9

The Time and Sound of the Nautical Border

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From out the water's wall

From Luxor to heavens in the sprawl

See the wings clash against the glistening purple clips

Eurhythmic, a phasing shift

The ships that came from Kush

Now they're aimed on a collision

Stare with this image being witnessed ... decisions

That's the conflict of the uninventive

But at protect and exalt we keep up in it till its finished

-"Dawn in Luxor" (Shabazz Palaces 2014)

The images evoked in the lyrics by the afrofuturist experimental hip hop group Shabazz Palaces draw from the idea of water as a memory-laden thoroughfare. They pull from water its mystical, primordial quality connecting ancient Luxor, the Theban capital of Egypt, to ships arriving from Kush on the confluence of several Niles. The clash of ships is imaged with the clash of wings. Memory becomes an event – an image witnessed from afar. This witnessing becomes a multitemporal political project that makes something at a level of remove. This song is an incantation – a eurythmy that through its steady beat transposes this clash into a semblance of order. The sound makes a rhythm of the clash, and the image is pulled into the present of a political struggle. But what does it mean to take note of time outside the poetics of memory at sea? Of things and events and images falling outside the frame?

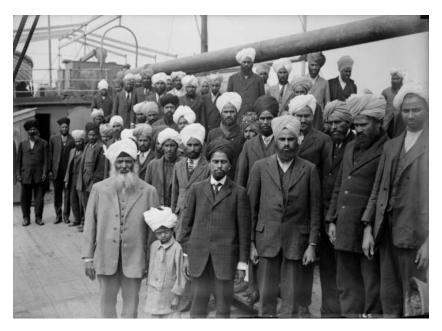


FIGURE 9.1 Still from Continuous Journey | Ali Kazimi, director, 2004.

In 2007, I co-wrote an essay with Tamara Vukov on Ali Kazimi's experimental documentary *Continuous Journey* that traced the journey of the *Komagata Maru*. Vukov used her vast knowledge of Canadian immigration policy to contextualize the events on board the ship, at the Vancouver dock, and in the grey zones embedded in the passing of the Continuous Journey Regulation. Drawing from Gilles Deleuze's conception of the real, she examined the varieties of racial exclusion cleverly placed aside the law (Hameed and Vukov 2007, 88–89). In what remained unsaid, but what was effectively enforced, was a deliberate silence or an aporia in the law that made it possible for Canadian authorities to keep the *Komagata Maru* literally at bay in the Vancouver harbour and then to turn its passengers away.

In my contribution to that project, I explored the exciting formal choices that Kazimi made in his use of archival material – how he made the paucity of material at hand into a creative constraint and animated the few images that he found of the ship and its passengers. I thought that something new and important was happening epistemologically with this choice to animate – to bring into motion and thus into a form of life – an inadequately documented historical event. To me, this highlighted a way of

Dhamoon_1.indd 198 2019-03-28 10:07:52 AM

working formally linked intrinsically to the subject matter of migration - the nautical and the historical.

Although my performance practice has explored contemporary Canadian immigration policy in the context of border crossing and racial profiling (Hameed 2011), my recent "scholarly" work deals with substantively different issues such as the middle passage (see, e.g., Hameed 2014). My collaboration on the essay was really an exceptional project in which I could explore my small obsession with these animations that turned static archival images into bodies that blinked and clouds that rushed across the sky.

In his film Continuous Journey, Kazimi makes a temporal comparison, draws a spider's thread between the passing of the Continuous Journey Regulation in the early twentieth century and the Safe Third Country Agreement passed at the time of the film's production. The film uses a temporal method that rubs two historical moments together. In this rubbing against their grain, the time passed between those moments both expands and contracts. What is produced by such a temporal method is a simultaneous sense of resonance coupled with acute disjuncture. And, fuelled by such a leap in history, this provides a fresh way of looking at the present. The historical is read as a prehistory to tightening the vise of immigration control in the present.

Here I explore these two threads. First I follow my initial interest in Kazimi's use of animation as a formal historical method, which I argue forms what I call an immanent aesthetic inextricable from his larger investigation. I link this to some other ways in which the immanent aesthetic can be thought of in relation to nautical migration and particularly to sound. Then I explore the time of the nautical border, considering how objects caught in the crosshairs of a political crisis become charged with historical crises. However, outside the brush of history, I also consider the quality of time for the objects themselves: the waiting, the boredom, the resistance, the falling out of the frames of action that operate on the axis of time. Here I explore the ship as one such monad historically charged, looking at - among other cases - the "left-to-die boat" case in the Mediterranean in 2011, an investigation undertaken at the Centre for Research Architecture at Goldsmiths University of London (Forensic Architect n.d.; Pezzani 2013). I draw some crooked lines between this ship and the Komagata Maru, considering the legal aporias that they inhabit (ed) and the violence embedded in the inability of passengers to disembark.

