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DECODING AMERICAN CULTURES IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

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AMERICAS, GLOBES, AND THE MYTH OF THE FLAT WORLD

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When Thomas Friedman proclaimed in 2005 that the world was flat, his approach to the cultural shifts wrought by globalization was, for some, a challenging and relevant new way to view the significance of the monumental changes brought to our world by the technological innovations of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. For others, like Martin Sieff, who details his opposition to Friedman in his recently published *That Should Still Be Us: How Thomas Friedman's Flat World Myths are Keeping us Flat on Our Backs* (Sieff, 2012), Friedman's view is 'flat wrong'—only a glib, misinformed and painfully subjective paean on the problems presented by the modern-day encounter between countries of the first and third worlds. In describing the world as flat, however, Friedman both revisits a concept, an early idea encapsulated within the meaning and history of the Americas, and radically alters it for our modern sensibility and perception. That concept is none other than the popular idea that it was Christopher Columbus who gave to the modern imagination the revolutionary (for his time) understanding that the world, then supposedly considered to be flat (or, at best, an enormous disk) was, actually, round. We all know the familiar story, of how the renegade Columbus scraped together enough money and support to go and sail his ships to the end/edge of the world—a foolhardy undertaking that could only have been the mission of the irretrievably insane—then, by not falling off and living to return, found himself the hero of the day and for future generations without end, in proving to all that there was nothing to fear beyond the visible horizon. As the story goes, it is at this

historical moment that the world becomes a globe, rather than a disc, and by finding a New World to boot, opens a mighty door to all of the subsequent historical and cultural problems attendant upon this new reality.

The story is so common, in fact, that Friedman's title immediately and effortlessly registers in the collective mind as a reference to the quintessential problem facing the heroic explorer who was to become the father of that New World. In so doing, because of its ability to grab collective attention in this way, Friedman's title also becomes a powerful metaphor for describing the profound impact of the radical social, historical, cultural and economic changes that swept across the world from the 1990s into the 2000s in the wake of the technology boom, and, for Friedman, largely as a result of it. The power of the metaphor lies in its ability to encapsulate, at one and the same time, two very disparate yet focused ideas over a temporal distance of centuries, which yet seek to convey an understanding of one geographical location—America, or the Americas, as the case may be. In the Columbus story are to be found the ideas of discovery, of fantastical, unimaginable new realities, of adventure and newfound understanding brought to life through daring, courage and fearless travel. These ideas are also to be found in Friedman's view, albeit so transformed as to be almost unrecognizable. At the core of both ideas, however, lies an understanding of the globe and the place of America and the Americas within it.

Friedman's deft capturing of the collective imagination is not, however, without its problems. Some of these are made manifest in the fact that there a number of scholars who have invested not a little effort in the attempt to entirely debunk the commonly accepted significance of the Columbus story, by setting the historical record straight. In his book, *Inventing the Flat Earth: Columbus and Modern Historians* (Russell, 1991), for example, Jeffrey Burton Russell sets out to prove, through meticulous historical investigation, that medieval scholars well knew that the Earth was a sphere, and that this was something that they had known since the time of the ancient Greeks. Similarly, in her book, *Flat Earth: History of an Infamous Idea* (Garwood, 2008), Christine Garwood explains that the popular Columbus story, especially its assumption of a flat

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earth, had no place in fact or reality, because this was an idea that had already been largely dismissed by the time Columbus was preparing for his voyage. Both Russell and Garwood agree that the commonly accepted Columbus story was actually more or less invented by the American author Washington Irving in the 19th century, with the 1828 publication of his *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus,* a work that was mistakenly assumed to be fact, and then popularized through the 19th century, on into the 20th and the 21st.

Given the cultural and historical significance of the concept, however, it may not matter whether or not Friedman is right or wrong. It is, in effect, not really a question of right or of wrong, but rather of what Friedman is able to achieve in making use of what has been termed the 'myth of the Flat Earth'—that is, the Columbus story that many accept as truth, but which is found to be entirely wrong in the context of any critical examination of the historical record from Pythagoras on, perhaps even earlier. That the story is a myth, however, rather than absolutely discrediting it, makes it all the more useful: just as the collective imagination is arrested by the provocative nature of the title, that is, everyone knows the world is round, everyone also 'knows' there was a time when it was thought to be flat, so by restating the flatness of the world as an assertion of fact that ignores common and scientifically proven knowledge of the Earth's roundness foregrounds a violent incongruity, by which Friedman's use of the well-known idea shocks all the more. One must immediately stop and consider Friedman's meaning and form a powerful and compelling question: in what way can the world of the 21st century possibly be flat?

It is at this juncture, in the fissure that Friedman creates between belief and knowledge, fact and fiction, myth and reality, that he is able to make his central point. For Friedman, the world in the 21st century is flat because the social, cultural and economic impact of technology has been to foster the development and profound influence of globalization—in effect, to create a new understanding of the relationship between America, the Americas and the globe. That new understanding, in Friedman's view, goes both ways. As US American products and culture are disseminated throughout the world, as the countries of the Americas continue

to rise in economic power and importance, so too, through technology, do countries in other parts of the world begin to make their presence known and felt more strongly than ever before. As this enormous change takes place in the objective world in which we live, so too does it have a proximate effect on the world of ideas. And it is because of this effect on the world of ideas that Friedman's use of the 'myth of the Flat Earth' can be seen to be especially illuminating.

As a myth, the idea of the Flat Earth is one whose familiarity is so intimate as to be almost comforting, especially in terms of common conceptions of the meaning and significance of American culture. Especially in the context of US America, the notion that America itself represents the dawning of a never before seen world-understanding would seem only right, given the historical ascendancy of American exceptionalism and its seemingly indestructible influence. Digging deeper into the meaning of this intimacy, however, reveals a hidden comment on the foundations of knowledge itself. This is because embedded within it is a very telling yet less-than-evident question: what is the idea of the Flat Earth, if it is a representation of what is known—what can most radically be known—at a particular point in time? Encapsulated within the myth of the Flat Earth, then, is also an understanding of the zenith of knowledge of the natural world *at that time*. It is because of this subtle signification that it does not therefore matter, whether or not the myth is actually true. What is important is that it represents a form of a truth, a belief in a particular truth about a particular aspect of reality at a *given point in time*.

From here, then, it is very easy to begin to understand a deeper and more suggestive significance within Friedman's use of the myth of the Flat Earth. As a myth, the idea takes on more of the character of a kind of creation story, a story of origins. Myths are often considered as being so old that their origins are shadowed in such obscurity that not only does it not matter that the actual truth of those origins can no longer be ascertained—actual truth no longer even becomes an issue, as such myths become their own truth by virtue of the shadows in which they are ensconced. The myth of the Flat Earth, then, being one such 'truth,' which also has the virtue and added power of having been enshrined

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as such in arbiters of truth like history books and classrooms, maintains a forceful claim to truth as knowledge. As such, then, the idea of the Flat Earth itself contains a powerful suggestion that knowledge of the Earth *of its time* was also *circumscribed* by the Earth as it was conceived *at that time*. For example, the 7th century T-O map of the Bishop of Seville, which depicts Europe, Asia and Africa with the Mediterranean, the Nile and the Don Rivers lying between, represents extant understanding of the world, *circumscribed* by the parameters of the known world, *of the time*.

What happens, however, when we consider deeper the etymology of the word 'circumscribe' in this context? The Oxford English Dictionary identifies this word as coming from the Latin *circumscribere*, i.e., *circum* meaning 'around' and *scribere* meaning to make lines or write. The word *circumscribe* has a number of meanings that make it extremely significant when considering its meaning in relation to the question of knowledge. Following is a sampling of those meanings: 1) to draw a line round; to encompass with (or as with) a bounding line, to form the boundary of, to bound; 2) to encompass (without a line), to encircle; 3) to mark out or lay down the limits of; to enclose within limits, limit, bound, confine … [esp.] to confine within narrow limits, to restrict the free or extended action of, to hem in, restrain, abridge; 4) to mark off, to define logically. Considering the word *circumscribe* from these perspectives suggests the notion that just as in the myth of the Flat Earth, an invisible line is drawn around the knowledge of the world, one that would seem also to replicate, like a circle, the Flat Earth conceived as a disc (much as it would have been represented in the early T-O maps), so knowledge itself reflects the drawing of an invisible line around a given understanding of what *is to be known.* Within those parameters, inside the invisible line, what is known, then, becomes sacrosanct.

It is in this context that some of the fears and anxieties associated with globalization, both in terms of Friedman's understanding of the arrival, induced by technology, of all of the cultures of the globe on a level playing field, and in terms of concerns that the advent of globalization also marks an increasing, worldwide cultural standardization whose challenge to the specificity of cultural and ethnic diversity threatens it with all but total disappearance,

become glaringly evident. Although the expression of such fears and anxieties is not always accompanied by a recognition of their impact on our understanding of the meaning and significance of knowledge, nevertheless the problems raised by this issue remain both conspicuous and unresolved. If knowledge is conceived at least in some part as the drawing of a line around something that is to be known, then what exactly, in the context of global cultures, is to be known? By the same token, how, in such a context, is that one thing to be known, to the exclusion of other things that can also be known, especially in relation to each other? In other words, if 21st century culture cannot be understood outside the context of globalization, how then may the line be drawn around what can be known about one culture and what can be known about another? In the context of globalization, where many such lines must necessarily intersect and overlap, such a line would seem to become hazy and indistinct, at times perhaps even invisible. In such a context, it would seem that the more insistence placed on the necessity of such a line, the less useful and meaningful the line must become. Yet, the desire to know, and to know by demarcation, remains. Or does it? For Russell, part of the goal in writing *Inventing the Flat Earth* was to investigate why and how, despite all objective knowledge to the contrary, the myth of the Flat Earth could persist, even to the deepest reaches and recesses of common knowledge. In Russell's view, part of the answer to this question lies in the idea that the '… terror of meaninglessness, of falling off the edge of knowledge is greater than the imagined fear of falling off the edge of the earth. And so we prefer to believe a familiar error than to search, unceasingly, the darkness.' For Russell, then, the popular belief in the myth of the Flat Earth reveals that it is more comforting to 'know' the known and the familiar, than to fall off its edge into the unimagined and, perhaps, even unimaginable reality beyond its recognizable confines.

We've chosen to explore this problem by reaching back, in this special issue of the *Review of International American Studies,* to recuperate a select number of the most provocative essays from the 4th IASA World Congress, which took place at Beijing Foreign University in Beijing, China in 2009. In so doing, we hope to link some of the very fruitful ideas that were shared at the Beijing

conference with ongoing discussions of the same and similar issues that took place at the more recent IASA 6th World Congress held Summer 2013 in Szczecin, Poland, issues which continue to remain timely in the increasingly global world of the early 21st century. What exactly does it mean to consider American culture(s) in a global context? What issues are highlighted within this context that may be obscured in others? What aspect of American culture(s) come to the fore that we might otherwise overlook or ignore? What does or can the imbrication of the idea of 'global' change about our understanding of American culture(s)? Does considering American culture(s) in global context help us to understand the other cultures with which they come into contact? Does it help us to understand American culture(s) it(them) self(selves)? These are just some of the questions addressed by the essays included in this issue. In their examination of the global context, each of the essays in its own way addresses the 'boundaries' of knowledge, of what can/should be known about American culture(s), especially as these are seen to stretch far beyond their own geographical locations, especially in their interactions with other cultures. Near and far, high and low, through the brave and bold explorations of their authors, these essays seek to move our understanding of American culture(s) into new vistas of the global imaginable until they disappear beyond the recognizable horizon of the known, leaving behind them a beguiling invitation, contained in their cry, 'Land, ho!'

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DECODING/RECODING?

On Value Transfer and the Ob*views*

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Obvious (adj.)

1580s, 'frequently met with,' from Latin *obvius* 'that is in the way, presenting itself readily, open, exposed, commonplace,' from *obviam* (adv.) 'in the way,' from *ob* 'against' (see *ob-*) + *viam*, accusative of *via* 'way' (see *via*). Meaning 'plain to see, evident' is first recorded 1630s. Related: *Obviously*; *obviousness*.[1]

Imagine yourself in a green chamber: a room, in which every single piece of furniture, the walls, the floors, and all other objects are of precisely the same shade of green. Armchairs, tables, television sets, pictures on the walls, window panes—even the shadows cast by (identically) green bulbs are of the same color as everything else inside. Your eyes are helpless. Devoid of any sense of certainty, you will clumsily grope about to avoid painful collisions with objects 'that are in the way.' Even though they materially exist, despite their opacity, the contents of the room are anything but e-*vide*-nt: all your eyes can register is limitless *greenness*, as all-pervasive and as unsettling as the blackness of a photographic darkroom when the lights suddenly go off. 'Plain to see,' yet invisible: 'A'='A.' Absolute *identity* precludes *identification*. To perceive anything as *obvius—in the way*—we need it to be *obviews* first.

This essay is about the relation between the *obvius*, obvious and ob*views*: a relation which becomes evident in light of mechanisms responsible for the transfer of values between

1. See: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=obvious>.

donor- and acceptor-cultures. I am inclined to argue that American cultures do not need to be *decoded* in the global context—unless we choose to use the term 'decoding' as synonymous to 'reading.' Both in the intellectual and in the material spheres, elements of American cultures remain 'plain to see' in almost every aspect of life on our fair planet: beginning with tacos and Argentinian beef on restaurant menus world-wide, through Facebook-inspired 'friendships,' space-age technologies in our kitchens, multiculturalist tendencies in politics, or First Nations' inspirations in modeling deep ecology—to rock-and-roll, credit cards and Diet Coke—American cultures R US. Always-already. What's to decode then?

SEEING/DIFFERENCE

The fact that we often fail to see the markers of American cultures as obvious—and indispensable—components of who we are, and that, just as frequently, we choose to see them as as *obvius* when it fits us, may be attributed to a peculiar 'ocular condition' of ours. To explain this, I must take the liberty of inviting you to participation in two more *obviews* experiments.

Imagine an absurd situation: picture yourself as an aficionado of lonely Sunday walks in scrap-metal terminals. At the same time, imagine being an utter ignoramus in matters of technology. Then—see yourself walking between enormous heaps of distorted, disjointed, displaced metal objects whose purpose you neither know, nor are interested in:



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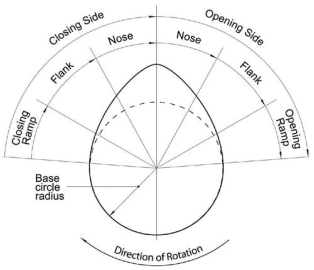
Even though you are technically *able* to fish out individual shapes, you enjoy your exotic solitude: the heaps of scrap seem to flow by as you walk. Suddenly, by the end of the walk, you run into an acquaintance, who happens to silently share your strange habit. Embarrassed with the sudden encounter, eager to hide your somewhat unusual inclination, you seek to explain the rationale of your being there: even though all you have registered is an endless heap of scrap, you are more than likely to rack your brains for *anything* that could *plausibly* be of use to you and that the scrap terminal might offer. You will perform *work* of *remembering* to avoid being labeled as a raving lunatic. You *remember,* or you *fantasize.*

The situation changes should you meet the very same acquaintance digging in the scrap half way through your walk. Upon seing you, he (or she) triumphantly brags about his latest find: a brand-new camshaft, mint condition, that would cost several hundred dollars if bought in a store. You must hide your ignorance to share the spirit of the joyful celebration of victory (and by that camouflage your lunacy), you verbalize your wish to see the find. Not because you are terribly interested in it, of course, but to figure out what a camshaft *is* and thus to be able to join in a sensible conversation that would allow you to avoid hard questions as to why you are *there* on a beautiful Sunday afternoon. Suspecting little or nothing, the acquaintance is delighted to show you his prize:



Still, the blank stare betrays you: you *are* technologically illiterate. The acquaintance, however, enters into a sharing mode—and tells you all you never cared to know about camshafts. Whether you want it or not, you learn that the camshaft is a device translat-

ing circular movement into horizontal movement, that the cams installed on the rotating shaft move the tappets, which in turn open and close valves, and that the cam itself is an ingenious device, whose egg-shape makes the whole process possible:



Overwhelmed, you thank your enthusiastic companion, who happily returns to his work, glad to have found a kindred soul. Relieved, you continue toward the end of the terminal, yet, the formerly nondescript, homogenous scrap-metal yard has perceptibly changed. Much to your own surprise, wherever you look, you suddenly see camshafts of all shapes and sizes:



Amazed, you no longer watch your step. Awestruck by the plethora of camshafts in the yard, you trip, fall down, and hit your head against a particularly malicious camshaft. You lose your consciousness and, as a result, you suffer from a minor memory loss: only a few minutes of your memory vanish. Precisely, the minutes, during which you have had your eye-opening technological conversation.

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A few minutes later you come to, and, rubbing your hurting head, you get up and keep on walking toward the end of the yard. Yet... looking to your left and right, all you see is the non-descript, homogeneous, scrap:



Camshafts have vanished, along with the de-FINI-tion that you have received from your joyful do-it-yourself acquaintance. Much like the green room, the scrap yard hides *nothing*: there are no 'coded' contents within it. Still, without the *finis* of the *definition*, incapable of telling where one *ends* and another begins, you cannot tell the *difference* between one object and another. You no longer see objects as *separate*. They *blend*.

Curiously, if one thinks of the central metanarratives of the Judeo-Christian culture of the West, it is hard not to see the parallels:

{1:1} In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. {1:2} And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness [was] upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

{1:3} And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. {1:4} And God saw the light, that [it was] good: and God divided the light from the darkness. {1:5} And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

{1:6} And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. {1:7} And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which [were] under the firmament from the waters which [were] above the firmament: and it was so.

