, they could become new rumours in themselves, and shift the ways in which Australians conceived of Asia.

Although historians specialising on particular bilateral relationships have identified a number of 'turning points' after which Australians recognised the Far East as the Near North, this thesis shows that, rather than being reducible to a single turning point, any shifts from fear to engagement were gradual and uneven.[1] There was no sudden revolution or 'turn' in Australian attitudes to Asia; indeed, there is no defined endpoint towards which progress could be measured. The shifting of rumours about Asia was a slow and variable process, and often involved the reinvigoration or reinterpretation of old rumours into new. Such a process can clearly by seen in the way travellers on the overland hippie trail reinterpreted romantic and

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[1] The Pacific War, the BCOF deployment, Australia's recognition of Indonesia, the 1950s, the Vietnam War and the recognition of China have all been identified as the turning point when Australians stopped thinking of a Far East, and began to conceive of a Near North, by specialists in that field. Richard White has identified the tendency to posit wars as turning points in Richard White, "War and Australian Society," in *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace*, ed. Margaret Browne and Michael McKernan (Canberra: Australian War Memorial and Allen & Unwin, 1988). For examples of historians identifying turning points in Australian relations with Asia, see Robin Gerster, *Travels in Atomic Sunshine: Australia and the Occupation of Japan* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2008), pp. 250-1; Rupert Lockwood, *Black Armada: Australia and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1942-49* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982), Jan Lingard, *Refugees and Rebels: Indonesian Exiles in Wartime Australia* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008); Nicholas Brown, "Australian Intellectuals and the Image of Asia, 1920 - 1960," *Australian Cultural History*, no. 9, Special Issue: 'Australian Perceptions of Asia', David Walker, Julia Horne & Adrian Vickers (eds.) (1990), pp. 87, 90; Robin Gerster, "Asian Destinies/Destinations: The Vietnam Tour," *Australian Studies* 10 (1996), p. 67; Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 290-5; Nicholas Thomas, ed., *Re-Orienting Australia-China Relations: 1972 to the Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Timothy Kendall, *Ways of Seeing China: From Yellow Peril to Shangrila* (Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005), pp. 170-9.

Orientalist attitudes in a new way, which legitimised them for subsequent generations. It can also be seen in the redeployment of colonial hierarchies of comfort and service in the post-colonial tourism industry across Asia.

Whilst encouraging a growing sympathy between Australia and Asia, Australians' travels have not led to any conclusive shift from colonial to postcolonial attitudes. Indeed, the comfort that encouraged Australians to think of Asia in a more positive way was in fact sustained by the structural inequalities inherent to travel and tourism in the 'Third World.' These inequalities continue to structure most Australian contacts with Asia, and perpetuate the continuation of neocolonial patterns in Australian rumours about Asia.

Whilst travel has encouraged 'engagement,' it has not supplanted colonial perspectives. The character of military deployments in Asia bound soldiers to a form of colonial culture. In Singapore during the early months of the Pacific War, in the BCOF occupation of Japan, and during the Vietnam War, Australian military deployments developed a culture premised on their dominance. Soldiers of all ranks were provided with servants in Asia, a comfort which was unheard of for all but the wealthiest Australians back home. The context of war or formal occupation also saw the military appropriate an extraordinary range of powers over civilians. This culture structured soldiers' contacts with locals. As a result of the limited range of contacts allowed them, Australian soldiers developed distorted conceptions of Asians. They also developed group identities and behavioural codes which flourished without regard for local mores. At its most virulent, an active disdain for local norms resulted in the development of the culture of impunity evident during the early years of the BCOF deployment and throughout the Vietnam War.

Whilst the colonial culture of these military deployments is evident, the experiences of most Australian civilians in Asia were also bound by structural inequalities. Arguments about tourism functioning as a form of neocolonialism are strongest in examples in which 'First World' tourists visit 'Third World' countries.[2] This is the context in which most Australian contacts with Asia have been made. As a result of their relative economic power, most Australians have enjoyed higher levels of service and comfort in Asia that at home. Conservative Cold War travellers were concerned with Asia's political and social fabric, but they observed this from plush hotels where servants tended their every need. Although their liberal counterparts in China espoused