Dhamoon_1.indd 199 2019-03-28 10:07:52 AM I conclude the chapter by considering two other films – Uriel Orlow's *Yellow Limbo* (2011) and CAMP's *From Gulf to Gulf to Gulf* (2013) – as a coda that provides another immanent aesthetic that combines ways of thinking about the moving image in relation to the sounds and times of the nautical border beyond Kazimi's film. Both films materialize and territorialize the time and space of the nautical journey, in both instances calling attention to the quality of waiting that happens on board between docks and how time is passed.

The question of the formal qualities of time and of sound, and the ways in which they are used in these works, are fuelled by concerns that this volume attempts to study. In its examination of how imperialism produces itinerant subjects, a question to consider is how can such conditions of flux, historically produced and full of contradictions, be represented? The registers of sound and of time, both material and invisible at the same time, could be possible markers to take stock of events that took place on and around the *Komagata Maru*. Linked with representations of other ships caught in the same aporias of imperially averted gazes, together they potentially form a vocabulary or a constellation that is linked temporally, sonically, and sociohistorically.

Sound

I would like to recapitulate briefly some of the observations that I made about Kazimi's film (Hameed and Vukov 2007). Following the cut-up technique of William Burroughs, I went back into the article with a scalpel, cutting into the text, rearranging the material, and seeing what came out of unlikely juxtapositions. As Burroughs (1986) said of his textual form of divination, "when you cut into the present, the future leaks out."

What struck me when writing "Animating Exclusions" was how Kazimi turned the lack of archival material on the *Komagata Maru* into a creative constraint. He cropped photographs, tinted them, used them repeatedly; he also animated these images and created illusions of movement on the ship, dock, and street. This method was not surplus to his study. The nature of his investigation produced its own imagery and a way of working with the material that contains an aesthetic quality germane to looking at migration and nautical travel. I call this quality an aesthetic immanence, in which the way of working with materials and historical matters coincide to produce an aesthetic quality inextricable from a study of the object of inquiry. As I wrote,

Dhamoon_1.indd 200 2019-03-28 10:07:52 AM

The most striking punctum in the animation of Continuous Journey is when the photograph of Gurdit Singh fills the screen and, looking at the camera, his eyes blink. This image of Gurdit Singh, animated to blink, repeats constantly through the film, often with no break or acknowledgement in the commentary. Why is this image so consistently jarring? And what is achieved by the visceral shock of this animation? The implications of animating Gurdit Singh's nearly century-old photograph to blink are key to understanding the role of the archive in Continuous Journey. It is a play between reconstruction and decay, and recuperation and loss. It queries the division between animated and "already moving-images" and their ability to recuperate the events they record.

... This speaks to one element of the puzzle that underlies the blinking photograph: the distance between the viewer and the image is both expanded as incommensurable, and also collapsed in the intimacy of the affect generated by the blink. But it also fits within a language of distance and loss that informs Continuous Journey's search for archival evidence. (Hameed and Vukov 2007, 96, 98)

The choice to animate the archival images as a response to their paucity constitutes one such aesthetic immanence. The shock created in rupturing the image - the affect created by this animation - is its counterpart in its creation of intimacy and alienation.

Following the work of Michel Chion (1994), who explores the many facets of the symbiotic relationship between sound and image in cinema, it is not a stretch to argue that the sonic quality of a film is a central component of its affective quality. Part of the immanent aesthetics of sound in this context resides in the close connection between sound and the nautical. Sound operates like the animated images, as aesthetically immanent to the study of nautical migration.

Although part of my original analysis of the film was connected with the affective charges of speed and decay in the animation, it now seems to have been a huge oversight to overlook the affective element of sound in the experience of the moving image. Early in the film, Kazimi captures the zeitgeist of the historical moment in his rerecording of a popular song at the time that the Continuous Journey Regulation was passed: "White Canada Forever." The song's sentiment brings together attitudes toward race prevalent in western Canada at the time, which Peter Ward (2002) thoughtfully explores in his book by that title.