{1:8} And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.[2]

Clearly, the Book of Genesis describes the beginnings as the *beginnings of difference*: the earth is without form, void, in darkness, and all-too-liquid. And thus, like anything lacking de-*fini*-tion, it must remain unimaginable, until it is *divided/separated* from the firmament of the now capitalized Heaven. Only then, by the power of the imperative *logos*, does it begin to function as a perceivable, distinguishable entity. St. John's philosophical explanation to Genesis confirms this observation:

{1:1} In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. {1:2} The same was in the beginning with God. {1:3} All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. {1:4}[3]

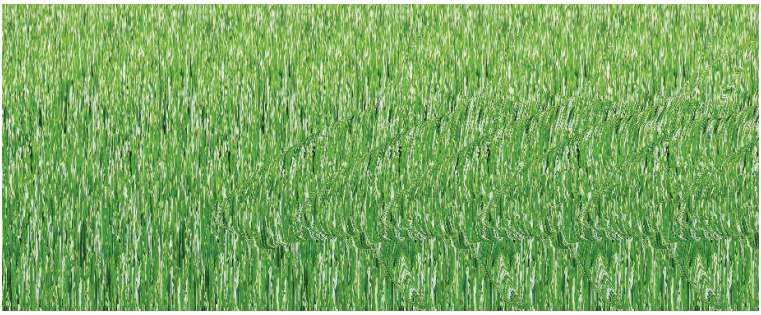
Indeed: the memory loss causing the disappearence of the definition of the camshaft results in its non-existence—or, at least, its unthinkability. Still, in light of the Judeo-Christian givenness to logocentrism manifest in our ultimate confidence in the Word/word, unthinkability is tantamount to non-existence: after all, history, if not written down, is mere legend; agreements, if not officially signed, have no legal power; a PhD holder who has lost his or her diploma must seek to obtain a duplicate before he or she can be considered for a position. Marriages would be invalid without the formulaic performative act of speech, whereby someone pronounces two people man and wife. The removal of words legitimizing facts, in writing or in speech—*undoes* these facts. More generally, it seems justifiable to claim that If we cannot picture the de-*fini*-tional limits of an entity or a fact, we cannot *think* it. That, which does not *differ*, cannot be de-*fined*, and therefore cannot be thought. If we cannot think it, its existence is null and void. *Unthinkable*, however, does not mean *coded*. The fact that we cannot *see*, does not automatically

2. The Book of Genesis, *The King James Version of the Holy Bible,* <http://d23a3s5l1qjyz.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/King-James-Bible-KJV-Bible-PDF.pdf> (access: 10 August 2013).
3. The Gospel According to St. John, *The King James Version of the Holy Bible,* <http://d23a3s5l1qjyz.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/King-James-Bible-KJV-Bible-PDF.pdf> (access: 10 August 2013).

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mean it has been hidden from us, ciphered, that it is not blatantly 'in the way,' that it is not opaque. Even if I cannot *think it*, my failure to do so is not necessarily a result of *coding*: it may well be the effect of my optics: the optics that I unwittingly—or consciously—adopt.

COLUMBUS AND THE SHARK



When uninitiated readers look at the image above, (mis)led by preconceptions as to *how one should look* at images, they will probably see nothing but a rectangle of irregular greenness. Following interpretive norms driven home by the 'standard' foreground-background distinction, they will probably scan the surface of the image in a frustrated search for *something to see*. Failing to achieve this, they may skip over the inconvenience, or jump the shark, resorting to a more 'complex' hermeneutic procedure in order to explain the function of the image in this article to themselves and to others, who might denude their ophtalmological impotence. A more *careful* reader, however, will suspect that the image may be *more* than a blatant allusion to the 'green room' experiment from the beginning of this text. They will perform *work*.[4] They will read the footnote at the bottom of this page, seeking instructions. They will *learn to look*. The shift of the focal point *beyond* the image itself will eventually allow them to see what 'standard' procedures of image reading must inevitably render unavailable. Yet, once the readers see what is to be seen, they will realize that it is not *coding* that is responsible for the initial perceptive failure. Rather, it is what we ourselves *bring into the picture*.

4. I have generated the image above using the Easy Stereogram Builder online, available at <http://www.easystereogrambuilder.com>.

All of the experiments above bring us to the point when the issue of the dynamics between *relational epistemology* (responsible for our capacity of seeing) and *good will* (responsible for our readiness to mistrust optics) becomes central. The first case could be conveniently illustrated by an experience of 'falling into a language,' an experience shared by many of us, speakers of English as a *foreign* language, especially if our adventure with the language commenced in the context of cultural isolation from the West.

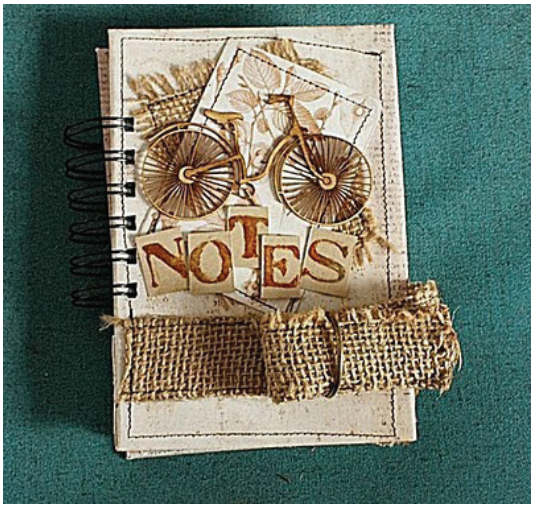
Born and raised in Poland under the communist rule, I started learning English rather late: I was as old as nineteen when I mastered a sufficient command of the language to have a relatively uncomplicated conversation. At the time, bearing in mind the severe limitations of travel and an almost complete lack of access to English-speaking media, few Poles would honestly believe in any pragmatic uses for English in Poland. Yet, as a gesture of disobedience toward the dominant regime, as a tool of resistance and a harbinger of a brighter future, learning English would be a *sine qua non* of proper education of children born to intellectual families. What is more important, subcutaneously, even the high school teens would feel that English equaled status: you would play hookey in any other class, but not English.

Yet, despite positive attitudes and keen interest in anything related to English, the limited value transfer between the English-speaking world and Poland at the time resulted in the fact that my generation would effectively form an almost English-free epistemic framework of reference. Value judgments aside, such a state of affairs carried certain consequences: above all, our 'falling into the language' would lead to much more spectacular discoveries than is the case with high school students today, for whom international travel is daily bread, who have been raised in houses with internet access and several hundred television channels in English to choose from, and for whom English has been a mandatory subject since preschool.

To my generation, *seeing the difference upon falling into language* was easy: I remember the sudden change of my musical tastes when I finally got to the point when I could understand the lyrics of songs performed by some of my formerly beloved rock'n'roll bands. My memory of the disappointment at the poetic quality of White Snake's 'Steal Away' is still vivid: devastated, I turned

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to Pink Floyd, King Crimson and Alan Parson's Project for instant consolation. Moreover, even the simplest objects would sometimes manifest their nature as fascinating stereograms. For instance, this:



An object like any other... with one exception. Until my 'fall into language,' I would understand the word spelled out on the cover as *the name of the object*. Especially, that it has been grammaticalized in the Polish language as a noun: the word 'notes' has seven case forms, can be diminutized, or motivate word formation. Even today it functions as such: any Polish-English dictionary will define it as 'notebook,' 'jotter,' 'pocketbook,' or 'scratchpad.' Discovering that 'notes' is actually an English word, and that the notebooks in English speaking countries had the same word spelled out on their covers changed my world: I was plainly amazed at my discovery that the obvious 'notes' of mine was a 'book' to my English speaking counterparts, and that the word on the cover was a plural form of the word 'note,' thus denoting its *contents* rather than *itself*. With a mighty bang, the opposition between the object and its contents underwent a spectacular deconstruction: the world manifested itself to me as multidimensional and in constant freeplay: I may *prefer* to read it in English, I may *prefer* to read it in Polish, but I cannot deny the awareness of *both*. And unless we choose to insist that the 'code was cracked' when I fell into English, the multidimensionality of the wor(l)d thus uncovered was not a result of some sinister encryption: it became *obviews* to me when I embraced the new

language, which changed my optics, which, consequently, changed my *episteme* and effectively transformed my *doxa*.

When no alternative *episteme* challenges our *doxa*, we seem to have no other option but to take what we see at face value. The ethical question that surfaces, however, is whether our lack of awareness may be construed as a viable justification of violence we may unwittingly be inflicting on others and, consequently, on ourselves. Whether or not we subscribe to a certain politics of knowledge is ultimately our choice—and choosing to neglect the awareness that there might be alternatives to our own framework of reference is a function of will: *ill will*. When Columbus first encountered the Taínos, he brought into the picture his *will to conquer*, which effectively allowed him to read them thus:

> All of them alike are of good-sized stature and carry themselves well. I saw some who had marks of wounds on their bodies and I made signs to them asking what they were; and they showed me how people from other islands nearby came there and tried to take them, and how they defended themselves; and I believed and believe that they come here from *tierrafirme* to take them captive. They should be good and intelligent servants, for I see that they say very quickly everything that is said to them; and I believe that they would become Christians very easily, for it seemed to me that they had no religion. Our Lord pleasing, at the time of my departure I will take six of them from here to Your Highnesses in order that they may learn to speak…[5]

Of course. Columbus *chooses* to neglect the fact that the language of gestures used by the Taínos might take some time to learn; he *chooses* to interpret these gestures as indicative of the proximity of the continent; he *chooses* to see in the natives 'good and intelligent servants' rather than the masters of their own land on rather slippery grounds of their capability to 'repeat what is said to them,' he *chooses* to see the *absence of religion* by neglecting the very likely possibility of interpreting ceremonies *unlike his own* as manifestations of a system of spiritual beliefs, which choice, conveniently, invites the obvious solution of filling in the gap with Christianity, and that further legitimizes the conquest. Eventually, he ousts the Taínos

5. Christopher Columbus, *Journal* (entry for Thursday, Oct. 11th 1492) <http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/bdorsey1/41docs/01-col.html> (access: 10 August 2013).

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from the space of culture by denying their form of communication the status of a *language*: he has already made a decision to 'take six of them' back to Spain 'in order that they may learn to speak.'[6] He *chooses* to adopt an optics best fit for his own political ends. Columbus *chooses not to* perform the work necessary to see what stares him in the face: to him, what he could see would be too *obvius* to be *obviews*.

Unsurprisingly, the ill will characterizing the whole of the colonial discourse will manifest itself all too often in the context of encounters, in which it is more than likely that an ophtalmological change would allow one to see what one allegedly craves to see:

> When the Spaniards discovered this land, their leader asked the Indians how it was called; as they did not understand him, they said *uic athan*, [or: *uuyik a t'aan*] which means 'what do you say' or 'what do you speak' that 'we don't understand you.' And then the Spaniard ordered it set down that it be called *Yucatan*.[7]

The Spanish commander insists on seeing 'a notes' even though he cannot but realize that 'the notes' would be a more appropriate grammatical choice in the context. The *genius loci* of Yucatan is that of the assumption *not to see* alternative grammars organizing the wor(l)d—a choice made in *ill will* and with a particular political agenda in mind. Yucatan obliterated that, which must now remain unnameable. Columbus *was able* to see the shark beyond the two dimensions of the greenish rectangle he faced. Unlike Bartolomé de las Casas, he *chose* not to.

DONOR CULTURES, ACCEPTOR CULTURES: VALUE TRANSFER

If the history of the Spanish conquest of America is a history of a violent donor and an unwilling acceptor of values, it only serves to illustrate a much more persistent phenomenon: what once could

6. See: Tadeusz Rachwał, 'Tłumacz porwany (O przekładzie w dyskursie kolonialnym),' in *Obyczajowość a przekład*, ed. Piotr Fast (Katowice: Śląsk, 1996). See also: Tadeusz Rachwał, 'O politycznych skutkach nieadekwatności przekładu, czyli dlaczego ugotowano kapitana Cooka,' in *Polityka a przekład*, ed. Piotr Fast (Katowice: Śląsk, 1996).
7. Antonio de Ciudad Real, quoted after Quetzil Castañeda (120).

be attributed to the ill will of the 'unseeing' conqueror who, following the Word, would 'be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth,' thus legitimizing optics which gave free rein to greed and power hunger, is not always as simple today. The more obvious cases have already been discussed in *RIAS* by numerous scholars, who would address the neocolonial wars of the past decades, the marginalization of the ethnic cultures of the Americas, or the centrality of the US in the context of American Studies. What is much less obvious is how the very idea of coding/decoding American cultures may in itself be a result of choosing not to see the *obviews* if what we could see might manifest itself as too *obvius* for our liking.

Let me begin the final part of this essay with a few naïve questions.

First: I am Polish and—as a Polish person—I am rather partial to potatoes, which, next to pork chops and cabbage, are fundamental to Polish cuisine. Does the fact that it has never crossed my mind to delve into the history of the potato and trace it back to Peru and Bolivia make it a 'coded' element of American culture? Have I 'decoded' it as such by making such an effort? Has the potato lost its status as an important component of the national culinary tradition of Poland *because* the vegetable was introduced to Europe in the 16th century? Does Polish culture by definition mean 'non-American'? What 'code' do I need to crack to 'decode' the potato as an element of American culture? Why do I choose an optics that allows me not to see it as 'coded' when it is tasty? Or is it that my taste has been subversively encrypted into me several centuries ago and I fail to see it?

Second: am I distrustful of communism as a result of the subversive presence of 'coded' Red Scare mental protocols, or is it because friends of mine would be vanished from their apartments during the Martial Law of the 1980s? Would my present-day left-of-center orientation be attributable to the power of the 'coded' episteme borne out of the American Culture Wars of the same period?

Third: is the fact that Michał Kłobukowski translates *The Color Purple* as *Kolor purpury* (*The Color Crimson*), completely missing the reference of *purple* as the color of hope, and renders the African American working class sociolect into distorted, purposefully

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foreignized Polish to be 'decoded' as white American racism, or is it perhaps a result of his failure to go beyond his own cultural prejudices and learn the grammar of the sociolect in its cultural and historical complexity?[8] How may I know whether the racist optics is an element of American cultural coding or whether it is a fruit of the unique evolutionary path of the Polish culture *before* the transatlantic relations of Poland became intensive enough to allow for value transfer?

Fourth: when I choose to support feminist organizations and minority movements in Poland, is it because an American PC 'code' is active, or is it because I would rather see everyone in my country breathe free air, which allows me to feel safer among less frustrated people? Does the fact that the right wing politicians world-wide choose to see feminism as an American import make it a 'coded' element of American culture, even though the phenomenon itself is as old as the hills?

The list of questions could, of course, continue. And, obviously, I can provide no definite answer to any of them, unless I *choose* to limit myself to either seeing 'a notes' or 'the notes.' I am, of course, disinclined to do so for two major reasons.

The first reason stems from my distrust with respect to any conceptual regimes taken for granted. Claiming that there *is* one global context in which American cultures could be 'decoded' rests upon the assumption that acceptor cultures and donor cultures are compatible enough for 'codes' to become invisibly interwoven into the texture of local metanarratives. Such an assumption is likely to lead to errors of judgment, whose consequences might be as serious as the Spanish conquest of America.

For example, when in November of 2008 in Katowice, Poland, Derick de Kerkhove held his debate dedicated to identity in the context of the globality of the new media, he would warn his listeners about the peril of the loss of subjectivity. Atomized in a multiplicity of nicknames, dissolved in the anonymity of the cyberspace, the human 'self,' de Kerkhove would suggest, would be increasingly

8. See: Krzysztof Knauer, 'Między kompetencją lingwistyczną a kulturową. Tłumaczenie odmian angielskiego na podstawie przekładu powieści Alice Walker *The Color Purple*,' in *Polityka a przekład*, ed. Piotr Fast (Katowice: Śląsk, 1996).

at risk. He would, however, recognize his own speech as an instance of 'coding' when I asked him whether his argument would still be valid if we chose to include Buddhist cultures in his Western vision of 'globality': if 'self' is illusory to some 600 million people, can we still talk of the 'global' peril of its dissolution? De Kerkhove revised his initial claim, arguing that, indeed, in philosophical terms his original proposition would be insubstantial in the context of Buddhism, but that the cultural practice of the internet-ready Buddhist East demonstrates progressing westernization. Of course: the Chinese or Thai Buddhists are not necessarily Buddhist monks, just as the European or American Christians are not necessarily Roman Catholic priests. The above notwithstanding, the representatives of the western cultures *fall into despair*, they do not *fly into despair*; they do not *fall into joy* when they are happy but are *elated* or *grow wings*, and they seat important guests to the right of the host—thus *living* the language that reflects the conceptual topography of heaven and hell and observe the protocol that emulates the biblical order of importance. Why should we assume that the Buddhist should function otherwise and forego the metanarrative basics of their daily routines due to the influx of new imports? Would the essential incompatibility of the Eastern and Western understanding of the 'self' not render the *Americanness* of those imports 'plain text'? The supposedly American 'code' of the culture of the Internet, pointed out by de Kerkhove's concern, manifests itself in its failure as a 'code': it is the Westerners choosing to accept an episteme of Yucatan and project the fear of the dangers that the new media pose to their own concept of self upon cultures, whose rudimentary assumptions might not offer any conceptual space, in which such a 'code' could become active. Again, optics, not 'coding.' Only in this case, the acceptor culture adapts itself to new imports on its own, and including or rejecting them at will, choosing or refusing to add yet another dimension to its own identity. The donor culture, however, continues to fail to see the shark, which—in essence—is a choice. A choice, for which it may be accountable if the value at stake is not 'digitized self,' but, for instance, the ideas of freedom, liberation or happiness. The incompatibility of these concepts denudes American cultural 'codes' as completely unencrypted messages, which all too often happen to be their own medium.

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This leads me to the second reason to look for the shark in the greenish rectangle rather than jump it. Driven, like Derick de Kerckhove, by the academic zeal to 'protect' others against the possible violence of the viral infection of other cultures with a 'foreign DNA,' we may end up inflicting more damage than allowing cultures to regulate themselves. To explain this point, it seems helpful to fall back upon the observations made by Itamar Even-Zohar, who, discussing the processes of value transfer between cultures in the context of translation, enumerates three basic situations in which the 'import' receives a primary position in the receiving system (Hrushovski and Even-Zohar, 1978: 24):

1) when a polysystem has not yet fully developed;

2) when a literature is 'peripheral' or 'weak' or both;

3) when there are turning points, crises or 'literary vacuums.'

Each of these situations generates a context conducive to cultural transfer from a dominant donor culture, over-producing values and transplanting them into acceptor cultures, not yet 'saturated' with values produced locally. Even though Even-Zohar's observation concerns literary translation, I believe it may safely be expanded to include all other areas of cultural production, beginning with technology and finishing with law. Assuming the above, it is possible to argue that such a transfer, however, even though it always carries consequences, does not have to be forceful, nor does it have to be covert or sinister. For instance, the aggressive expansionism of American corporate culture dominating weaker economies does take its toll on traditional small business, yet—for most of the cases—such an import, along with the change in traditional work protocols, reorganization of traditional family life, revision of eating habits or dress code, brings in investments, new jobs, and an increase in a sense of stability in communities representing cultures recovering from economic crises, or cultures whose development had been arrested as a result of a war or long-term isolation. Usually, central and local governments alike would solicit such investments, aware of the consequences of the butterfly effect. Undoubtedly, a corporation is not a charity organization. It operates on the principle of desiring-machines: even though it 'consists of humans,' it is inhuman, and, if in danger, it may ruthlessly eliminate competition and impose its own rules without even attempting to 'encrypt' them,

thereby maiming the operational capacity of the formerly existing orders or replacing them altogether with its own. But, it may also adapt itself to the local context and draw benefits from its own flexibility, while the local culture, transforming, evolves. At some point, the 'import' changes so far that in itself it would be foreign to the culture of its origin, while the acceptor culture has evolved to such a point, when it defines its own identity in a fashion in which the now-transformed 'import' is an *obviews* part of the local landscape. Apparently, Darwinism applies to desiring-machines, which begs the question of whether anything that has transformed itself in the local context initiating the evolution of this context may indeed be considered as an 'import,' and, if not, if it can be decoded as such, if the overall code/language/narrative has evolved?