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[2] See, for example, Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 33-48.; Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sights, Savings and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989), pp. 307-44; John Hutnyk, *The Rumour of Calcutta: Tourism, Charity and the Poverty of Representation* (London: Zed Books, 1996); C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

egalitarian ideals, they too lived in palatial hotels, ate sumptuous meals, and were ferried between factories and revolutionary sites by personal drivers – and all paid for by the Chinese government. Tourists – both 'mass' and 'alternative' – have found their dollar has stretched further in Asia, and many have enjoyed the novelty of living like kings, without spending like them. The relative wealth of Australians structured their visits, and limited their contacts with local people, their cultures, and their ways of life – unless, of course, those people, cultures and ways of life were the objects of the tourist's gaze. Although Australians were interested in Asia, and many bore goodwill towards its people, most preferred to retreat from the heat, the busy streets, the dirt and the smells, to ponder what they had seen, and discuss what it all meant, with other travellers. From the 1960s, an influential 'alternative' tourist culture, with a firm status hierarchy, also framed many travellers' experiences. This culture, too, was developed according to tourists' norms, and not local mores. Like the military culture that shaped the experiences of soldiers in Japan and Vietnam, then, the culture of travel and tourism – whether alternative or mass – structured the experiences of most Australians in Asia. This context inflected personal experiences, and imbued rumours with determined ideas about Asians and about Australians. Asians were the objects of the tourist gaze, of travel stories, on-the-road analysis and speculation about their political or cultural inclinations, while Australians were the subjects who made these pronouncements, and developed their theories. Asians laboured whilst Australians remained at leisure; Asians were poor and Australians were rich; Australians were dominant and Asians (at least those they met in hotels and restaurants, on tours and in shops) were subordinate, even servile. The fact that so much knowledge about Asia was produced in this context means that broader Australian perceptions of Asia have been fundamentally distorted along neocolonial lines.

There are, of course, striking exceptions. The captivity of Australian prisoners of war by the Japanese imprinted a very different hierarchy of power onto Australian bodies. Business-people in Asia have met with local counterparts to do business and to strike deals; and as we saw in Colin Syme's 1946 meeting with J.R.D. Tata, the hierarchy of wealth and power did not always privilege the Australian, even in overtly colonial conditions. The small group of committed liberals who sought to assist in the post-colonial development of Indonesia by living according to local standards also subverted colonial and neocolonial structures. These are important examples, which reveal the complexity of Australian experiences in Asia, but they have been undercurrents within an ocean of colonial, pseudo-colonial and neocolonial experience. While the precise nature and context of rumours, attitudes and experiences have taken many shapes, a basic sense that the Australian is justified in enjoying a level of comfort that is superior to local

standards, is evident in most journeys to Asia throughout the twentieth century, and continues also in the twenty--first.

Thus, whilst on the one hand tourism has helped shift Australian attitudes from fear towards engagement, it is evident that it has not engendered a significant turn from colonial to post-colonial modes. Most Australians do not visit Asia with trepidation, or believe that Australia must display defensive postures to keep a threatening north at bay. Rather, they casually travel to destinations across a region they fondly think of as their pleasure periphery. Of course, holiday-makers the world over conceive of their holidays as a time to enjoy a level of luxury that they deny themselves in their everyday lives. In Asia, however, the low local cost of labour, compared to the high rates of tourists' disposable income, accentuates the differences. The contrast between Australian lifestyles and those of the locals can be extreme, and are only accentuated by holiday-time extravagance. The fact that so many Australian ideas about Asia have been created through the rumours, experiences and representations of travel and tourism means that Australian ideas about Asia are fundamentally skewed by the inequality inherent to the tourist system.

This thesis started with the experiences of William Wade, and it is to him that I turn for the last word. Wade's enthusiasm for Asia, and his desire for progressive diplomatic relations, arose out of personal experience of Tokyo and Hong Kong. His determination to foster a correspondence between Asian children and his own daughters signalled a desire for a future characterised by warm relations between Australia and Asia. Such a desire for engagement has been a notable outcome of much Australian travel to Asia. However, Wade's contacts with Asians were limited by the context of travel and tourism. As a tourist, he lived in a comfortable hotel that effectively separated him from the people on the streets. The heat, the confusion, the congestion of Hong Kong and Tokyo made his plush hotel seem so much more attractive. As a result, like so many others, Wade's attempts to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between Australia and Asia were limited. The only child he met who could act as a pen-pal for his girls was the daughter of the Hong Kong tailor who busily sewed his suits; and the only Asian voices he recorded in his audio-letters home, were the voices of servants.

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