Dhamoon_1.indd 201 2019-03-28 10:07:52 AM In another vein, Kazimi describes another sonic manifestation of the prevalent racist sentiments at the time – the distinction between the two meanings of Indian. To distinguish First Nations people from migrants from India, the latter were referred to as "Hindoos" in official documents, drawing on the vernacular moniker "Hindustan" used since the Middle Ages to speak of India. In Canadian documents, Hindoo became the designation of one from Hindustan and consequently ethnicized the Indian so that the boundary between citizenship and religion became even more eroded. The sonics of homonyms then had a real-life impact on the classification of populations that fell outside the margins of white Canada.

A more subtle use of sonics to create a visceral charge in *Continuous Journey* lies in the use of the raga that plays in snippets throughout the film – including during Kazimi's account of his own coming of age. The association of this music established early in the film with Kazimi's Super 8 home movies of his home and youth charges it with a sense of nostalgia. Later a riff of this song plays in snippets as Kazimi charts the voyage of the *Komagata Maru*. The contrast between the instability of the voyage and the affective quality of Kazimi's home triggered by the music produces a sense of vertigo similar to the sped-up animation.

This sense of nostalgia, instability, and home finds some kind of resolution toward the end of the film when Kazimi finds a film recording of the "real" *Komagata Maru* at sea. The connection of the raga with an "authentic" image is an affective visceral jolt akin to the blink in the animated photograph of Gurdit Singh and his son.

However, I think that there is an even more inherent relationship among sound, migration, and the nautical that exceeds the affective relationship between sounds and moving images. In his book *Audio Vision: Sound on Screen*, Chion (1994, 5) explores how sound affects our perception of the moving image by creating what he calls an "added value" to what we see. Chion looks at several permutations of sound and image: the ways that more "vococentric" sounds dominate over other sounds, the ways that sound and image coalesce, rubbing against one another's grain to create a sense of empathy or a sense of alienation. Most interesting in the context of this discussion is how he characterizes the difference in perception between sound and image. To Chion, "each kind of perception bears a fundamentally different relationship to motion and stasis, since sound, contrary to sight, presupposes movement from the outset. In a film image

Dhamoon_1.indd 202 2019-03-28 10:07:52 AM

that contains movement many other things in the frame may remain fixed. But sound by its very nature necessarily implies a displacement or agitation, however minimal" (9-10; emphasis added). This relationship between sound and displacement points to the beginnings of thinking through the relationship between sound and migration. Sound not only evokes a sense of movement but also implies a sense of instability or, as he says, an agitation. This agitation unsettles the viewer.

Such instability also has something to do with the agitation of air and spatialization of sound as well, which Jonathan Sterne and Tara Rodgers (2011) point out has been represented for centuries as a voyage. Although they are specifically interested in nautical imagery in metaphors of sound manipulation, they also describe how the voyage is figured through sound metaphors.

And they describe how that imagery is of a colonizing nautical journey. In perhaps the most elegant summary possible, they paint the entire canvas of the nautical in sound:

Themes of sound as fluid disturbance and maritime journey were imagined in the exterior world, often represented as an "ocean of air" (Hunt 1). They were also transposed onto the interior structures of the inner ear, itself a kind of seascape of canals, sinus curves, and other fluid passageways to be traversed by scientific exploration. The ear was a destination of sound waves, one that "accepts [...] all the strife and struggle and confusion" of vibratory motion in the surrounding environment (Tyndall 82). Structures within the ear (solids, fluids, and membranes) were depicted as a terrain of interconnected parts through which vibrations "travel" (Barton 335-43). The term ear canal itself evoked a channel of water for navigation, an arm of the sea. Francis Bacon's Sylva Sylvarum (1626) contained one of the first applications of the term canal (derived from channel, a waterway for boats) to a pipe for amplifying sound, as well as to tubular structures within the body, such as the ear canal (OED, "canal"). Like twentieth-century biotechnology discourses that transposed tropes of outer-space travel to "inner space" representations of immune systems (Haraway 221-25), Bacon and followers imagined formal structures of the ear in relation to symbols of maritime voyage drawn from concurrent scientific and colonialist exploration projects. Themes of maritime voyage symbolized the promise of scientific exploration to conquer the unknowable, fluid landscapes of sound waves in the furthest reaches of the world

Dhamoon_1.indd 203 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM and the innermost spaces of the ear, and these metaphors have persisted in audio-technical discourse. (Sterne and Rodgers 2011, 46)

Their metaphors of maritime journeys start from the description of the working of the inner ear that ordered and made sense of all the "strife and struggle" of vibration in the world. This image dates to at least the seventeenth century in Bacon's formulation. By connecting the workings of the ear and sound to nautical journeys, Sterne and Rodgers (2011) bring together the ways in which sound is both nautical and physiological. These connections provide a sense of how sound, the voyage, and biopolitical spheres connect to the regulation of the space of the sea though the act of mobility.