By the same token, would the Polish blues, whose heyday coincided with the aura of hopelessness of the Polish 1980s, and which, since then, followed an altogether different developmental path than the blues in the United States, be considered an 'import'? An 'American imprint'? Even though originally it *used to be* foreign, today it is a unique cultural phenomenon in the scale of the world, and few musicians world-wide would fail to appreciate its special character. Moreover, as a consequence, the idea of what the blues is has evolved, inspiring international artists, including Americans, to continue redefining it. How then can the Polish blues culture be read in terms of 'decoding' American cultures, if it no longer is American, and in itself becomes an 'import' to America, carried over by American bluesmen who have had the experience of playing with their Polish colleagues? It is 'a notes' and 'the notes' at the same time, as long as we choose to adopt optics that will allow us to forego the inherited vision of cultural borders as defense lines, guarded by armed soldiers, and finally see the shark in the otherwise non-de-fin-able greenness of the rectangle.

Finally, to reduce the problem at stake to the most obvious examples, allow me to pose a few more 'unanswerable' questions: is the oeuvre of Isaac Bashevis Singer to be 'decoded' as a part of American culture in Israel? In Poland? Or perhaps as a part of the Polish culture in Israel? In America? Or maybe as a part of the Israeli culture in the US or in Poland? Did Emory Elliott include Gabriel García Márquez in *The Columbia History of the American Novel* because he mis-

understood the meaning of the word Columbia? Would NASA be able to construct space shuttles without Sir Isaac Newton? Is his physics to be 'decoded' as an element of English culture in the global context? Are we not jumping the shark by seeking to 'decode' what may never have been coded? Is the idea so *obvius* to us that we refuse to see mechanisms of culture as *obviews*?

AN OPTICAL COD(E/A): AVOIDING YUCATAN

'Eyes'
Kriben Pillay

I remember your eyes
when they spoke of me,
of my race, of my god
of the way I danced.
They were not your eyes,
but the eyes of years gone by,
shaped by sights of images
too big to see,
and left alone...
in the dark.
Those eyes, archaic,
of years gone by,
had to be plucked,
and in the unwanting sockets,
I put
mine in yours,
yours in mine.
I remember my eyes now,
when they spoke of you,
of your race, of your god,
of the way you danced.

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'AND NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET?'

Considering the Legacies of Orientalism and Occidentalism for the Transnational Study of the US

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Around the world, tens of thousands of scholars share as our object of study the 'United States.'[1] We approach this object of study as a geopolitical entity, as an economic juggernaut, as a territory with permeable borders, as a nation with an imperial history and some would say an imperial present, as a cultural imaginary that exerts its presence in so many parts of the world, as a military actor with bases around the globe, as the source of tangible and intangible commodities from computer code to Hollywood blockbusters, as the location of educational institutions of world prominence which many of us will have attended, and as a complex collective of many different communities and populations, past and present. People, ideas, things, and social practices. All of these cultural, political and economic realms are part of our shared purview as specialists on the 'United States.'

And yet, although we share this object of study in the most capacious sense, each scholar is positioned differently personally and intellectually in relation to this object. For myself, this includes being born in, raised in, and living most, but not all of, my life in the United States. My scholarly training for a PhD in 'American Studies' took place there as well, at Yale University. For many other scholars, there is less physical proximity between the territorial and experiential place of the referent and the production

1. A version of this work was first presented as the presidential address at the Fourth World Congress of the International American Studies Association meetings in Beijing, September 17, 2009.

of scholarly knowledge about it. And because our knowledge is always produced in complex historically specific matrices of location, communities of scholars, scholarly traditions, epistemologies, politics of knowledge, and subjectivities, this means that what we think about and how we think it will likely not be the same. This is a crucial and valuable resource.

In working towards the formation of a transnational community of scholars specializing on the US in all its multifaceted aspects, we cannot simply assume that our communications will be transparent. How do we come to know, acknowledge, and grapple with the differences in the social dimensions of our knowledge production? Of the differing 'use values' of producing that knowledge—that is, what that knowledge means in our home contexts? Of the differing academic traditions and trajectories of which we are a part? In this article I want to begin an analysis of how these multifarious positionings and the perspectives they may give rise to can be understood through the ideological and epistemological legacies of Orientalism and Occidentalism. I want to urge us as scholars to be attentive to these frameworks when they emerge and to take their presence and operation as part of our foci.

This article grew out of practical experiences in my scholarly life, especially as President of the International American Studies Association (IASA) from 2007–2011, and the duties that position required to oversee the organization of IASA's Fourth World Congress, held in Beijing in September of 2009. IASA is the only world-wide association of scholars working on the US or the Americas more broadly. It is not a confederation of national scholarly organizations, but rather a collective of individual scholars who, through their membership, actively signal their commitment to engaging with their peers around the globe. We have hundreds of members in more than 30 countries so far, even though we are a young organization, and our rotating slates of officers and Executive Council members are drawn from dozens of countries. We are not a US based organization nor a European one, although many of our founding members hail from those countries.

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Our previous three bi-annual World Congresses had been held in Leiden, the Netherlands, Ottawa, Canada, and Lisbon, Portugal. I and many of my colleagues felt strongly it was time to move out of the Euro-North American sphere for our next congress, and the Council accepted the proposal from our colleagues in China to schedule the 2009 congress in Beijing. Our processes over the next two years offered practical examples of the production of scholarly work and revealed how the powerful, even intractable, frames of Orientalist and Occidentalist thought can still haunt us, having an impact upon the possibilities for transnational scholarly relations between those of us based in 'Asia' and those of us based elsewhere. These conceptual frames for understanding the world are so widespread and have such deep historical and political roots that none of us is immune to their power. These are also deeply complex and politically sensitive issues, but ones that I think we must take on collectively.

PRACTICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF ORIENTALISM/OCCIDENTALISM

Because part of our challenge is to understand how implicit frameworks shape not only large ideas but their more minute material and practical manifestations, let me give some very concrete, and seemingly small, examples before moving into wider-scale theorizing in the next section.

I was first alerted that this framework of Orientalism/Occidentalism might be a problem when the possibility of holding our congress in China was broached. Several of my IASA colleagues from Europe or from North America exclaimed 'but no one would go!' A second complaint was 'it's too far!' The obvious answer to these fears is that lots of people would go, although perhaps they would be different people—not as many from Europe or North America as had attended our three previous congresses in Leiden, the Netherlands, Ottawa, Canada, and Lisbon, Portugal. For instance, lots of scholars from China would go, whereas few had attended our previous congresses.

To the second worry—'It's too far!'—the answer is also a question—too far from where?! A truly decentered globe—

a fiction perhaps, but still a desirable one when we envision a truly global community of scholars—does not have a given near and far, but rather complex sets of proximity and distance, of multiple centers and hence multiple peripheries, all of which are calculated relative to each other under changing conditions. My 'near' may be your 'far' for instance, and the center of my scholarly and daily world may be peripheral to yours. China is not far from Japan, Australia or India for example, although it is farther from Germany, say, than Lisbon was.

It became apparent to me that the perceived distances were more conceptual than physical. Would the time and money invested be 'worth it' or not? That so few distinguished Chinese scholars of the Americas are read in Europe or in North America added to this sense of distance. Speaking more broadly about the intellectual imbalance in knowledge flows, Prof. Zi Zhongyun noted in Hong Kong at the 2005 China American Studies Network conference: 'There is a conspicuous gap in how familiar Chinese and American academics are with each others' research and writing... our American colleagues are acquainted with very few works that Chinese scholars have written on the United States' (Zi, 2007: 46).

A different but related process emerged after the approval of the site selection, when the planning began. These differences were cast in the framework of the Chinese way of doing things and the 'international' way of doing things. Here already we were awash in the intellectual complexities and political quick sands of labeling. Were we planning a Chinese conference which invited IASA, or were we planning an IASA conference hosted in China? Would the normative practices for organizing conferences follow one model or the other (by the 'other' I mean the models developed in the three previous IASA conferences in the Netherlands, Canada, and Portugal). Food is a good example. My hosts explained to me during our May 2008 planning meetings at Beijing Foreign Studies University that all of the meals must be provided for all participants and covered by the registration fee, since that is what scholars in China expect as the norm. In past congresses of IASA, some meals were on your own, and a fancy banquet was optional,

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and incurred a significant additional fee if one chose to attend or could result in a lower registration fee if one did not. We went with the all-inclusive model.

The theme that runs through these telling details is the distinction drawn between a host/non-host way of doing things. We might expect this to some extent anywhere, but implicit here I think was a sense that we were uncertain how this would be a Chinese conference or—and here I introduce the largest booby trap of a word—a 'Western' conference… or a combination of both styles and, if so, what compromises would be made. I'm going to come back to this problem of the concepts of 'the East' and 'the West' later, but let me provide one final example of the tensions that challenged all of us in working together.

When it came time for the program committee to construct a series of panels from individually offered papers, the IASA program committee with representatives from India, New Zealand, Turkey, and the US received two spreadsheets carefully prepared by Professor Li Qikeng who did so much work to make this conference happen. One was for the 'international' scholars and the other was for the Chinese—the latter had their names in Chinese characters, which only one member of the IASA committee could read. IASA is a hugely multilingual organization in terms of the languages that our members speak, write and read, but the only language we ALL have in common is English, or I should say world Englishes. It is his and our shared passions for our objects of investigation, whether these be the US *per se* or the Americas more broadly, that creates both the possibility and the reason for our trying to come together every two years for substantial discussions. Let me be clear here, I am certainly not promoting English as a worldwide language; rather I am noting that it is the only language among the dozens spoken by our membership that we all have in common to some degree.

In our grappling with two lists of accepted proposals, Chinese and non-Chinese, we encounter the material manifestation of a conceptual framework of insiders and outsiders. In this case, I want to suggest that in our organization, this divide is one

that runs through many, many of our attempts to work together, to think together, to trust each other enough to debate together, and ultimately to try to understand our shared objects of study not from one but from multiple points of view and scholarly standpoints. I recently argued for this conception of what I'm calling a 'prismatic American Studies' in a recent issue of *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies.*

I offer these small examples of practical, and not unexpected, ways of operating as a way into a larger and harder intellectual work. Are we still tethered to and limited by profound conceptual maps of Orientalism and Occidentalism that create and sustain bi-modal concepts of the world, and if so, how does that limit what we expect of each other, of each other's scholarship, and of the ways we imagine working together as colleagues in the future to create new knowledges?

DEFINING 'ORIENTALISM' AND 'OCCIDENTALISM'

One of the many problems with this complementary set of ideologies—of 'Orientalism' and 'Occidentalism'—is that they are mental mappings that masquerade as territorial referents, while simultaneously banishing much of the world from consideration. Is the entire continent of Africa with its many countries, groups and languages, part of 'the East' or part of the 'West'? Or, are poor and poorly educated rural persons not mapped in this framework? If so, are the elite, trained often in the centers of their colonial pasts, part of a so called 'cosmopolitanism' aligned with the imagined community of 'the West'? What about Latin America? Is it not the East surely (despite the relatively large populations of Japanese or Chinese origin citizens in Brazil and Peru), but not exactly those populations usually referenced by the term 'the West' either? Or are the urban intellectuals and elites part of 'the West' and the indigenous populations not a part of it?

And where is 'the West' anyway? As a referent, there are some places and populations that are undoubtedly 'in' this category. Sweden, France, Italy, Ireland, Canada, the US (but maybe not some of its post colonial territories like

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Guam?)…All of the growing EU? (What about Slovenia? Bosnia?) Are Muslims part of this conceptual imaginary? Or is it implicitly Christian and Jewish? What about South America…Uruguay for instance? Well—if the West is not a place but an idea, then what about the East? Who is definitely 'in'—China certainly, and Japan (despite its membership in the G-8) and Southeast Asia. What about India? Iran? The eastern part of Russia by Vladivostock? The Aleutian Islands and their indigenous populations? How about Tasmania?

When we try to locate the actual living populations and territorial sites referenced by these huge conceptual dividers of 'the East' and 'the West' we see the impossibility of doing so and reveal the power of the concepts as lying in part in this very ambiguity and in the ways that the 'core' referents of the concepts are ALWAYS invoked by it, implicitly, thus dividing a world in half—while ignoring a great deal of it. We have some other emergent terms to cross-cut these conceptual territories, like the Global South or the circumpolar indigenous populations of Inuit and Sami. But none of these has the historical longevity or power of the East/West binary, itself a legacy of long colonial empire-building by both 'sides.'

And a binary it is, as Edward Said so eloquently and exhaustively convinced us in his 1978 book *Orientalism*, in which he sifted out the descriptors attached to 'the East' by European and European origin scholars over time, and revealed a set of ascribed characteristics that were alternately desirable and despised. Orientalism, as Said develops the concept, is not just a delineation of assumptions about someplace(s) termed 'the Orient' by scholars in Europe. It is, more fundamentally, a whole episteme developed over multiple centuries. We can define it as a complex of assumptions, facts, fictions, and ideologies that comprise, while purporting to explain, a scholarly and political imaginary, in this case an imaginary about a part of the world outside of Europe.

Said's preoccupations with excavating the beliefs undergirding European productions of knowledge about 'the Orient' focused on the Middle East (another problematic term, because obviously it raises the questions of 'in the middle of where?'

and 'between what or whom'?). But he could have easily focused on other sites, like China, India, and Japan, each of which has a long, rich, and equally central legacy in this episteme of Orientalism in Europe and to varying degrees among populations in the US and the larger Americas.

Said describes this episteme as 'a political version of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, "the West," "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them")' (Said, 1978: 43). This act of 'imaginative geography' both created and helped maintain a sense of two distinct worlds, and served as the ground for imperial and colonial relations (90). While Said sketched changes in this set of beliefs and presumptions over multiple centuries and in various scholarly discourses in Europe, he asserts that there is still a powerful 'latent Orientalism' at work today (206). This latent Orientalism still exerts power both within and outside of scholarly disciplines and has, he asserts, remained remarkably consistent over several centuries. Is his assertion still correct and relevant 30 years later?

Among those characteristics assigned to the mythic 'East' are the following: the 'East' is supposedly primitive, childlike, irrational, chaotic, mysterious, backward, eccentric, and despotic. On the other hand, it is also stereotyped as: sensual, sexual, wise (as in the notion of 'the wisdom of the East'), and as the site of unimaginable antiquity. A source of beauty, desire, and wisdom, it is also characterized in the Orientalist discourses Said analyzes as a place and peoples who are not to be trusted, are radically different in their beliefs and practices from those who write about them from 'outside' the East, and who are always stuck in a past which may be seen as, alternately, glorious or infamous.

Implicitly, Orientalist views describe and create a sense of an 'Occident' as the not-East, as well. Some of the characteristics ascribed by Orientalist discourses imply that the mythic place called 'the West' is the opposite: rational, modern, forthright, trustworthy and functioning according to a transparent and just rule of law. A moment's reflection surely shows us the mythic nature of these claims, but does that mean they are not still functioning? Of course they are, although now

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perhaps more implicitly than explicitly, and hopefully in a more self-reflexive mode. Every time we take up the subject position of referring to 'the East' or 'the West' we activate a set of assumptions—and episteme—through which we speak.

If, as Said suggested, Orientalism is still with us, what about Occidentalism? Now the positional calculus becomes even more complicated. As we saw above, characteristics ascribed to 'the Orient' can be seen as either positive or negative: mysterious can be positive—intriguing, out of the ordinary—or it can be negative—unknowable, unpredictable, and thus, untrustworthy. The same can be said about characteristics ascribed to a mythic 'West,' which can be seen as modern and well off, or bullying, greedy, immoral and imperial. Desirable or despicable. It depends on who is talking, to what ends, and, of course, on what the baseline for comparison is.

The companion episteme to Orientalism is Occidentalism, and this idea has been explored by Chen Xiaomei in her book *Occidentalism: Theory of Counter-Discourse in the Post-Mao China*. Chen suggests that although 'Occidentalism' as an over-arching episteme is counterposed to Orientalism, valuing that which is undervalued in that episteme—it can be deployed for differing ends. Like concepts of Orientalism, Occidentalism can be used as a discourse to critique European and US power, or it can be used by dissenters to critique the 'Orient.' For instance, some governments or communities might speak out against what they see as 'Westernization,' as a road to immoral secularism or rapacious capitalism. But the term has also been used to describe a set of passions for those characteristics determined to be desirable in a mythic 'West' in contrast to local, homegrown 'Eastern' ones. For example, calls for 'Westernization' in some countries may be used to leverage movements towards more democratic systems of government. Or, when mobilized by speakers residing in the territories associated with the mythic 'West,' it can refer to a discourse of self-endorsement. For example, someone might say 'As a Westerner, I've always believed that…'

We see a similar use of 'Orientalism' in the 'West,' where the codified differences can be used to support the groups

in power—praising Occidentalism by contrasting it with situations in 'the East.' Alternatively, values associated with a mythic 'Orient' can be invoked to critique dominant ideologies, philosophies, and artistic practices associated with Europe and the Americas, as we have seen in the US in many historical periods—for instance, in the 1960s where the 'wisdom of the East' was invoked in hippies' Indian print bedspreads, embraced by leading experimental artists like John Cage, and popularized in books like Robert M. Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, which was really more about philosophy than motorcycles, just to draw a few examples from US popular culture.

Are we as academics immune to these massive and powerful epistemes? Are we immune to the languages that promote them and offer us a subject position of Westerner or Easterner if only we will occupy them? Do we auto-Orientalize or auto-Occidentalize? Given the power and pervasiveness of such discourses it would be amazing if we did not. How can we recognize these discourses in play and what sorts of effects might they have to the detriment of our scholarly exchanges and engagements?

First of all, we can make our understandings of these discourses more complex and strive to more fully grasp the instruments of cultural interaction that the binary discourses of Orientalism and Occidentalism depend upon. And in this section of the talk I'd like to focus particularly on how these issues might relate to China.

In a persuasive 1996 article titled 'Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism,' Arif Dirlik, a US-based historian of China, takes a metahistorical view of Orientalism. He asserts that although Said described Orientalism as a part of the problem of European modernity, it should also be seen as part of the problem of Asian modernity, part of which consisted of the circulation of Asian and European intellectuals in a 'contact zone.'[2]

Tracking a mutually influential relationship, although not claiming parity in those influences, Dirlik suggests that 'to the extent

2. This is Mary Louise Pratt's succinct term for a long-standing anthropological concept of cultural meeting, exchange, change, and intermingling, often in situations of radical inequality.

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that orientalism had become part of "Western" ideas by the early nineteenth century, the "Western" impact included also the impact on Asian societies of European ideas of the orient' (Dirlik, 1996: 104). Coming closer to the present, he suggests that 'it is in the twentieth century, however that Euro-American Orientalist perceptions and methods become a visible component in the formulation of the Chinese self-image, and Chinese perceptions of the past. The process was facilitated by the emergence of nationalism' (106). Noting the reductionist aspects of the Orientalist episteme and its parallel with the reductionism of cultural complexity and contestation that movements of nationalism often employ, he goes on to state that '…nationalism shares much with the culturalist procedures of orientalism, now at the scale of the nation' (106).