Sterne and Rodgers (2011) link this voyage analogy to a colonialist and scientific exploration. The exploratory colonial analogy highlighted the unknowable quality of sound as it existed both at a distance and deep in the recesses of the ear. They argue that this imagery produces a subject position at its centre: the navigator, the colonial tamer of unruly vibrations, whom they figure as white and male. This mastery involves both danger and pleasure. They call attention to the implicit classing and racing embedded in this formulation. From this formulation of the navigator who has mastery over the waves, "a travel narrative emerges from presumptions of freedom and mobility rather than experiences of disability or of being surveilled or stopped" (48). This contrasting imagery of water as a space of flows as opposed to a series of striations and impediments to travel brings us back to the migratory impulses embedded in the formulation of the sound wave.

If mastery of sound is embodied in the navigator, then its nonmastery, the account from below that links it to its privations, could be described as a kind of falling out of the frame and of the sails turning awry. At the level of affect, this nonmastery perhaps lies in horror.

Chion (1994, 23) points out that, though sound often provides a filter with which to interpret the moving image, the image also interprets and inflects the quality of sound. In horror movies, what the sonic adds is the dimension of implied and off-camera violence. So, for example, a sound could complement the image of a watermelon being crushed in a comedic moment in the visual narrative or a head being struck in a horror movie. Sound effects can turn a body on screen into a lifeless thing; they can fill

Dhamoon_1.indd 204 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM

in gaps in speech with unspeakable and unviewable violence happening off screen and implied.

This relates to the displaced and agitated quality of sound in that the off-camera, beyond-language quality of horror is also inherently displaced - mechanically, nothing is seen, the sound is off camera. This sense of displacement and its relationship to violence have a resonance with the uncanny beyond language and sense of displacement connected to a violent experience of migration. It is the complete opposite experience of sound than what the master navigator experiences.

Time

One of the striking aspects of the Continuous Journey Regulation was how, without naming its intentions, it effectively managed to keep unwanted migrants out of Canada. This implicit exclusion was effected at the margins of what was stated, forming a legal equivalent to wilfully looking away and allowing the ripple effects of the regulation to do all the dirty work. Such averted gazes and the short-circuiting of action through overlapping jurisdictions within the law have particular qualities when the border in question is made of water. The standoff of the Komagata Maru in the Vancouver harbour is one such instance. The slow, wilful interpretation of the regulation and standard procedures such as health checks that took days on end, keeping the passengers waiting and waiting, constitute what Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2013) would call a temporal border.

Their account of the temporal border focuses on the bureaucratic red tape that migrants face on land as they pass through the many hurdles associated with processing visas or being granted asylum. Although they do discuss nautical borders, it is more in the context of particular models of governmentality. I am more interested in the quality of time and waiting at borders on the sea.

The sea as a temporal border coalesces in the ship. But the ship is the crystallization of another temporal exercise that I described earlier the comparison of two historical moments. In Continuous Journey, it is the comparison of the Continuous Journey Regulation with the more recent Safe Third Country Agreement. The tensions produced by this comparison create a constellation of monads, one of which is the ship. Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) describe two cases in which ships - the MV Oceanic Viking

Dhamoon_1.indd 205 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM and the KM *Jaya Lestari 5* – when carrying asylum-seeking migrants from Sri Lanka, were held by Indonesian authorities on their way to Australia. On both ships, the passengers refused to disembark to be processed and deported.

The first ship, the *Oceanic Viking*, was a customs vessel from Australia that rescued several Tamil migrants at the request of the Indonesian government. These passengers, as Mezzadara and Nielson (2013, 167) describe, were taken to be processed on Bintan Island, the site of an International Organization for Migration (IOM) detention centre. When the ship arrived at the port, the migrants refused to leave the ship until, after two weeks of hunger strikes and a diplomatic standoff, the Australian authorities agreed to expedite processing of the migrants' asylum applications.

The second ship, the *Jaya Lestari 5*, a small ship carrying 254 Tamil migrants, was intercepted in Indonesian waters and taken to Merak. When the migrants refused to disembark, the standoff lasted much longer in this instance – more than six months. This duration cost the life of one of the migrants; the rest were left with little food or access to medical care, many were ill, and about forty escaped (Mezzadara and Nielson 2003, 168).