If nationalist discourses often proceed through a process of homogenizing self-assertion in contrast to other nations (what 'we' are vs. what 'they' are), then we can see how the larger frameworks of European manufactured epistemes of 'Orientalism' may be pulled into play in the development of cultural nationalism in countries like China, just as notions of 'the West' are used in US nationalist discourses describing the US, for example, as the supposed height of 'Westernized' 'modernity.' Just as the self is defined as not the other, then at the national level too we can see this process of differentiation and comparison as a part of the development of a distinctive discourse of cultural uniqueness, employed in the building of national identities, often masking historical complexities of change and exchange, and differences among sub-national groups.

But what about the present day? If we follow Dirlik further, he asserts that '…what has changed [now] is the power relationship between China and Euro-America[3] rather than the abolition of Orientalism' (Dirlik, 1996: 108). In other words, the rise of the 'New China'– the contemporary mainland China of rapidly expanding economic, military, and political power–does not mean the end of centuries-long epistemes

3. For Dirlik, the term Euro-Americans refers not to Euro-Americans, per se, but rather the complex of Europe and the United States.

of Orientalism, in both 'the West' and 'the East.' Rather, it refers now to *their reformulation and reconfiguration*. Dirlik offers one example in the depiction of the New Confucianism as a positive 'force in capitalism modernization' (Dirlik, 1996: 109). A detailed and nuanced discussion of the ways that such a reformulation is proceeding certainly requires the expertise of an expert on China, not myself, but I offer this example here as one of many that might be further explored. I suggest here too that Orientalism as an episteme in Europe and the Americas is, similarly, not dying out but resurfacing in ways that we need to analyze and document as the 'New China' plays a more and more central role on the world stage. Just as China 'stages itself' anew as it literally did recently in the spectacular opening ceremony of the 2008 Olympics, so too is the notion of 'China' and of the new 'Orient' subject to revision outside of China.

If Dirlik is right that Orientalism in China is being reformulated, not refuted, and if I am right that the deployment of the epistemes of 'Orientalism' and 'Occidentalism' retain their force even in the face of contemporary reconfigurations, then as scholars working across multiple national and regional configurations, we have much work to do. We need be alert to the ways that such positionings may influence our perceptions of each other's work. There are surely multiple scholarly traditions represented in our meetings and journals, and these shape indelibly the ways in which we conceive of 'good' argumentation, of what counts as scholarly 'evidence,' and of what is an appropriate scale of posing a research question, just to offer a few examples. These scholarly practices are not just individual choices; they are part of the stated and unstated presumptions of the various scholarly worlds in which we are each embedded. Thus, as sociologist of knowledge Pierre Bordieu might remind us, they become 'doxa' in our own modes of operation and in the criterion we apply to analyze and assess intellectual work.

Wang Ning, professor of English and Director of the Center for Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies at Tsinghua University, writing in 1997, the year after Dirlik's article appeared, also takes on the question of the relationship between

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Orientalism and Occidentalism. Although China was not a prime focus in Said's formulation of Orientalism, Wang notes that Occidentalism has played a key role in anti-imperialist movements in China over time. However, he suggests that the continuing oppositional construct of Orientalism and Occidentalism (whether or not 'the West' is conceived of as a dominating agent or an agent to be dominated) is a no-win situation. 'Will there be no other way out of these simple modes of thinking characterized by binary opposition?' he asks (Wang, 1997: 64) .

Comparing the discourses of Orientalism and Occidentalism, Wang suggests that Occidentalism is '…far from a full-fledged episteme covering [as wide a] range of learning and representation as Orientalism [does].' He describes it rather as more of a response—a 'strategy of discourse opposed to Western cultural hegemonism' (Wang, 1997: 66). Whatever its origin and history, I suggest it is just as potentially limiting as the long shadow of Orientalism. The continuing presence of Occidentalism, Wang warns us, may well 'do harm to our cultural communication and academic exchange with Western and international scholarship [and] since it [Occidentalism] is still prevalent in present-day China and some other Oriental countries … it deserves study and analysis' (66). This warning was given ten years ago, so we should ask ourselves if the situation has fundamentally changed now or not. If not, what strategies might help us change this?

Building on Dirlik's 1996 arguments, Chu Yiu-Wai writing in 2008 takes on these issues in his essay 'The Importance of Being Chinese: Orientalism Reconfigured in the Age of Global Modernity.' Chu opens a discussion of 'Chineseness' in a new global century by rejecting a notion of 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' Chineseness, focusing his discussion on mass media representations, especially those produced in China and circulating elsewhere. The details of his argument, and the mass media contexts he discusses, are beyond the scope of this discussion, but I want to indicate the importance of the question—what and who is 'Chinese' in a period of reconfigured Orientalism and Occidentalism? And I want to turn that question around

to ask 'what and who is not-Chinese' in this same period. Or, what and who is not European? Or 'American'?

For this is part of our challenge as I see it: to become self-reflexively aware of the ways that our own scholarly work is always already embedded in frameworks of training, citational practices, analytical processes, and reading lists that shape what we decide are important questions, urgent investigations, legitimate forms of argumentation, and persuasive evidence, based on our own political historical epistemes of knowledge productions. And then, looking outward, to try to understand the complexes of those epistemes and histories of academic production which are different from our own, whoever the 'our' may be. And to create here, what Bryan Turner calls for: a contact zone of intellectuals with a shared object of study and a not fully shared, yet partially overlapping and partially contradictory, frameworks of modes of production, in this case, modes of intellectual production.

Many of us traverse several scholarly communities. We cross disciplinary boundaries, we work in several different languages, we collaborate with colleagues abroad, we obtain degrees in countries not originally our own, we teach as guests in different nations, we publish in journals outside our home countries or regions. Yet, for all of this, a majority of us operate on a daily basis in one intellectual community that exerts more pressure on us than the others. For myself, that community of scholars, a majority of my publication venues and conventions, all of my degrees, and a majority but not all of my faculty appointments, have been in the US where I have lived most of my life. Each of us can make this calculus. And, each of us is shaped by it, because as post-structuralists have persuasively demonstrated, knowledge is always produced from somewhere. And I would add that those 'somewheres' have histories and political frameworks that profoundly affect what we do as intellectuals.

We know this of course, and often investigate and critique these issues in our own scholarly work. But at the institutional level it is also a crucial resource to keep in mind as we endeavor to build global scholarly networks. We can, following British sociologist Bryan Turner, look to Edward Said's efforts

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to chart a path out of the strictures of Orientalism and Occidentalism. Said urged us to work toward 'an ethic of cosmopolitan care' (Said 1978: 174). While many critics have focused on Said's highlighting of the existence and operation of oppositional paradigms of Orientalism and Occidentalism, fewer have focused on his purposes in doing so, especially as articulated in his later works. As Turner states, 'Said's vision of intellectuals…offers a defense of cosmopolitanism which is the worldview of scholars in a political context where globalization, cultural hybridity and multiculturalism are re-writing the traditional Orientalist agenda' (Turner, 2004: 176).

But cosmopolitans are not, I would hasten to add, untethered border-crossers in a utopian flow of de-politicized difference. I'm not suggesting that there are not important differences in the histories and presents of populations and of how we, as members of those communities, view the world. There are distinctive philosophical and intellectual traditions. There are distinctive political histories that shape those traditions. There are variable canons and revolts against canons in different disciplines. But the invocation, whether implicit or explicit, of 'THE West' and 'THE East' actually mutes and even erases those particularities in favor of large generalizations. As scholars we owe it to ourselves to avoid these generalizations, except self-reflexively when we make them part of our objects of investigation in the constitution of new knowledge.

As intellectuals we have the privilege of seeking out and sustaining mutually challenging conversations, debates, and arguments that cross disciplinary, linguistic, national, and epistemological boundaries, while simultaneously tracking the power of those configurations. And we do so in the material and political configurations of the present–from the H1N1 flu outbreak, to the worldwide recession, to the relocation of Guantanamo Bay prisoners, and the ongoing wars in the Middle East, just to name a few of the largest challenges. We have the privilege of becoming temporary migrants, not due to economic, human rights, or political necessity, as is so often the case when people migrate to escape a situation, but rather

to embrace the difficult challenge of truly working together in mutually changing and mutually challenging collaborative productions of knowledge. Said's notion of an ethics of 'care,' and the implicit respect that it encapsulates, is a hallmark of what is necessary for that mutuality to occur.

A scholarly conference, a journal, a book series—all of these are material manifestations of an intellectual landscape for the production of debate, the exchange of opinions, and, hopefully, the production of new knowledge. Creating those arenas can be very challenging when we move away from zones of shared assumptions and practices into zones of more radical multiplicity. To do so successfully requires the type of double vision that Du Bois told us about, of being both enmeshed in our discourse and simultaneously stepping outside of it to watch it in action—to be alert for moments when our assumptions about what makes a good scholarly argument, what is an interesting intellectual question, and what it is important to know are set in high relief, and, to the extent possible, to see how our expectations of or encounters with each other just might be being shaped by the twin forces of Orientalism and Occidentalism. And, for the times when such frameworks seem to lessen our understandings of each other, or limit our abilities to engage intellectually, we step back, and just for that moment reject the notion of An EAST and A WEST—and work against the legacies of Orientalism and Occidentalism that will surely continue to sing their siren songs for a long time to come.

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SPACE AS A NEW FRONTIER:

The US Approach toward Space Activities from Eisenhower to Obama (Cooperative or Competitive Approach)

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Tensions in the 'global commons' gained international attention with Flournoy—undersecretary of defense policy at the US Department of Defense—who referred to it as the source of emerging security challenges in her speech at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in April 2009. Among the global commons, which include Antarctica, oceans, the atmosphere, and outer space, the legacy of success in the use of outer space and the desire to exercise power over it have presented new international challenges, especially among the 'space powers.'

This article[1] will provide a historical outline of national space policies in the American context—from Eisenhower to Obama—based on frontier theory. The writer addresses the present research core question: would the US approach to directing space activities be cooperative or competitive in order to preserve its leadership and its national security in the space arena? Recognizing the importance of space-based projects to the US national interest, this article discusses the evolution of US national space policy on the basis of National Aeronau-

1. The hereby presented article by Hedyeh Nasseri is the inaugural Emory Elliott Prize Essay. The Emory Elliott Prize was established to honor the stellar and innumerable contributions to the field of American Studies of the late Professor Emory Elliott. Prize-winning essays are examples of the best American Studies scholarship, exploring new avenues of knowledge and creating new ways to investigate the field, while expanding our understanding of its endless possibilities.

tics and Space Administration (NASA) civilian and exploratory space activities related to US space security.

> With America's pioneer heritage, technological preeminence, and economic strength, it is fitting that we should lead the people of this planet into space. Our leadership role should challenge the vision, talents, and energies of young and old alike, and inspire other nations to contribute their best talents to expand humanity's future (US National Commission on Space, 1986).

During the Cold War, the US and the Soviet Union recognized that the unique nature of 'space environment' would make it impractical if not impossible to abide by the terms of 'sovereign jurisdiction.' Therefore, they took the approach that 'it was in their [national] interests to use space to stabilize deterrence, the guiding strategic doctrine of the day, and to support arms control toward that goal' (Johnson-Freese, 2009: 34); however due to the difference between physical environment of space and that of territorial waters and airspace, both countries were forced to accept the right of using space for each other and eventually for other countries.

The history of mankind's exploration of space revives images of a time when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I as the first satellite to orbit the Earth in outer space on October 4, 1957. This technological success not only opened a new dimension to the human eye but also ignited the 'space race' and warned the US, a great power, about the future. However, it was not the end of the series of achievements; in April 1961, Yuri Gagarin was sent into the Earth's orbit and completed the mission of the first manned space flight. Further, in 1969, Neil Armstrong walked on the moon and became the first man to touch one of the celestial bodies (Blackburn, 2009: 53; Diederiks-Verschoor and Kopal, 2008: 2).

The space race began as a race for prestige and security between the US and the Soviet Union, but, in the post-Cold War era, the growth and development of economy and space-based technologies in the globalized world made it possible for other nations to take the chance to use space. As a result, in 'the now-ubiquitous and interconnected nature of space

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capabilities and the world's growing dependence on them' (The White House, 2010), the US needs a comprehensive space strategy to preserve its security and leadership in space.

OUTER SPACE AS A GLOBAL COMMON

'Global commons' refers to any of the earth's ubiquitous and unowned natural resources, such as the oceans, the atmosphere, and outer space. Although global commons generated few questions for jurists and politicians in earlier centuries, tensions have arisen among the powers over getting access to the 'permanent dominion' in an area of global commons.

Historical investigations reveal that international treaties have always been used as a tool to prevent states from violating the international rules regarding the use of global commons and common resources. In the case of outer space—compared to the oceans and Antarctica—the international organizations have just taken the first steps.

Although airspace is subject to any country's sovereign control, claiming national sovereignty in outer space is prohibited since this space is considered a global common. According to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, Article II, 'outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation or by any other means' (Wassenbergh, Masson-Zwaan and Mendes de Leon, 1992: 231).

Regarding the realm of outer space, one of the earliest issues was just how far national sovereignty extends: at what point does airspace stop and outer space begin (Barrett, 1973)? The problem arises from the lack of a clear line between airspace and outer space to determine the sovereignty of states. The lack of a boundary complicates relations between nations who rarely benefit from space scientifically and politically. There are two general viewpoints regarding the need for drawing a clear line between airspace and outer space. The first discusses the necessity to delimit 'the legally binding obliga-

tions' related to exercising authority and performing national activities. The other viewpoint argues that there is no evidence to prove the necessity of drawing a line and explains that, because of 'the rapid pace of space technology and the practical uncertainties regarding the characteristics of feasible and desirable space activities,' trying to set a boundary would risk too high or too low limitation (Barrett, 1973).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRONTIER THEORY

Considering the key role of frontier in American history, Frederick Jackson Turner was the first scholar-historian who made a great attempt to demonstrate the legacy of frontier in shaping the American social and political culture and coined the frontier theory. To Turner, the unique environment of the 'New World' with 'ever-advancing frontier settlement' and the 'existence of an area of free land' gave birth to the 'new product that is American' (Turner and Billington, 1962: vii). He portrayed the future of America as a new and progressive era and encouraged the American spirit to be invoked for the 'new and nobler achievements' (Turner and Billington, 1962: 253). Modern American history has also been affected by Turner's frontier legacy in four successive stages:

1) The rural-land frontier which saw the initial opening, settling and cultivating of the continent. 2) The urban-industrial frontier that witnessed a rapid growth in the number and size of cities and of great centers of industry. 3) The metropolitan-technological frontier which has seen a second industrial revolution, and the rurban-cybernetic frontier that is now in its early stages. This frontier has also involved the exploration of new space like the undersea and outer space, and the development of wholly new and exotic technologies (Elazar, 2010).

The frontier's effects in 'perennial rebirth, the fluidity of American life and the expansion westward with its new opportunities' have not been abolished through the history but can be traced through modern Americans who believe that they should expand the borders in order to keep their country moving upright (Elazar, 2010).

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In his 1893 essay *The Significance of Frontier in American History*, Turner announced the 'closing of US frontier' in its geographical context while connecting the American spirit with the idea of 'frontier' as an evolutionary and progressive process. He believed that:

> Scientific farming must increase the yield of the field, scientific forestry must economize the woodlands, scientific experiment and construction by chemist, physicist, biologist and engineer must be applied to all of nature's forces in our complex modern society. The test tube and the microscope are needed rather than the ax and rifle in this new ideal of conquest (Launius, 1998).

Turner's belief in the myth of science and technology and President John F. Kennedy's emphasis on the concept of new frontier characterize the American spirit in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The idea of new frontier set outer space as a new domain for Americans to conquer, a new area that cannot be explored without technological innovations.

SPACE AS A NEW FRONTIER

> Beyond that frontier are uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered problems of ignorance and prejudice... All mankind waits upon our decision. A whole world looks to see what we shall do. And we cannot fail that trust. And we cannot fail to try (Schnelle, 2007: 9).

During Kennedy's presidency, the phrase 'new frontier,' the plane for exploring new areas such as space, and the program of sending Americans to the moon, became associated with his name. In 1961, one month before the US sent a man into space, the Soviets finished the program of sending a Russian to outer space. Subsequently, the US determined to beat the Soviets by sending a man to the moon. This competition became known as the 'space race' (Gunderson, 2009: 20).

Historically, the 'dawn of space age' began in 1946 in the aftermath of World War II when the US Air Force leaders decided to lay a foundation for future space programs by establishing 'the first Air Force-sponsored Project RAND (Research

and Development).' Their strategy was to establish 'Air Force responsibility for the as-yet-to-be-determined space mission.' Due to the uncertainty of the postwar, they did not seem intent on developing the missile and satellites projects. To Air Force leaders, these kind of projects were 'excessively costly, technologically unsound, militarily unnecessary, or simply too fantastic.' However, during the early 1950s, the US Air Force view toward their space policies changed. The Soviet triumph in launching the first artificial satellite, Sputnik I, on October 4, 1957, compelled US leaders to focus on the development of missiles and satellites for a new and stronger US defense posture (Spires et al, 2002: 1, 14).

Although the Soviet success in sending the first satellite to space imposed a new urgency on the US Army to launch its first satellite, Explorer 1, on January 31, 1958, 'after several failures of the Naval Research Laboratory's Vanguard rocket,' establishing the NASA through the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 (PL 85–568, the 'NASA Act') has been considered the symbol of US entrance into the space as an 'uncharted ocean' (Smith, 2010: 4). Therefore, despite of a full period since the end of the Cold War to the launching of the first artificial satellite to the space, it was only by the end of 1950s that the US national space programs were identified by military and civilian aspects of space as two different approaches that have characterized the US administrations' space policies from Eisenhower to Obama alike.

The table presented in the facing page sums up the US national space policies from 1955 to 2010 in seven categories of space freedom for all nations (Act of 1958), space leadership and prestige (new frontier), space scientific and civilian programs, space security policy, space military policy, cooperative policy and competitive policy. In this table, the US presidents' space priorities are divided through a red color spectrum into two categories to show how the US space policies and objectives have been highlighted in presidential documents from the 1950s up to now.