Not disembarking forms a kind of resistance to the border, which turns the threshold of the boat de facto into a border. To refuse to disembark is to refuse to cross a border. This was not an option for those on board the *Komagata Maru*, but the refusal of those on board other ships to disembark brings the materiality of this border into view and demonstrates another form of resistance to this border that those aboard the *Komagata Maru* contested by trying to cross the border by leaving their ship.

The duration of the standoff for the *Jaya Lestari* 5 created the conditions that produce death, illness, malnutrition, and escape. The context was similar in both instances, but the difference between two weeks and six months created a barrier that affected the bodies and constitutions of the migrants themselves. In other words, time became intertwined with the health of the migrants, which mapped onto how successfully they could approach, bypass, or become fatalities of this border.

Part of the delay also lay in trying to determine which country's jurisdiction the ships fell under while the Indonesian and Australian governments were at a standoff. The role of legal jurisdiction at sea in the creation of a nautical and temporal border came to the forefront in another instance, farther from the coast in the "left-to-die boat" case that Charles

Dhamoon_1.indd 206 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM

Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani (2015) were active in developing. The story that they tell is both tragic and increasingly familiar:

In late March 2011, seventy-two sub-Saharan migrants left Tripoli onboard a rubber dinghy in an attempt to reach the small Italian island of Lampedusa. After covering approximately half the distance, the boat ran out of fuel and started drifting in the open sea. Despite reporting their position to the Italian Coast Guard (the organisation later informed its Maltese colleagues and NATO, which ... at the time was engaged in the military operations in Libya) and being spotted and approached by at least one patrol aircraft, a military helicopter, two fishermen's boats and a military vessel, no one intervened to rescue the group. After two weeks of drifting, with no water or food onboard, sixty-three people died, and the nine survivors landed back on the Libyan coast. (Pezzani 2013, 151)

In this instance, the border was temporalized and spatialized by the inaction of all the patrolling ships in the region - by their looking away from this dinghy. The trajectory of its drift constituted another slow death and refusal. The regularity of ships capsizing off the shores of Greece and Italy is proof of how the register of death does not accumulate into a systematic response to safeguard the migrants' lives. Each boat might capsize suddenly, but the response is slow.

The aporia in this instance lies in the contrast between NATO's visual reach, which rendered the entire Mediterranean visible under its surveillance of the Libyan coast, and its simultaneous claim that this boat somehow evaded detection. Heller and Pezzani (2015) uncovered the impossibility of NATO's claim by reconstructing the course of the boat's drift and then locating satellite images of these coordinates to which NATO had access. NATO engaged in another form of looking away.

Coda

What waiting and forms of boredom – which disjunctures – are created in the two scales of time? And what does that sound like? Uriel Orlow's Yellow Limbo charts the story of fourteen cargo ships caught in the Suez Canal for eight years when the border closed during the Six-Day War in 1967. Orlow found Super 8 film shot by the internationally composed crews of these stranded ships who banded together to form a precarious community to survive. This footage documented their version of the

Dhamoon_1.indd 207 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM



FIGURE 9.2 Still from *Yellow Limbo* | Uriel Orlow, director, 2011. HD video with stereo sound, 14'. Copyright Uriel Orlow, SODRAC (2018).

Olympic Games in 1968 as well as other daily activities. Orlow (2015) combined it with footage that he shot on location, vintage photographs, and a slide projection of important events during these eight years: "This three-way comparison of events, disembodied from the timeline of experience, creates a complication of concurrence, consequence and dissociation, giving rise to a sense that time is pleated, causality radiating[,] and that this rippling expanse of saltwater somehow communicates diagonally through time. Shown alongside it is *Anatopism*, a time-capsule of events and titles from 1967 to 1975." *Anatopism*, installed with *Yellow Limbo*, is a slide projection that lists a series of world historical and cultural events, thereby creating another temporal space that highlights what the accumulation of historical time looks like outside the boat. This contrasts with the images that depict how time is managed on board. This is time filled with tactics – a time of the now as a form of survival and resistance in the face of world events that tick by at its margins.

There are consequently two different experiences of time: one on board made up of gestures and relations and one involving the world outside the ships. These are also two different scales of waiting in which the time of the Six-Day War finds a more local form of waiting that is nautical, on a set of ships caught in the crossfire of hostilities and diplomatic relations. They are only small players in another aporia. This is another temporal border: this time we are at sea with a different kind of crew on board who are not seeking asylum across an impenetrable border. Rather, the journey

Dhamoon_1.indd 208 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM

itself and its physical trajectory become the subject of a border regime rather than the passengers on board. The border that blocks the passage rather than the passengers then becomes inhabited by these very passengers, this crew – a striated space stretched out over several years.