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US Presidents	Space Freedom for all Nations (Act of 1985)	Space Leadership And Prestige (New Frontier)	Space Scientific and Civilian Programs	Space Security Policy	Space Military Policy	Cooperative Policy	Competitive Policy
Eisenhower							
Kennedy							
Nixon							
Carter							
Reagan							
Bush (Sr.)							
Clinton							
Bush (Jr.)							
Obama							

first priority | second priority

Table 1. Priorities in the US National Space Policy

The US approach toward space activities, either cooperative or competitive, mirrors the efforts of presidents to serve US national interests in the space arena after the conclusion of World War II. Historical investigations reveal that US presidents have followed a few basic principles that have been more or less consistent in the US presidential space directives and the national space policies since 1955:

– Freedom of space, which means free access to space for the satellites of any nation;

– Exploration and use of outer space for 'peaceful purposes,' which will be beneficial for all mankind. 'Peaceful purposes in the 1950s was [and remains today] interpreted as allowing defense support and intelligence-related space activities in pursuit of national security' (Hall, 2010);

– Rejection of any nation's claim over the outer space or celestial bodies' sovereignty and 'any limits on the fundamental right to acquire data from space';

– Cooperation among the three separate interrelated space branches of the US government: civil, military, and intelligence;

– Respect of any nation for possessing its space systems as national property with the right to operate in space without interference. 'Purposeful interference with operational space systems is viewed as an infringement on sovereign rights'; and

– Conducting of activities in outer space to support the US right of self-defense (not followed by all presidents) (Hall, 2010).

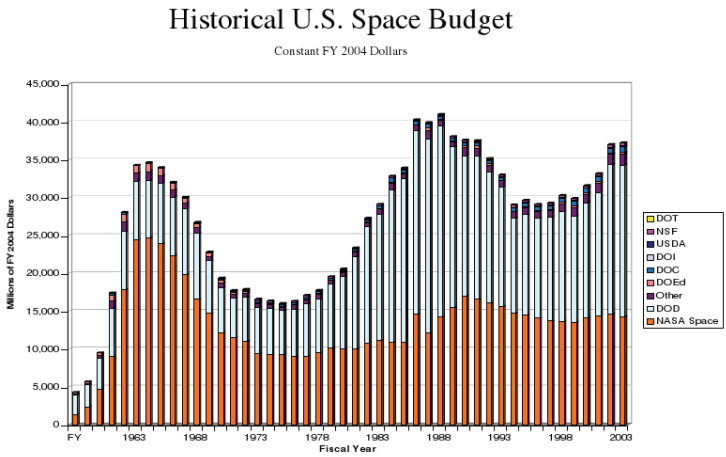
The past fifty-plus years of the US space history involve cooperation in the era of competition in different areas of civil, military and commercial activities. 'The Cold War context in which the US civil space program arose in 1958 ensured that foreign policy objectives dominated the nature of the activity. This naturally led to the need for cooperative ventures with other nations' (Workshop on US Civil Space Policy and Zimmerman, 2009). In this period of bumpy US-Soviet relationship, both countries preferred to use space as a tool for keeping stabi-

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lization and learning from each other in developing scientific and technological space programs.

During the Cold War, space never changed to be the 'war-fighting medium'; however, the US historical space budget reveals that spending money for military and security purposes never stopped during this period and even increased in the post-Cold War period. After the Soviet dissolution, the US space policy entered the period of transition from the early era of the Cold War, in which the US competed with an enemy, the Soviet Union, to be the space leader to the current globalized world in which must deal with international partners to save its preeminence in space. To reach this aim, the US has preferred to cooperate with other nations to stabilize its position in space, enhance knowledge of space, and explore unknown areas while preparing for military competition through increasing the Department of Defense budget for security purposes more than the NASA scientific and exploratory budget, as shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3:[2]

Figure 1.



2. Shawcross, Historical US Space Budget, 2006; Shawcross, DOD and NASA Space Budgets, 2006; Shawcross, National Security Space Costs Are Increasing, 2006

Figure 2.

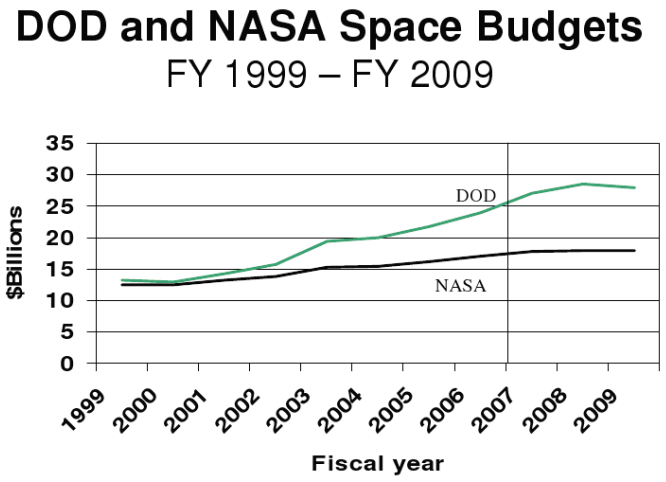
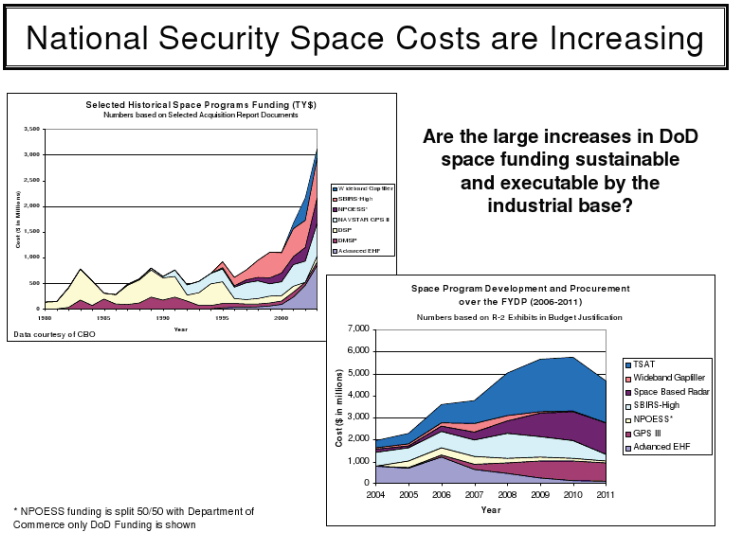


Figure 3.



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Table 2. Timeline of US International Cooperation in Exploring the Space[3]

Launch date	Name	Destination	Country	Current status
10.07.1962	Telstar 1	Earth	USA, UK, France	Telstar 1 went out of service in December 1962 after being overwhelmed by radiation. It was successfully restarted in January 1963 but went out of service again on 21st February. It is believed to remain in orbit around Earth.
10.11.1974	Helios 1	Sun	USA and (W) Germany	Helios 1 stopped transmitting in 1982 but remains in an orbit around the Sun.
17.07.1975	Apollo-Soyuz Test Project (Apolo 18/ Soyuz 19)	Earth	USA and USSR	The Soyuz craft returned to Earth on 21st July 1975. The Apollo craft returned on 24th July 1975.
15.01.1976	Helios 2	Sun	USA and (W) Germany	Helios 2's mission ended in April 1976 but remains in solar orbit.

3. Source: 'Timeline of Space Exploration.' <http://www.bobthealien.co.uk/19551959.htm> (Accessed June 27, 2010).

Launch date	Name	Destination	Country	Current status
07.07.1988	Phobos 1	Mars	USSR with 14 other countries including the USA	Contact lost late August/early September 1988.
10.1990	Ulysses	Sun and Jupiter	USA and Europe	Craft is still in operation, orbiting the Sun from a distance as far away as Jupiter. The craft is expected to remain operational until 2008.
02.12.1995	SOHO (Solar and Helospheric Observatory)	Sun (from Earth orbit)	USA and Europe	SOHO is still in operation.
15.10.1997	Cassini-Huygens	Jupiter and Saturn	USA, Europe and Italy	Cassini-Huygens left Jupiter early in 2001 and is now orbiting Saturn. The Huygens probe landed on Saturn's moon Titan and lies inactive on its surface, whereas the orbiter is still operational around Saturn.
20.11.1998	International Space Station	Earth	USA, Russia, Japan, Canada, Europe	The International Space Station is now operational but not yet complete. Work was postponed after the Columbia shuttle disaster in 2003 although it is expected that ISS will be completed in 2010 when the space shuttles are retired. ISS itself is expected to remain operational until at least 2016.

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Table 3. Old Space Powers, New Emerging Space Powers
Timeline of Space Exploratory Missions 1957–future[4]

YEAR	US	UK	FR	USSR	DE	EU	RU	IT	JP	CA	CN	IN
1957–59	13 M			8 M								
1960–64	13 M	1 M	1 M	12 M								
1965–69	22 M			23 M								
1970–74	12 M			19 M	1 M							
1975–79	8 M			6 M	1 M							
1980–84	7 M			6 M								
1985–89	3 M			3 M		1 M						
1990–94	5 M					1 M			1 M			
1995–99	12 M					3 M	2 M	1 M	1 M	1 M		
2000–04	4 M					2 M						
2005–10	9 M	1 M				1 M			2 M		1 M	1 M
2011–24	4 M				1 M	3 M	1 M		1 M		1 M	1 M

4. Source: 'Timeline of Space Exploration.' <http://www.bobthealien.co.uk/19551959.htm> (Accessed June 27, 2010).

CONCLUSION

In an era of ever-changing global challenges and opportunities, rising tension over the global commons—including Antarctica, oceans, the atmosphere, and outer space—is inevitable. Surpassing, more or less, the international challenges over the first two global commons brings the last ones into global consideration. Outer space seems to challenge the world to enter the new age of competition to gain more control over this new domain and to prevent the national and international security from being threatened.

From its inception in 1958, much of US space activity was affected by Cold War fears and threats. Therefore, for the first decades of the space age, the US took the 'military operations in space as being among [its] prime national security responsibilities and conduct those operations according to the letter and spirit of existing treaties and international law' (Gibson and Powell, 2010). In the ensuing decades, however, the growth and development of economy and space-based technologies in the globalized world compelled US to apply two kinds of space strategies in parallel: first, to cooperate with other nations in developing the space-based technologies in all branches of civilian, military and commercial space activities, and second, to increase the Department of Defense space budget as a 'military backbone' in order to preserve its security and leadership in space.

Fundamentally, the concept of globalization is all about connectivity. According to Thomas P. M. Barnett in *The Pentagon's New Map*, 'globalization is a condition defined as mutually assured dependence' (Barnett, 2004: 122). Therefore, in the globalized world of nations 'characterized by intertwined economies, trade commitments and international security agreements,' mutual dependencies are much more important than before. The idea of 'assured dependence' and 'cooperating toward the secure world' seem to work in the new domain of space, especially through the branch of space civilian activities (Johnson-Freese, 2009: 133). To reach this level of international security and to be the strategic leader in the globalized world,

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the US Committee on the Rationale and Goals of the US Civil Space has identified six strategic goals as a basic for planning the US civil space activities:

– To re-establish leadership for the protection of Earth and its inhabitants through the use of space research and technology.

– To sustain US leadership in science by seeking knowledge of the universe and searching for life beyond Earth.

– To expand the frontiers of human activities in space. Human spaceflight continues to challenge technology, utilize unique human capabilities, bring global prestige, and excite the public's imagination. Space provides almost limitless opportunities for extending the human experience to new frontiers.

– To provide technological, economic, and societal benefits that contribute solutions to the nation's most pressing problems.

– To inspire current and future generations.

– To enhance US global strategic leadership through leadership in civil space activities. Because of the growing strategic importance of space, all nations that aspire to global political and economic leadership in the 21st century are increasing their space-faring capabilities. Continued US global leadership is tied to continued US leadership in space (US House of Representative Committee on Science and Technology Subcommittee on Space and Aeronautics, 2009).

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FROM SICILY 1943, TO IRAQ 2003

Resisting the Enlisting of John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano* as Propaganda for the American Empire

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This essay began some years ago when, at a friend's house, I absent-mindedly picked up from a large stack of newspapers and magazines an old, 2003 copy of *The Atlantic*, a publication I normally never read. The issue featured an essay by Robert Kaplan lamenting the fact that—notwithstanding all the debates concerning the 'American Empire'—the 'practical ways of managing it' had never been adequately discussed. Trying to fill up this troublesome gap in imperial management, Kaplan listed ten rules that represented 'a distillation of my own experience and conversations with diplomats and military officers I have met in recent travels on four continents, and on military bases around the United States' (Kaplan, 2003). Rule number one was quizzically entitled 'Produce more Joppolos.' The Italian name intrigued me, though I could hardly guess what the author was referring to, given that the only Joppolo I knew at the time was a small seaside town in Calabria. Now, since Joppolo is quite a pleasant vacation site with a splendid view of the Mediterranean and a nice beach, I thought maybe Kaplan was suggesting that American soldiers—today's 'imperial grunts,' as he calls them in the title of one of his most recent books—should be provided with better R & R facilities, though I could hardly believe Joppolo had suddenly risen to international fame as a much-coveted holiday resort. It turned out, of course, that I was on a completely wrong track.

The Joppolo in Kaplan's article was the protagonist of a 1944 novel by John Hersey entitled *A Bell for Adano*, dealing with

the Allied invasion of Italy that began in early July, 1943. The reason why *The Atlantic* correspondent liked Major Victor Joppolo so much was that, as an intelligent American Civil Affairs officer of Italian descent, this US officer manages to win the hearts and minds of the population of the Sicilian town of which he becomes the de facto Mayor by paying little or no attention to abstract directives from bureaucrats, generals, and politicians, choosing, instead, to follow his own best instincts. Identified by Hersey as an essentially 'good man,' Joppolo is, as one critic has written, '[a] man of patience and integrity with a concern for honesty and justice … [who] feels that only simple good works reaching those at the bottom will reconstruct ravaged Italy' (Diggins, 1966: 607). Before I say something more about Major Joppolo and Hersey's novel, however, I would like to go back for a moment to Kaplan's piece, by quoting the opening sentence of the 'Produce More Joppolos' section of his article. 'When I asked Major Paul S. Warren, at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, home of the Army's Special Operations Command, what serves as the model for a civil-affairs officer within the Special Operations forces, he said, "Read John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano*—it's all there"' (Kaplan, 2003). If one is to believe what Kaplan writes, it would appear that a novel which, despite achieving fame at the time of its publication has by now virtually disappeared from most accounts of American literature, is alive and well at Special Operations headquarters, where it provides inspiration for the administrators of the US's 'global empire'—'an empire different from Britain's and Rome's but an empire nonetheless' (Kaplan, 2003).

As I rushed to order a used copy of Hersey's novel from Amazon.com, I discovered that this business of producing more Joppolos was taken seriously not only at Fort Bragg and *The Atlantic*. In a piece appearing in the May-June 2004 issue of the *Military Review* entitled 'Preparing Leaders for Nation Building,' US Army Lieutenant Colonel Patrick J. Donahoe began his argument by quoting approvingly Kaplan's number one rule for 'managing the world,' going on to suggest that if the US wanted to be successful in its double mission of fighting global terrorism and promoting nation-building, it better 'send more Joppolos to Iraq' (Donahoe, 2004: 24). Even though the use of the adjective

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'more' is disingenuous on Donahoe's part, as his article shows that in actual fact the US army can hardly claim to have even a single true Joppolo on the Iraqi soil, unlike Kaplan, who provides only a sketchy summary of Hersey's novel, Donahoe discusses *A Bell for Adano* in some detail, so as to convince his audience that, indeed, as he puts it in the last sentence of his essay, 'the Army needs more leaders like Victor Joppolo' (Donahoe 2004: 26).

From what I have said so far, a number of interesting points begin to emerge. Here are four questions that I think are especially worth asking.

1) What should we make of the fact that, despite a US history of military involvement around the planet that is more than a century old, the only 'model' available on how to handle civil affairs in occupied war zones comes from a work of fiction and, to boot, a work which—even though it received the Pulitzer Prize in 1945 and was later turned into a successful Broadway play and an equally successful Hollywood movie—was from the start greeted by most critics as a rather modest novel?[1]

2) Major Warren, Lieutenant Donahoe, and Robert Kaplan all seem to believe that it is possible to apply the lessons learned during the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943 to the completely different historical, cultural, and political scenario of the so-called GWT—the Global War on Terror. Leaving aside that whatever les-

1. The movie, released in 1945 and distributed by Twentieth Century Fox, was directed by Henry King and starred John Hodiak and Gene Tierney. The Broadway play was directed by Paul Osborn, and starred Fredric March as Victor Joppolo. Reviewing Hersey's novel in the *New York Times*, Jerre Mangione praised its main character's 'wonderful zeal for spreading democracy' and its author's 'crisp easy style,' but also noted that the novel was not a 'great one, and there will undoubtedly be more profound novels written about the war.' Similarly, Diana Trilling's review in *The Nation* appreciates, to an extent, Hersey's 'folk idealism,' but she also complains that 'someone in a position to boast a more complicated view of things' subjects his ideas to 'a process of conscious, falsifying, and purposeful simplification.' She also noted in passing that 'there is very little writing talent in *A Bell for Adano*' (Feb. 12). In a later article, published again in *The Nation* after the novel had received the Pulitzer prize, Diana Trilling wrote that she had been rereading Hersey's book, 'to find it even more primitive than I had remembered.... [T]he Pulitzer committee has again chosen a novel that can scarcely give pleasure to people who take literature seriously' (May 26).

sons there may be to learn from Hersey are in the form of fictional discourse, isn't it bizarre that top military figures and leading political commentators are nearly blind to such important historical and cultural differences at the same moment that they invoke the model of Joppolo as someone who was successful in his mission *precisely* by virtue of his ability to understand the nuances of the cultural context in which he was operating?

3) From a more strictly literary perspective, what does this military interest in *A Bell for Adano* tell us about this novel? Should we interpret it as a further proof that, as Andrew Buchanan has recently argued, even the sincere liberal humanitarianism framing Hersey's account of the occupation of Italy in 1943 is implicated in 'the formation of the redemptive, muscular, and interventionist ideologies that would coalesce in Cold War internationalism' (Buchanan, 2008: 219)? Or, to put it differently, is Kaplan, a staunch supporter of the legitimacy of the American Empire, justified in claiming Hersey's novel for an imperial project that cannot only rest on the muscles of Special Forces, but must also always 'win the confidence of local rulers' (Kaplan, 2003)?

4) If, as I believe, whatever its ideological and artistic flaws, *A Bell for Adano* should not be read as a text that straightforwardly promotes cultural and political imperialism, what has been missed by previous readings of Hersey's novel? In other words, what is that both a 'military' interpretation like Donahoe's and one attentive to the novel's ideological framework, fail to grasp about *A Bell for Adano*?

Questions number one and two are obviously very broad ones, and cannot be adequately tackled here. I will therefore devote only a few sketchy remarks to them, reserving more space for the last two more specifically literary questions by providing a couple of examples of the ways in which the cultural, or better trans-cultural, implications of Hersey's novel implicitly call into question its self-proclaimed ideological framework.

From the Philippines of a hundred or so years ago to present-day Afghanistan and Iraq, the US army has repeatedly acted as an occupying force in various countries around the world. Yet, judging from both Kaplan's and Donahoe's pieces, it would appear that there is not one single journal, autobiography, biography,

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personal memoir, or any other kind of written document providing a truly workable and inspiring model for Civil Affairs officers other than Hersey's Victor Joppolo. Rather than wondering about this peculiar circumstance and contemplating the possibility that the virtual absence of Joppolos both in fiction and in real life may be a sign that it is the reality of military occupation itself that undermines the notion of an ideal mediating/reconciling figure between occupants and occupied, the Joppolo figure continues to be invoked regardless of the huge historical, political, cultural, and indeed military differences separating the 1943 occupation of Sicily from today's invasion of Iraq. Put another way, rather than wondering what exceptional conditions may have made possible the emergence of a unique kind of literary character like Joppolo, military officers like Warren and Donahoe, and cheerleaders of the American Empire like Kaplan, all believe that the 'making' of actual, flesh-and-blood Joppolos is only a matter of will and careful planning. From this point of view it is definitely worth noticing that neither Donahoe nor Kaplan even bother to mention that the Joppolo figure was inspired by an actually existing American Major, Frank E. Toscani, who served as AMGOT officer in the Sicilian town of Licata, from July to September 1943.[2] Perhaps, the first thing one should do is ascertain how much of what Joppolo manages to do in the pages of Hersey's novel was matched in real life by Toscani, but it is quite obvious that, to paraphrase the immortal line in a famous Western, when the choice is between historical facts and legend, the likes of Kaplan always prefer to believe in the latter and disregard the former.[3]

Speaking of Westerns, it is no exaggeration to say that Kaplan thinks of Joppolo as a sort of wise sheriff operating on the nineteenth-century American frontier rather than in the Sicily of 1943. Kaplan likes the Joppolo figure so much that, besides mentioning him in *The Atlantic* article with which I began, he resorts to a passage from Hersey's novel as the number one epigraph

2. AMGOT stands for Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories.
3. The Western in question is of course *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (Paramount, 1962), and the exact line goes: 'This is the west, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend.'

for his 2007 book *Imperial Grunts*. My first reaction on seeing the quotation was that Kaplan's gesture was yet another attempt to appropriate, via Hersey's novel, the moral capital of World War II. As Marilyn Young has eloquently argued,

> There are, it seems, only two kinds of war the United States can fight: World War II or Vietnam. Anything that can be made to look like World War II is OK. But since the conditions for World War II cannot be replicated, most wars run the danger of being or becoming Vietnam (Young, 2003).

However, even though from time to time Kaplan in his book does invoke the World War II paradigm, the most significant framework for his argument is revealed by the title of his introductory chapter: *Injun Country.* While the occasional nods to World War II are clearly meant to provide his argument in favour of Empire with a moral rationale, just as the proverbially 'Good War' has become synonymous with Just War, the imagery of the frontier and the Indian Wars aims at reassuring the imperial grunts that their dirty work is part of a quintessential, mythical 'American experience.' Yet not once in his voluminous book does Kaplan raise the issue of how the Joppolo figure—who exists in a world that has nothing whatsoever to do with that of the Wild West—may function in a context where the enemy is not a demoralized and inept Italian army, but the contemporary counterparts of fierce, unfriendly 'Injuns.' Or, to put it another way, how come the US army had no Joppolos serving on the Plains against Crazy Horse?

Unlike Kaplan, Donahoe makes an effort to trace more closely the main features of the Joppolo figure by carefully enumerating all the qualities that the prospective Civil Affair officers operating in the Middle East would need to have, beginning with language skills and a knowledge of Islamic culture and history that, Donahoe candidly admits, precious few American soldiers possess. Indeed, Donahoe acknowledges that in one sense the US army is unlikely to come by any true Joppolo, as there are virtually no Iraqi-American or Afghani-American soldiers in the forces dispatched to the Middle East, and 'since the Army cannot draft men like Victor Joppolo … it must build them' (25).

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Leaving aside the fact that even the strongest critic of essentialism would probably acknowledge that the idea of 'building' an Afghani- or Iraqi-American borders on the absurd, the reason why there were plenty of Italian-Americans serving in the US Army during World War II cannot be ascribed only to the fact that they were forced to do so by the obligatory draft system. Many Italian Americans, like the fictional Joppolo and the real Frank Toscani, were fully assimilated and were happy to serve, seeing no contradiction between their Italian roots and their loyalty to the US. On a different plane, there can be no question that what made the Joppolo figure possible to begin with was the special status of 'second-rate enemy' accorded to the Italians by the Allies. As *The Soldier's Guide to Italy* put it, the objective was to 'treat the Italians differently from the Germans.' By acting with 'moderation and tact,' the Allies would 'gain the future confidence and support of the Italian people in [their] effort to restore world order' (as quoted in Buchanan, 2008: 223). While relations between the Allied troops and Italians were by no means always idyllic, the fact that Italians quickly went from being by and large incompetent enemies, to semi-allies, and finally to full-blown (though still second-rate) allies in the space of a few months makes the Italian World War II scenario rather unique.[4]

This is not to say that there are no analogies whatsoever between the situation of Sicily in 1943 and today's Iraq. One could argue, for example, that in both cases the American army intervened to topple a dictatorship and help re-establish social and political conditions conducive to democratic rule. Yet, Italy was at war with the US while Iraq was *not*. Many, perhaps most Iraqis were undoubtedly happy to see Saddam Hussein fall, just as many Italians were happy to see the Fascist regime go, but it would be hard to deny that while by and large the Allies were perceived by Italians as contributing to the liberation of their country, most Iraqis did *not* see US troops in that light. This is hardly surprising: Italy was at the time de facto under German occupation, and the Allies were in the eyes of most Italians

4. For a non-academic, though informative, account of Italian life during the Allied occupation, see Bracalini.

those who would help them get rid of the Nazis. The Iraqis were *not* under foreign occupation until the arrival of the 'coalition forces.' Finally, there is the cultural and especially the *religious* issue. The Allies belonged to countries like the United States, with manifold cultural and historical ties to Italy and European civilization in general, and were for the most part Christian. In Hersey's novel, one of the first things Major Joppolo does in Adano is to attend Sunday Mass, as he has the advantage of being both Italian and Catholic. I have heard of no US officer in either Afghanistan or Iraq going to Friday prayer with the locals. I have no figures regarding the percentage of Muslim soldiers dispatched to these war zones, but it is safe to guess it must be extremely low.

A closer look at the novel will show how great is the distance between the Sicily of 1943 and the Iraq of six-plus decades later. There can be hardly any question that Hersey's viewpoint is a liberal, yet heavily paternalistic one. Kaplan's appropriation of *A Bell for Adano* is therefore at least partly justified. Joppolo is often condescending in his attempts to teach the locals what democracy is, as if Italians had no home-grown democratic traditions of their own. Moreover, the American Major is for the most part surrounded by one-dimensional Italian characters taking part in what critics have described as an '*opéra bouffe*' (Gisolfi, 1950: 201) or a 'veritable Sicilian minstrel show' (Buchanan, 2008: 229). And yet, while the political message that Hersey wished to disseminate with his novel is made absolutely clear in the book's preface, there are certain ways in which the text may be said to resist its explicit ideological agenda. For example, even though, as John Diggins has noted, 'Hersey's narrow American point of view failed to convey the heavy effects of Fascism and war on the Italian people, their unquiet desperation and bewilderment during the liberation, and the bitter hatred that often existed between Italians and American soldiers' (Diggins, 1966: 608), from the very beginning Hersey hints at the ambiguous nature of Joppolo as victorious liberator of Adano and yet at the same time its conqueror (his name is, after all, Victor). First his assistant Borth jokingly remarks that, except for his moustache, Joppolo 'look[s] quite a lot like Mussolini.' Borth tries to deflate the Major's wish 'to do

so much' for the town by asking Joppolo, 'Will it be okay with you to be a Mussolini?' (Hersey, 1944: 9).

These implicit warnings against the dangers of absolute power, even when exercised with good intentions, may not amount to much, but it is interesting that the theme of conquest is raised again a couple of pages later, when the usher Zito replies with 'a beautiful lie' to the Major's inquiry about a 'big picture' hanging over his desk. Zito's sly answer—'That, Mister Major, is Columbus discovering America'—is meant to cover up the politically embarrassing content of the picture's true theme, 'a scene from the Sicilian Vespers, that bloody revolt which the Sicilians mounted against a previous invader' (Hersey, 1944: 13).[5] Zito prefers to direct the Major's attention to the figure of a conqueror like Columbus who, being Italian and yet virtually 'American,' provides an ideal mediating figure between Italy and the US. Whatever we may think of Columbus today, at the time he was certainly commonly perceived as a bearer of civilization rather than a usurper. Furthermore his image calls forth a much friendlier scenario than the one evoked by the actual subject of the painting which, however, hovers in the background suggesting, in Hersey's own words, that the Americans may well be perceived by the locals as yet another invading force.

The ambiguous status of the American army is once again emphasized when the bell that gives the novel its title is discussed for the first time by Joppolo and a group of Adano's citizens. It appears, rather implausibly, that the town's number one priority is not feeding the people (as only 'the fat Craxi' insists) but getting back the clock tower bell taken by Mussolini to make weapons. Insisting that the town 'needs a bell more than anything,' the local sulphur magnate Cacopardo recalls that 'by this bell the people were warned of the invasion of Roberto King of Naples, and he was driven back' (Hersey, 1944: 19), as well as that 'the bell warned the people when Admiral Tar-

5. The Sicilian Vespers, which took place in Sicily in 1282, is the name given to a rebellion against the French/Angevin king Charles I, who had occupied the island with the Pope's consent in 1266. The name 'Vespers' come from the fact that the uprising began after the evening prayer of Easter Monday, March 30, 1282, at the Chiesa dello Spirito Santo, in Palermo.

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got brought his French and his Turks to the place and burned many homes and churches' (Hersey, 1944: 20), only to conclude that 'the bell did not warn us of *this* invasion, or we would have been in the streets with flowers to welcome you' (20). Much as he wants to oblige his new boss, Cacopardo cannot help but label the arrival of the Americans as an invasion, and, more importantly, he implicitly reminds Joppolo that Sicilians have always resisted all attempts to be conquered.[6]

This is a point worth emphasizing since much is usually made of the fact that Joppolo does not want to get just any bell for Adano. He wants 'a bell with a meaning,' 'a Liberty Bell' (Hersey, 1944: 32). Also Major Toscani took to heart this bell business, but as shown by the historical record, he was happy to arrange for the transport of two local church bells to replace the missing one in the municipal tower.[7] Joppolo, instead, clearly sees the bell as a concrete symbol of the American gift of democracy to a reborn and redeemed Italian nation. Yet, in recalling that the Liberty Bell 'is the bell the Americans rang when they declared themselves free from the British' (32), Joppolo is not so much raising once again the possibility that the Americans might be the ones Italians would like to be free from; it's more that the American Major seems to be echoing Cacopardo's claims for Adano's original, and much older, bell. In light of Cacopardo's history lesson, the experience of resistance to tyranny and inva-

6. The irony of these scenes may appear innocently mild, and yet the fact that they were excised in the film version of the novel sounds like a confirmation of their critical edge. This may be also the place to recall that another important scene was left out in the movie—the one in which some drunken American soldiers destroy the furniture of the house where they are quartered, leading the owner of the house to protest to Joppolo that 'The Germans never did anything in this town as your men have done' (135). Moreover, the film version also cleaned up the language of those characters Hersey cast in a negative light, from Captain Purvis' sexist remarks on Italian women to General Marvin's racial slurs against Italians, and Joppolo in particular ('lousy, sonafabitching, little wop' [236]).

7. For a description of Toscani's activity in Licata, including a brief comparison with Hersey's Joppolo, see Li Gotti 45–61. Hersey chose a Southern last name for his hero, but in the novel Joppolo claims his parents migrated to America from Tuscany, as if to implicitly evoke the real-life figure on whom the character is based.

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sion that Joppolo associates with the Liberty Bell can no longer be said to be unique to America. America's Liberty Bell is more a copy than an improvement over Adano's original bell. Moreover, no matter how much democracy was often presented at the time as a specifically Anglo-Saxon achievement, as Joppolo tells the citizens from Adano, the words on the Liberty Bell come from Leviticus: 'Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all inhabitants thereof' (Hersey, 1944: 253). American liberty appears to have some unmistakably Mediterranean roots.

One final remark about the bell. In the novel it is donated to Joppolo by the Navy, and taken from the USS *Corelli*. There is a symbolic reason to this. 'Captain Corelli, the guy it was named for … did something in the last war over here in the Mediterranean. Italy was our ally then, you know' (Hersey, 1944: 209). Later it is revealed that in actual fact Vincent Corelli's act of heroism took place in the North Atlantic, where his destroyer saved the entire crew from a sinking Italian freighter, but the main point remains. The American gift bears an Italian imprint, in as much as Italians have always somehow been a part of America, from Columbus onwards. One may argue that it is mostly 'Americanized' Italians like Corelli and Joppolo who can strike an heroic pose in Hersey's narrative, and yet America is described as being hardly beyond reproach. The book ends with the dismissal of Major Joppolo at the hands of the insufferable and obtuse General Marvin (a fictional Patton), for having dared to countermand his orders prohibiting carts from being allowed into town. The circulation of carts is rightly deemed by Joppolo as essential to the town's livelihood. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly all the good he manages to accomplish in Adano hangs on his refusal to submit to Marvin's irrational and irresponsible orders. It is certainly ironic that a novel notable for its main character's 'wonderful zeal in spreading democracy' ends with his dismissal at the hands of an authoritarian, racist, and indeed Mussolinian figure.[8]

8. This apparently was not what happened to the real-life Major Frank Toscani. However, the historical record does show that he was liked by the local population and that, in gratitude for the work he had done on behalf of the town, he was treated by the Town Council to a farewell banquet also featured in Hersey's novel.

Interestingly enough, this cart business is simply ignored in Donahoe's article, whereas Kaplan devotes to it one line, as just one more item in the list of all the things that Joppolo does to get the town of Adano back on its feet, but never mentioning that this act finally costs the Major his job. I do not wish to make too much of the novel's critique of Marvin's bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and ill temper. However, if, as Hersey wrote in his introduction, Joppolo 'was a good man, though weak in certain attractive, human ways, and what he did and what he was not able to do in Adano represented in miniature what America can and cannot do in Europe' (Hersey, 1944: 1), the novel shows that the real threat to the humane liberalism advocated by Hersey through Joppolo does not come from outside, but from the inside—from the US Army itself. More importantly, perhaps, the novel points to a fundamental contradiction any invading Army, no matter how benign its intentions, must face. When General Marvin foams at the mouth against the 'goddam Italians [who] think they're going to stop a bunch of goddam tanks with a bunch of goddam wooden carts' (Hersey, 1944: 50), he shows how war always depends on the construction of an enemy figure who must by definition be denied equal dignity and equal rights. And yet the problem is not, as Commander General Anthony Zinni—quoted by Donahoe—would have it, 'that on the one hand you must kill somebody, on the other you must feed somebody' (Donahoe, 2004: 25). If you are part of an Army claiming to bring freedom and democracy to the invaded country, the 'somebody' you need to kill and yet you need to feed can be hardly construed as two different, easily separable people. In order to kill you are likely to accept all the negative images of the enemy fed to you by the propaganda and the general culture, even though those images are obviously and inevitably going to interfere with your supposed commitment to the cause of redeeming an oppressed population.

Again, I do not wish to argue that Hersey's critique is particularly biting or profound, but I do believe it is important to stress that in a novel criticized—and rightly so—for being unable to show the ugly face of Italian Fascism, the only character who behaves Fascistically is the head of the invading army. In his preface, after

praising America as 'the international country,' Hersey writes, somewhat sentimentally, that as America is 'on its way to Europe,' a kind of reverse migration might take place. 'Just as truly as once Europe invaded us with wave after wave of immigrants, now we are invading Europe with wave after wave of sons of immigrants' (Hersey, 1944: 2). There is certainly something naïve about Hersey's dream and yet it is hard for me to imagine that, were he alive today, Major Joppolo would be rushing to Iraq, Afghanistan, or some other war zone with the same enthusiasm he displayed some decades ago as he landed on the shores of Sicily. But perhaps, rather than asking what is ultimately a foolish question, or wondering why the US Army has so much trouble finding any Joppolos willing to enlist, as a student of literature I guess it is more interesting to pose a different question. Why is there no contemporary equivalent of *A Bell for Adano*? If there are no *A Minaret for Falluja* or *A Muezzin for Kandahar* to parallel Hersey's novel, isn't that a further sign that attempts to establish links between World War Two and the imperial wars of today are simply untenable?

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AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE:

From Political Fiction to Faction to Fact

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And it led as well to that prolonged sequence of events in which Athens suffered defeat; the empire was destroyed; the democracy was outlawed and restored; Socrates and Asclepius were tried, found guilty, and executed; Plato wrote his philosophies and started his school; Aristotle came to Athens as a student and departed as fugitive and was later, during a different war, painted by Rembrandt in Amsterdam contemplating a bust of Homer that was a copy, and, as a consequence of this, as a conclusion to centuries of hazardous travels, and as a matter of verifiable fact, made in 1961 his triumphant passage from the Parke-Bernet Galleries on Madison Avenue and Seventy-seventh Street in the city now called New York to the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Fifth Avenue and Eighty-second Street before John F. Kennedy was shot between the Korean War and the Vietnam war and was succeeded as president by Lyndon B. Johnson, who, counseled by an inner circle of educated dumbbells associated mainly with Harvard and other prestigious universities, lied to the American people and the American Congress and secretly and deceitfully took the nation openly into a war in Southeast Asia it could not win and did not, persevering obstinately on that destructive course as resolutely as did Pericles when he moved Athens ahead onto her self-destructive course of war with Sparta.

Joseph Heller, *Picture This*

In 1961 a first novel by an unknown writer won the National Book Award, edging another first novel by a then unknown writer. But while few today remember the winner, Walker Percy's *Moviegoer*, the runner-up looms bigger than ever before. With tens of millions copies sold worldwide, with translations from Finnish to Chinese, *Catch-22* boasts entries in English-

language dictionaries from *Webster's* to the *OED*. A modern classic and a staple of college curricula, it is also—despite its pacifist tenor—a required reading at the US Air Force Academy (which in 1986 even sponsored an academic symposium to mark the quarter-centenniary of its publication).

This last accolade is less odd when you consider that, for the 1970 blockbuster film adaptation, Hollywood assembled not only a cast led by Alan Arkin, Orson Welles, Martin Sheen, Martin Balsam, John Voight, and Bob Newhart, but a bomber fleet ranked twelfth largest in the world. Much of this enduring success owes to Heller's reader-friendly aesthetics: acerbic humour, immaculate if complex plotting, a pleiade of oddball characters, and an almost counter-cultural iconoclasm. But, at the end of the day, the even weightier reasons have do with history than with aesthetics.

Ostensibly set during the Second World War, *Catch-22* came to mean so much to the decade it ushered in because it so uncannily presaged the mindset of the war-scarred 1960s. Little wonder that, while their government waged war to make peace, pacified Vietnamese villages and villagers in order to save them, debased language into a public relations spin-cycle, and turned democracy into a *comedie bouffon*, Americans turned en masse to the master of black comedy.