The clash of chronotopes between the ships and the world produces its own sonics. The sound of the film is the sound of water lapping at the shore, the clicking of the slide projector marking time on its carousel, a child on the shore shouting in vain at a ship at sea in the now time of Orlow's footage. But sound also becomes something to be read in the titles in Anatopism. The events happening around the world that these ships are part of yet completely isolated from consist of film, book, and song titles circulating around the world. For example, the reverberating image of the Godfather trilogy evoked in the titles and the titles of songs such as David Bowie's "The Man Who Sold the World" (released in 1970) interspersed with events such as "Nixon in China" and "King Hussein of Jordan Proposes United Arab Kingdom with West Bank" become an aesthetic, imagined archive that is silent but easily imagined in its auditory evocations. "The Man Who Sold the World" becomes part of the soundtrack to this telling of the world's history outside "Yellow Limbo" itself, and the sound of the sea becomes its index of the two chronotopes at stake in this impasse.

This notion of waiting at sea finds another permutation of the border in CAMP's From Gulf to Gulf to Gulf (2013), but in this instance it is the border between land and sea as it is experienced by merchant sailors shipping cargo: from India to Somalia to Pakistan to the Persian Gulf. These precarious workers are constantly at sea, stopping at ports only for short periods, spending the majority of their time crisscrossing the Arabian Sea. The Mumbai-based collective CAMP sees this work as an antifilm video, an archive of this journey made up of cellphone video shot by sailors from Iran, Pakistan, and India and footage shot by CAMP over a span of four years:

CAMP's film began with collecting a trove of video ephemera produced by sailors - short videos shot on cellphones and paired with music that the men would bounce back and forth to each other via Bluetooth. These accumulated music videos form the basis for the film, edited together with footage shot by CAMP and the sailors they supplied with video cameras. The result is a

Dhamoon_1.indd 209 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM



FIGURE 9.3 Still from From Gulf to Gulf to Gulf | CAMP, director, 2013.

mixture of the intimate and the epic, as we observe the sailors at work, at play and in repose, allowing a remarkable and ephemeral window into the world of these workers. (Images Festival 2015)

It depicts how the dhows or ships that they sail on are constructed, the composition of goods being transported, and the immense amount of waiting that the crew endure as they travel from port to port.

None of this is narrated or framed within the film: there is no voiceover, nor are there any titles. The sound that bursts onto the screen is a product of cellphone technology – mp3s stored on a phone, are added to the video footage automatically by the phone's settings. These bursts of music, frequently incongruous with the image, are an index of the sailors' lifestyles – what the sailors do to pass the time and the music that they listen to while working and waiting.

These crews are not caught in a static border like the sailors captured in *Yellow Limbo*'s images, nor are they seeking entry into another country like the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* or the boats plying the Mediterranean even as I write this. These sailors are in constant movement from shore to shore. They are migrant labourers at sea – a disenfranchised transnational workforce whose precarious movement points in the direction of its logical conclusion: the illegal immigrant. They also establish the link between the much-maligned economic migrant and asylum claimant in any country of the Global North categorized as an unscrupulous

Dhamoon_1.indd 210 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM

and dishonest figure and the "legitimate" claimant somehow innocent of economics and the violence of capitalism. These sailors at sea in perpetual motion point to the violent schisms produced by this lie.

This film, with Yellow Limbo, forms a logical conclusion to thinking through how sound and the moving image can take into account the slow time of the nautical border in a new register on precarious migrant labour. Somehow the dizzying speed of the animated images in *Continuous Journey* finds a counterpart in this self-produced, slow-moving archive, in the imagined soundtrack, in the bursts of song to pass the time, in the waiting.

Note

1 Richard Hylton recently pointed out that, in the discourse on the middle passage, though much was made of ship captains throwing slaves overboard during storms and collecting insurance money, in fact more slaves died while ships were waiting at ports while paperwork was being filled out (Mannix and Cowley 2002, 90). Slaves were not allowed, of course, to disembark while the ship lay at anchor, and this point - the inability of an unwanted human cargo to disembark - constitutes the core, or more accurately the threshold, on which the temporal border operates.

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Dhamoon_1.indd 212 2019-03-28 10:07:53 AM