A decade and a half later, reviewing Heller's novel *Something Happened* for the *New York Times*, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt ventured that it would be to the '70s what *Catch-22* was to the '60s: a book of truths ostensibly rooted in the past, farsighted about the future. Were he writing toward the end of the 1980s, he might have said the same about *Picture This*, a historical tour de farce written after eight years of Ronald Reagan, which reads as if it was written after eight years of Bush the Younger.

Masterpiece satire and experimental aesthetics aside, this prophetic intimation of the future past is a compelling reason to revisit this extraordinary novel from the writer who passed away in 1999, shortly after completing his farewell *Portrait of an Artist, as an Old Man*. With the prophetic resonance of a latter day Nostradamus, though without the latter's equivocations, Heller

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breezes through two-and-a-half millennia of history, politics, economics and art to deliver his most searching sermon, and his darkest satire. Reviewing some of the lesser-known episodes of Western history, time and time again he fast-forwards to his Reagan-era present which uncannily resembles our Bush II-era past.

Naturally, the cynic in him has few illusions about the efficacy of literature against ignorance, apathy, or worst of all, television. 'If there was never another novel written,' shrugged the author in a 1971 interview with the *LA Times*, 'the world would still go on. It wouldn't change anything, no one would care. But if there was no more television, everyone would go crazy in two days' (Powers, 1993: 137).[1] Heller's cynicism is even more corrosive in *Picture This*. 'You will learn nothing from history that can be applied'—he scoffs on the second-last page of this novel-as-history, or history-as-a-novel—'so don't kid yourself into thinking you can' (Heller, 1989: 340).[2]

Yet the artist in him belies the cynic. Having confided to the *US News and World Report* that he was no good at all at nonfiction, now he self-reflexively yokes his genius for the surreal to the investigation of sober fact. Having confided elsewhere that the easiest part of writing for him was the dialogue, now he crafts a novel with scarcely any dialogue at all. Having traded ink for acid, he takes the artistic risk of his career by composing a *summa historiae* that stands out from his entire oeuvre like an Arab in the Knesset.

In the autumn of his career, like the elder, vitriolic Mark Twain, Heller takes on a subject of epic proportions: the American empire. On a narrative canvas equally ambitious in size, he clothes Periclean Athens and the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic in rich historical robes and compares their rise and fall with the state of the American union. He is, of course, too canny a historian and satirist to close his eyes to the differences among the three superpowers. But the stirring consonance of his juxtapositions suggests that the differences may only be superficial, while the analogies profound.

1. For background on Heller, see Seed; Swirski.
2. All subsequent references are to *Picture This* unless indicated otherwise.

If his thesis is right—if the dissimilar historical superstructures are driven by the same political-military engine—*Picture This* goes a long way to explaining why Americans of any generation find themselves at war with countries many could not even place on the map. But is Heller really a prophet? Or is it just that we don't care to learn from history? In the year *Picture This* came out, the author favoured the latter alternative: 'No one can change history, but it keeps on repeating' (Haynes 1993: 19).

Indeed, the pity and pathos that permeate the book arise largely from Heller's focus on the historical invariants in human affairs, particularly when it comes to war, politics and money. Barring military technology and the means of economic production, precious little, after all, has changed from the Golden Ages of the Greek and Dutch republics.

'I went back to ancient Greece because I was interested in writing about American life and Western civilization,' recalled Heller in an interview with Bill Moyers. 'In ancient Greece I found striking—and grim—parallels' (Moyers, 1983: 279). Shuttling back and forth between the internecine war on the Peloponnesus and the colonial heyday of the Dutch East India Company, *Picture This* lives up to its author's confession of being 'a book about money and war' (Reed, 1986: 68). Albeit a gross simplification, the above quote does identify the twin concerns that impose on this scattershot novel an almost classical unity of theme.

Donning the chiton of Cassandra under the burgomeester's surplice, Heller tops them both with a fool's cap and proceeds to dissect three different bodies politic that have succumbed to the same imperial hubris. That is why, behind his sometimes puckish, sometimes scathing, ad libs aimed at the Greek imperial democracy and the Dutch corporate regime, always lurk the decades that, for better or worse, belonged to Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan. Stitching these disparate epochs is the painting depicting of one of the world's greatest philosophers, executed by one of the world's greatest painters, purchased in 1961 by one of the greatest American museums for the greatest sum then ever spent on a work of visual art.

The result is a narrative structure perfected already in *Catch-22*: time-warps replete with cyclically amplified flashbacks and flash-

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forwards to a handful of central episodes—the book's structural and thematic leitmotifs. One of these is the life and death of Socrates, the philosophical gadfly on the Hellenic body politic. Another is the destructive and, as the author is at pains to document, self-destructive war between Athens and Sparta. Finally, there is the genesis in 1653 of the painting *Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer* by Rembrandt van Rijn, and its subsequent vagaries on the international art scene.

Even without Heller's ironic asides, it does not take a degree in history to recognize in the Greek and Dutch empires the archetypes of the Cold War, the Vietnam war, the conservative revolution under Reagan, and the neoconservative one under Bush II. Projected onto a multiplex historical canvas, the three empires become the catalysts for ruminations on the nature of democracy, war, law, art, money—and, not least, human nature.

The fact that in 1609 Henry Hudson seized a prime chunk of real estate on America's eastern seaboard in the name of the Netherlands only tickles Heller's sardonic bone. So does the fact that mercantile Holland was in its time as fearsome a commercial power as is the US today. And that, enshrined as the democratic leaders of the Western civilization, then and now, both Athens and America got there on the backs of domestic slavery and overseas militarism. *Picture This* takes no prisoners when satirizing the discrepancies between the accepted historical commonplace and the actual historical circumstance. The chronological time-warps and jump-cuts only underscore the fate of any republic that comes down with a case of manifest destiny.

So overriding, in fact, is this sense of history that some critics expressed reservations whether Heller's novel is a novel at all. Judith Ruderman complained, for example, that it 'seems more like a history text in which the pages have been scrambled than it does like a novel' (Ruderman, 1991: 10). In a syncretic novel like *Picture This* one can, of course, debate where fact ends and poetic licence begins. But there is no debating that what holds its thirty-seven chapters together is not a traditional hero or storyline, but political history.

Heller cribs from a staggering number of sources, from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Diogenes Leartius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Aristotle's *Poetics, Metaphysics, Ethics*, Plato's *Apology*, *Laws*, *Republic, Seventh Epistle, Symposium*– to Hesiod, Aristophanes, Aeschines, Homer and who knows who else. Furthermore, he lifts entire sections from Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, particularly on the bloodbath on Corcyra, the deliberations before the massacre of the city of Melos, and the calamitous war against Syracuse.

His portrait of Rembrandt and the painter's times owes, in turn, at least as much to Gary Schwartz's *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings*, Paul Zumthor's *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland*, Simon Schama's *the Embarrassment of Riches*, and John Motley's more than a century old yet still unsurpassed treatise, *the Rise of the Dutch Republic*. In the face of this cornucopia, some critics threw up their hands in despair, sounding for all the world like Mordecai Richler who used to grouch that Richard Condon's books were not so much to be reviewed as counter-researched (Richler, 1964: 4).

True enough, *Picture This* flouts everything taught in creative writing courses. Piling facts upon facts upon trivia, it digresses– among myriad others–into thumbnail biographies of Alexander the Great, William of Orange, Philip II, and Spinoza; disquisitions on curing herring, the Dutch shipbuilding industry, and the invention of the telescope; Rembrandt's birthweight, schooling, and extra/marital life; and even such crumbs of art-history as the fact that the corpse in *the Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* was that of a man hanged for stealing a coat.

At first blush all this may seem to be just a slapdash inventory of historical ins and outs, no more than a narrative fodder for rhetorical flourishes and ironic editorializing. Heller's reflections on his craft offer, however, a good reason to believe that this free-associative exterior conceals a studiously orchestrated design. 'I tried to avoid… the conventional structure of the novel,' explained the author of *Catch-22*; 'I tried to give it a structure that would reflect and complement the content of the book itself, and the content of the book really derives from our present atmosphere, which is one of chaos, of disorganization' (Kressner,

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1973: 276–77). Seemingly unstructured and repetitive, the story was constructed with a meticulous concern to assume the form of a formless novel.

This is not to deny that Heller elevates redundancy—be it in the form of repetition, refrain, periphrasis, or amplification—to the status of a major structural tenet. In style, however, he opts for minimalist aesthetics, with staccato sentences frequently chiselled down to a single line, and paragraphs dramatically lineated to highlight—or give breathing room—to successive ideas. Look at all this one way, and you indeed see what Heller himself dubbed tongue-in-cheek as 'excessive excess' (Green, 1988: 57). Look again, and you see exquisite dramatic counterpoint, tragicomic fusion and ontological syncretism from a writer of sterling credentials: Ivy League MA in literature, Fulbright and Christensen scholarships at Oxford, and Distinguished Professorship of English at the City College of New York.

To be sure, *Picture This* is not a historical fiction in the manner of Alexandre Dumas *père*—but neither is it 'tedious and static' (Ruderman, 1991: 179). Far from a documentary transcription, Heller is never happier than when he can serve history with a twist, typically by resorting to ironic conceit, anachronistic paraphrase, or *reductio ad absurdum*.

His pages are peppered with one-liners that flow from historical incongruities, such as: 'One of the effects of capitalism is communism' (89). At the opposite end of the scale lie complex dramatic scenes that illustrate how, driven by strategic, political, and economic expediency, any imperial history looks like so much catch-22. The mood, too, ranges from solemn during the kangoroo trial of Socrates, to surreal, as when Rembrandt reflects on the payoffs of imitating paintings by his apprentices which, although imitations of his own, are deemed by the public to be more Rembrandt-like.

Even though Nabokov called such mingling of fiction and fact a mangling of both art and truth, Heller could not care less. His title is the best case in point, in a *double entendre* swivelling between Rembrandt's historical picture and our capacity to picture things that are not—the prerogative of fiction. Rembrandt's painting of Aristotle is, of course, real enough, but since no one

has any idea what historical Aristotle looked like, the artist had to invent his likeness, much as that of Homer of whom no one knows anything except his name. As for the sole figure in *Picture This* who approaches the status of a hero, although we have a historical source about Socrates in Plato himself, the latter met Socrates only briefly, only as a young man, and only when the sage was already past sixty. To conclude that Plato's picture might well be a composite of fact and fiction would be a truism.

The ontological distinction between fiction and nonfiction occludes the fact that both novelists and historians are writers who use all manner of stylistic, rhetorical and structural tropes to convert readers to their point of view. To muddy the waters even further, the historical roots of 'faction' hark back more than two thousand years before the new journalism of Tom Wolfe or the nonfiction novels of Truman Capote. One of its unapologetic practitioners was, in fact, none other than Heller's narrative model from the antiquity, Thucydides. Availing himself of what we would call today ethnographic fieldwork–including, notably, personal interviews–the Greek historian resorted to rhetorical and satirical flourishes to convey the full cruelty and senselessness of warfare between the Mediterranean superpowers.

Like the author of *Picture This*, alternating in tone between magisterial and personal, Thucydides also did not shrink from judging the merits of historical figures and events. Taking issue with a number of inherited clichés, he did not even spare the Trojan War which, he asserted, 'falls short of its fame and the prevailing traditions to which the poets have given authority' (Zagorin, 2005: 28).[3] Equally to the point, neither did he shy away from putting words in people's mouths, although strictly in accordance with their historical background and personality. 'My habit,' he wrote in self-defense, 'has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded by the occasion, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said' (30).

If Thucydides is a narrative historian of power politics who used dramatic attribution to make his themes–be it war, governance,

3. See also pages 24–26 for background to Thucydides and the Trojan War.

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or the state of the empire—more salient, so is Heller. The latter's Aristotle, for example, seems to have all the fun in the world using the Socratic method, as described to us by Plato himself, to poke holes in the latter's blueprint for a just government.

> 'In my virtuous communist republic, it will be the role of the individuals to do the bidding of the state.'
>
> 'And if people don't agree?'
>
> 'They will be oppressed, for the good of the state. The Guardians will make them.'
>
> 'Who will make the Guardians obey?' inquired Aristotle. 'Where is the stronger force to compel them?'
>
> 'What difference does it make?' said Plato, vexed. 'What people do in this world is of no consequence.'
>
> 'Then why are you bothering? Why are we talking? Why did you write your *Republic*?' (Heller, 1989: 281)

It is, naturally, ironic that the very democracies that permitted Thucydides and Heller to crucify them in writing, afforded them so much to crucify. In his classic study, *the City and Man*, Leo Strauss suggested, in fact, that even though Thucydides's philippics were tolerated by the authorities, it may have been a calculated move to take the heat away from their imperial ambitions. To his credit, Heller takes full account of this irony by turning the tables on himself. Writing history or writing about history entails making choices not just about causality and context, but relevance. Even the most conscientious chronicler must perforce select and collate his data, and at times make conjectures about them. Be that as it may, Heller-as-historiographer never wavers: much as we need history, we need truth more.

Had he lived to our millenium, he would be dismayed to learn how right he was. Having for decades imitated the White House which had always called the Vietnam 'police action,' only in 1999 did the French admit that their brutal eight-year war against Algerian independence *was* a war rather than an 'operation to maintain order.' The echoes of Orwell's MiniTru are, however, more sinister. In November 2005, to howls of derision from former colonies and historians at home, France's parliament voted to uphold a *law* that has traditionally ordained history textbooks

to drum up the benevolent side of its colonial rule. Eventually, the furore reached such a crescendo that the offensive statute was abrogated, but the moral is clear: new and better history is only a vote away.

The French are not alone, of course, in taking procrustean liberties with history. No need to invoke Stalin's USSR, Mao's China, Pol Pot's Cambodia, or Saddam's Iraq either. In *the Clash Within* Martha Nussbaum recounts how the current Hindu Right–the BJP and its allies–attempts to rewrite Indian history to elevate Hindus at the expense of Muslims. In Taiwan, for reasons linked to their struggle for acceptance as a sovereign democracy, the authorities are removing the name of Chang Kai Shek from streets and even the national airport. Chechens were freedom fighters before being rebranded as terrorists when the US needed Russian compliance in the Security Council. In 2007 protests erupted in Okinawa against Japanese orders to alter high-school history textbooks which teach that the WW2 Japanese army ordered Okinawans to kill themselves rather than surrender.

In *Poetics* Aristotle deemed poetry 'a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular.'[4] *Picture This*–whose working title was at one point *Poetics*–is preceded by another of the philosopher's epigrams: 'Tragedy is an imitation of an action.' Instead of mimetically, however, Heller interprets Aristotle historically as a tragic cycle of political actions that bore no fruit in the past and, imitated, are doomed to sterility in the future present. The unity of his novel emerges from the blend of ironic–not to say olympian–detachment and intense compassion with which he surveys the ways in which individuals act in societies that, despite invocations of liberty and democracy, seldom afford opportunity to practice them.

4. Aristotle, *Poetics.* <http://www.identitytheory.com/etexts/poetics9.html> (Accessed 10.10.2013).

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TO GO BEYOND COMMUNAL NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTS:

The Case of William Faulkner and Nakagami Kenji

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William Faulkner (1897–1962), the great novelist of the American South in the twentieth century, influenced many writers globally. Nakagami Kenji (1946–92), a literary master of modern Japan after Oe Kenzaburo (the 1994 Nobel Prize winner for literature), was one of those who acknowledged Faulkner's influence on his literary imagination.[1] Nakagami's Kumano, which serves as the background of his many fictions, reminds us of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha. Nakagami wrote extensively about several families of this area in his novels, just as Faulkner wrote in his Yoknapatawpha saga.[2]

Admittedly, Faulkner was from the planter class of the old South, while Nakagami was from the *Burakumin* class, a Japa-

1. At the beginning of the collection of non-fiction essays *Kishu: Ki no Kuni, Ne no Kuni Monogatari* (*Kishu*: *A Tale of the Land of Trees, Land of Roots*), published in 1978, Nakagami refers to Faulkner's Jefferson in relation to the exploration of his homeland Kumano (482). Nakagami also sensed the importance of Faulkner's dynamic imagery of the South, which is the South of any place. See Nakagami, 'Hammo suru Minami,' in *Nakagami Kenji Zenshu* 15, 535–43; translated into English as 'Faulkner: The Luxuriating South,' in: *Faulkner: After the Nobel Prize*, 326–36.

2. For Example, Nakagami's *Akiyuki Trilogy* (*Misaki* [*The Cape*] 1976, *Karekinada* [*The Sea of Kareki*] 1977, *Chi no Hate, Shijo no Toki* [*The Ends of the Earth, the Supreme Time*] 1983) writes about the protagonist Akiyuki Takehara and his family at *Roji* (alleyway), his neighborhood in Kumano. In *Sennen no Yuraku* (*A Thousand Years of Pleasure*), published in 1982, an old midwife narrates about the lives of the young men of *Roji* (alleyway) she helped bring into the world.

nese social outcaste in the past. Nakagami regarded himself as a minority writer, and like some African-American or Latin-American writers inspired by Faulkner, he was quite conscious of Faulkner's critical but complicated gaze towards his society. Born illegitimate in the minority class in a country which traditionally emphasized the patriarchal authority, Nakagami sensed Faulkner's polar position and predicament as a legitimate heir to Southern culture and history. Faulkner was aware of the contradictions of binary thinking in the Southern black/white racial divide, but growing up in the deep South, he also knew the binding power of the traditional narrative constructs. The cause of the old South and the spell of blood and race repelled as well as enchanted him.

The power of traditional narrative constructs, and the sense of place and history which affect the legends, are also as significant to Nakagami's literature, as to Faulkner's. Nakagami suffered not only from the binary contrast of the sacred and the damned in traditional Japanese narratives, but also from the treacherous solution of the binary oppositions in these narratives. He was acutely aware of this in his old ex-*Burakumin* neighborhood in Kumano.

Nakagami's hometown belongs to the Kumano area, located on the large Kii Peninsula in the middle part of mainland Japan. The mountainous Kumano area is related by tradition to the origin of ancient Japan, and abounds in myths and legends of gods and emperors.[3] Since it is agreed theoretically that the old Japanese hierarchy, with the emperor at the top, consequently necessitated the outcaste at the bottom, Nakagami was critically aware of ancient Japanese myths and legends, which centered on heroic emperors and which founded the basic structure of the imagined community of patriarchal Japan.[4] Growing up

3. The Kumano area is mentioned as a village of gods in *Nihon Shogi*, written around the 8th Century.

4. Nakagami criticizes that the Japanese *monogatari* (narrative, or narrative making) praises such patriarchal structure of power. Still, he believes there is something maternal in the Japanese way of narration, which sets the reverential tone, forecloses people within the patriarchal narrative constructs and makes them absorb its ideology. See *Taidan: Mongatari no Shohshitsu to Ryuhbou* (*Dialogue: the Disappearance of the Narrative and the Nomadic*

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as a member of a minority in the Kumano area, the mysterious heart-land of the ancient Japan, Nakagami has a love-hate relationship with his homeland and its traditional narrative constructs. Though set apart in time, space, and class, Faulkner and Nakagami respectively criticize their patriarchal societies which are sustained by the use of elaborate narrative constructs, and which consist of binary codes, and cause fatal discrimination.

In this paper, I hope to present the similar and/or different strategies Faulkner and Nakagami adopt in their critique and deconstruction of the narrative construct of each society. Both Faulkner and Nakagami are fascinated with traditional narratives which are strongly connected with their native lands and histories, but they also want to go beyond the local or national bind of the patriarchal system through the creation of their own narratives. They both sense that they are, more or less, minority nomads in their own land. The focus of examination and comparison in this paper is on the nomadic protagonists and the 'dangerous women'[5] in Faulkner's *Light in August* and in Nakagami's 'Fushi' ('Immortal'), one of the short stories in *Kumano Shu* (*Kumano Collection*). There is little mention of Nakagami's *Kumano Shu* in the critical comparison of Nakagami with Faulkner,[6] but Nakagami was writing short stories for *Kumano Shu* about the same time as he was writing *Chi no Hate, Shijo no Toki* (*The Ends of the Earth, the Supreme Time*,

People), 28–29. Also see Nakagami, *Fukei no Muko e, Monogatari no Keifu* (Beyond Landscapes, A Genealogy of the Narrative), 120–22, 165–67, 204–07.

5. This phrase is quoted from the title of Nina Corniyetz's critical study, *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words: Phallic Fantasy and Modernity in Three Japanese Writers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). In this book, Cornyetz brilliantly examines gender and sexuality in the texts of Nakagami and other Japanese writers.

6. The critical comparison between Faulkner and Nakagami is mainly on Faulkner's novels with Quentin Compson as the main protagonist (*The Sound and the Fury* and *Absalom, Absalom!*) and Nakgami's *Akiyuki Trilogy*. See for instance, Michiko Yoshida, 'Kenji Nakagami as Faulkner's Rebellious Heir,' *Faulkner, His Contemporaries, and His Posterity*, ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (Tubingen: Francke, 1993), 350–60; Anne McKnight, 'Crypticism, or Nakagami Kenji's Transplanted Faulkner: Plants, Saga and *Sabetsu*,' *The Faulkner Journal of Japan* (May 1999). 24 August 2006 <http:// www.isc.senshu-u.ac.jp/~thb0559/fjournal.htm >.

1983),[7] a novel which shows some strong allusion to Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*

The protagonists of Faulkner's and Nakagami's texts mentioned above are nomads, who are hard to categorize into one identity, and they go beyond the boundary of each community. In *Light in August*, Joe Christmas is an orphan who does not fit into Southern society because he does not know whether he has black blood or not. He is a subversive wanderer, and in that sense is similar to some of Nakagami's heroes in *Kumano Shu*. Nakagami does not say whether his protagonists are from the ex-*Burakumin* class (the Burakumin class is a socially discriminated class,[8] and you cannot tell a Burakumin from the others on the surface, just as you cannot single out Joe Christmas as a black), but both Christmas and Nakagami's protagonists are alienated from society. And their encounter with the women on the border of the community is affected by complicated gender roles and traditional narrative constructs which fortify the hierarchal order.

In *Light in August* and *Kumano Shu*, there are some problematic women who assume various monster-like features of the ancient myth or legends. Neither Faulkner nor Nakagami, in spite of their critique of patriarchal society, shows direct sympathy with women: Faulkner is often criticized for his misogyny, and Nakagami is notorious for describing violence to and of women.[9] Still, these authors'

7. 'Fushi' was first published in the magazine *Gunzoh* in 1980, though the *Kumano Shu* as a collection of short stories was published in 1984. Nakagami was writing a part of *Chi no Hate, Shijo no Toki* (*The Ends of the Earth, the Supreme Time*) in 1981, and finished the manuscript in 1982 (*Nakagami Kenji Zenshu* 15, 759). Nakagami was familiar with Faulkner's *Light in August*, as he mentions Lena in *Hammo suru Minami* in 1985 and in other writings.

8. There is no confirming academic agreement on the origin of the discrimination against the *Burakumin*, which is traced back as far back as the middle ages. See George De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. Kurokawa Midori, however, concludes that the discrimination of the *Burakumin* people is practically racial, since people try to find whatever stigma or sign of the *Burakumin* on their bodies to separate them from the other Japanese and to justify discrimination. See Kurokawa, 20, 40–42, 70–75.

9. The harsh criticism on Faulkner's misogyny has been reexamined and is fairly deconstructed through gender criticism. See, for instance, Deborah Clarke, Minrose C. Gwin, and John N. Duvall. As for Nakagami, Livia Monnet criticizes

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marginal women contribute to the unsettling of society in their struggle with the protagonists, and the reaction of the nomadic heroes to these women also tells us how patriarchal society functions and deals with the repressed and the alienated.

In *Light in August*, Joanna Burden, daughter of a Northern abolitionist in the South, remains an alien to the townspeople of Jefferson. The change of Joanna's behavior from her masculine fight against Joe Christmas's sexual assault to nymphomaniac frenzy afterwards and finally into religious stubbornness assumes some monstrous quality. As a matter of fact, not only Joanna but also women characters conforming to a 'nursing' or 'feeding' image of femininity generally assume an evil or menacing quality for Christmas. The dietitian at the orphanage, and Bobbie, a restaurant waitress and Christmas's first love, betray and blame Christmas when they are cornered. Christmas's trouble often starts when he feels trapped in a woman's room or house. Hidden in a curtained corner in the dietitian's room, small Christmas vomits when, eating toothpaste, he inadvertently sees the dietitian's sexual act with her lover. Alone with an African American girl in a shed, he panics and strikes her violently. When Christmas is locked up in a room for punishment by his stepfather, his stepmother secretly brings food for him, but he immediately dumps it. In dark, closed spaces, whether with their sexual appeal or with food, women are dangerous. They seduce him and make him succumb to the physical desires he wants to control and suppress.

Christmas, who struck down his stepfather presumably to death, runs away from women as well as from patriarchal society. He resists patriarchal authority which confines him to a hierarchal order, but he also distrusts women who remind him of his physicality. Christmas slips into Joanna Burden's house in Jefferson and comes to his confrontation both with Joanna and with the patriarchal South.

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the patronizing, authoritative attitude of some influential Japanese male critics who try to dismiss the critical views of Nakagami's violence on women in his texts. See Monnet, 14–15. Cornyetz, however, emphasizes the ambivalent androgyny of Nakagami's protagonists' positions in *Dangerous Women, Deadly Words: Phallic Fantasy and Modernity in Three Japanese Writers*.

In Homer's *Odyssey*, Circe serves hungry men with meals but changes them into swine afterwards. Joanna supplies Christmas with food, though she did not mean to seduce him in the beginning (Still, the food is fixed '*for the nigger*' [Faulkner, 1987: 261] as Christmas recognizes: the food set for any needy African American defines her relationship to the eater as a charity-giver). Then she becomes a nymphomaniac femme fatale and calls him a 'Negro!' (Faulkner, 1987: 285) in their sexual acts. And at the end of their relationship, she turns to be extremely religious and wants him to become a black, a model African American who, through her guidance, will work for the improvement of the life of his race. If Joanna does not turn Christmas into a swine, she wants to turn him into an African American.

Joanna's grandfather and her half-brother were killed as Northern abolitionists by John Sartoris, the head of a respectable, aristocratic family in Jefferson. Joanna says to Christmas that Colonel Sartoris 'was a town hero' (Faulkner, 1987: 274) for the killing. She is an enemy of the townspeople, only tolerated for being not conspicuous or obtrusive. In a sense, Christmas also could be a hero who slaughters the dangerous monster for society. As a nymphomaniac, each strand of Joanna's hair 'would seem to come alive like octopus tentacles' (285), and at her final confrontation with Christmas, the shadow of her arm on the wall raising the old pistol is 'monstrous' and resembles 'the arched head of a snake' (310). In these respects, she reminds us of Medusa, whose hair is living serpents and whose fearful gaze turns men into stone. At the final moment, Christmas does not see Joanna directly but only looks at her shadow on the wall. Perseus in the Greek myth carefully watches Medusa reflected on his shining shield to avoid being turned into stone, and chops off her head. Joanna is found dead with her head almost thrashed apart.

A classical hero usually starts as an alienated person or a nomad, but is welcomed back to society as a hero after he accomplishes the assigned task of conquering a monster. Christmas, however, can never be a hero of Jefferson. In *Light in August*, the protagonist and the monster woman reflect the law of society in a curious way. Christmas's ambiguous skin color and Joanna's coercion of African American identity on Christmas point to the core

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problem of Southern society, but they reverse the common gender roles of the treacherous female body and the patriarchal law. Joanna rigidly performs the duty decreed by her abolitionist father until her death turns her into a typical white woman victim of a black rapist in the Southern myth. Christmas asserts his ambiguous body before he plays, from the viewpoint of Jefferson, the righteous role of a patriarchal avenger of the Southern code on Joanna, the Northern abolitionist. But the hero is quickly turned into a black murderer. Christmas's identity which goes beyond the black/white divide cannot be tolerated because his ambiguous blood tantalizes and nullifies the foundation of Southern society. The ironical allusion to the classical monster-conquest myth reveals the contradiction of the Southern narrative of race and gender, and also questions who the monster really is. Christmas, who is killed and castrated by Percy Grimm, might be remembered as another slain monster. But the town, which changes Joanna into a Southern woman victim, and Christmas into a black rapist murderer, might be a more sinister monster.

Joanna calls Christmas a 'Negro!' during their sexual acts. She is haunted by her father's words which regard the black people as God's curse on white people. Her father says: 'But you can never lift it [the black man's shadow] to your level. I see that now, which I did not see until I came down here. But escape it you cannot' (Faulkner, 1987: 279). In spite of all the efforts they make to raise the African Americans' position in society, both Joanna and her father accept the innate inferiority of the black race. Consequently, she is not free from the sense of sin and religious obligation in contact with the African Americans. She tries to challenge her father's control as well as Southern racism, but even when Joanna is in the most private, physical contact with Christmas, she must deliberately play the part of a femme fatale and names the racial taboo to enhance sexual frenzy and to convince herself of her subversive and cross-over act against her Puritanical and filial duty. She needs not only her body but also the verbal articulation and the defiant gestures to be aware of her challenge to society. The patriarchal grip, as well as Southern code of the binary divide, however, is too strong

to flee from, and she finally makes use of Christmas as a black to fulfill her religious goal.

In Nakagami's 'Fushi' in *Kumano Shu*, a lonely woman in the village offers lodging to a pseudo-monk wanderer, and makes love to him. The story is a variant of a Buddhist priest vs. enchantress monster battle in Japanese legends.[10] Still, the village woman's strong sexual desire as well as her zeal for salvation also reminds us of Joanna Burden, though Nakagami's woman is not obsessed with any ancestral mission. The woman presumably suspects that the protagonist is not a genuine monk, but she calls him 'Holy Master' during the sexual act, just as Joanna calls Christmas a 'Negro' in spite of his ambiguous identity. She repeats 'Holy Master, save me!' (Nakagami, 1995: 206) while the protagonist himself also starts repeating 'Save me,' and strangles her.

In *Light in August*, Joanna as a white woman regards her sex with Christmas as defilement and damnation, which might conversely free her from the patriarchal and Puritanical society; Nakagami's woman, on the other hand, is acutely aware of herself as an outcast. Through her appellation of the man as 'Holy Master' during the sex act, she defies the religious authority of the Buddhist community and aims at forbidden sexual ecstasy, but at the same time she desperately hopes for religious salvation. In the typical Buddhist priest vs. enchantress tales in Japan, the Buddhist priest does not succumb to the enchantress's sexual charm. He confirms the victory of Buddhism over the local animistic gods and monsters. The village woman in 'Fushi,' on the other hand, assumes total dependence on the monk in her sexual surrender so that she may assimilate with the religious authority. The village woman guesses that the protagonist is not a genuine monk. But the potential crash between the profane and the sacred instigates the woman to take a chance and to try either to be saved or to subvert the religious and social order. Negation of the self against the other in sex or religion brings sacrificial ecstasy, but the fusion of the two people across dif-

10. Yomoda Inuhiko discusses Nakagami's 'Fushi' partly as one of the 'Makai Sannyu Tan' ('The Tale of Adventures into the Monster World'). See Yomoda, 92–93. Zimmerman also discusses the traditional legends in relation to 'Fushi.' See Zimmerman, 199–206.

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ferent classes can also be a blasphemy to the religious or social hierarchy.

Furthermore, the village woman's persistence in making the wretched protagonist a saint may also be affected by the stereotypical happy ending of some Japanese folk tales. Many Japanese legends promise their wandering protagonists a delivery from nomadic drift into religious or secular glory at the end. After many hardships, protagonists are often found by their aristocrat fathers and are recognized as their legitimate sons.[11] This promise, the kinship between the sacred and the damned, has charmed the people of the lowly class. Nakagami suspects the gratifying denouement in the traditional Japanese narratives may have robbed the *Burakumin* class of their will for insurrection against society.[12] Admittedly, the piety and devotion for the holy and the noble help lighten the misery of the despised. But Nakagami also suggests that the desire for merging with the elect could prompt the lower class to seize power, either mundane or holy. Nakagami's village woman secretly aims for the share of authoritative power through sexual surrender at the same time as she desperately hopes for the religious miracle by a holy saint. The lonely village woman and the wandering protagonist see the slightest possibility of salvation in their physical contact while the two outcasts mirror on each other their respective suicidal desire and destructive aggressiveness against society.

Both in *Light in August* and 'Fushi,' the men kill the women in the end. Joanna's appellation of Christmas as 'Negro' and the village woman's appellation of the pseudo-monk as 'Holy Master' are oppositional in the use of class, but these women make use of social or racial hierarchy paradoxically to assume surrender

11. For instance, the protagonist of an old legend 'Shuntokumaru' is poisoned, blinded, and expelled from his aristocrat father's mansion due to an intrigue, but he is finally purged of the poisoned body and returns to his original class. A Noh play *Yoroboshi* is based on this story. See, for example, Nakagami's essay 'Tanpen Shohsetsu toshiteno Noh' ('Noh plays as short fiction').
12. In 'Nichirin no Tsubasa' ('Wings of the Sun'), 1984, Nakagami describes the old women from *Roji* (alleyway) who eagerly visit the Ise Shrine, where Amaterasu Ohmikami, the ancestral goddess of the Imperial family is enshrined. They are devoted to the Emperor, and finally go to Tokyo to have a look at the present Emperor.

towards their men, and yet try to take a better command of their relationship. They desperately seek salvation, but they resort to social appellation even in the most physical contact with their lovers. What they confront is not their men but the social system and its narrative constructs. They use their men as instruments either for salvation from the patriarchal system or for insurrection. Nakagami's village woman would have the protagonist as a holy saint, and Joanna must have Christmas as black to secure her role either as an abolitionist or as a subversive rebel. Joanna, however, fails to cross over the color line after all, and returns back to her original role as an abolitionist's daughter. Joanna's resignation to her filial duty and her surrender to almighty God complete her monstrousness as an instrument of patriarchy, and it drives Christmas to kill her.

The heroes who fight against these women realize that they have much in common with these subversive monsters. The victim and the victimizer are somewhat interchangeable: Christmas kills Joanna partly because she embodies the Puritanical patriarchy which conditioned his thinking and whose authority he paradoxically acknowledges during his revolt against his stepfather McEachern. Also, Nakagami's pseudo-monk starts repeating 'Save me' after the village woman during the sexual acts. He understands how alienated the woman is from community, and sees himself in the woman's desperate desire for salvation. But he is not sure whether his savior will come from the holy or the mundane world. The woman on the border wants to be delivered from isolation through the patriarchal authority, which, however, despised her and repressed her in the first place. Her revolt against power is complicated with this hope for ambiguous delivery. The pseudo-monk is urged to eliminate such an illusion for salvation in himself when he strangles the woman. These pairs secretly know their true enemy is society, but they fight against each other, paradoxically reflecting the hierarchal order.

Apart from the monster-like women, there are women who somehow represent maternity or merciful saviors in the texts of Faulkner and Nakagami. These women can be also dangerous for the protagonists exactly because they suggest enticing delivery from the struggle with patriarchal society. Unlike Joe

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Christmas, who is wary of maternity, the pseudo-monk in 'Fushi' especially tends to seek maternity or at least female sexuality, as his way for salvation.[13] This becomes clear when the pseudo-monk meets a mysterious woman in the Kumano mountain after he murders the village woman. He tries to rape the mountain woman, but she submits to his desire rather obediently. Even when he wants to draw back, sensing that their sexual intercourse is watched by strangers, she holds him fast and tries to make him continue. Watching the woman with a pair of diminutive hands like that of an infant, the pseudo-monk wonders if she is an embodiment of *Kwannon Bosatsu* (Avalokitesvara or Kuan Yin, the Buddhist goddess of Mercy) (Nakagami, 1995: 198). He finally concludes that she may not be a holy saint, but begs her to live with him, and even hopes that he would settle down with her in the mountains.

The mountain woman's infantile hands and sensual body in 'Fushi' suggest both her innocence and female maturity. These contradictory characteristics are also those of Lena Grove in *Light in August*. Lena, the expecting mother, is sometimes compared to the earth mother as well as Virgin Mary for her fecundity and serenity.[14] Lena is hardly disturbed by the curious or severe look of the townspeople toward an unmarried pregnant girl. The narrator refers to Lena's 'inert hands' (Faulkner, 1987: 19), but her hands sometimes move quietly, whose action is 'some musing reflex of the hand alone' (22). They seem to assert their own existence, just as the tiny hands of the mountain woman in 'Fushi' surprise the protagonist with their unexpected strength. Both the hands of Lena Grove and of the mountain woman represent their self-composed physical existence regardless of their social status, while both Joanna Burden and the village

13. Nina Cornyetz mentions that Nakagami's narratives often reproduce the illusion of 'the female body as conduit to the realm of the spirits' (Cornyetz, 1999: 184). Zimmerman interprets the mountain woman as an angel, or 'a mandala of the universe' (Zimmerman, 2007: 203).

14. Millgate explains Lena as the symbol of the earth-mother Diana as well as the Virgin Mary (Millgate, 1966: 133–34). Irving Howe mentions the Greek Helen in association with Lena (Howe, 1952: 49). In *Faulkner in the University*, Faulkner also says that there is 'something of that pagan quality' in Lena (Gwinn and Blotner, 1997: 199).

woman struggle on the border of community for their own existence and for power.

Admittedly, there is no external evidence that Nakagami was conscious of Lena Grove in presenting the mountain woman in 'Fushi.' Nakagami surely associates his mountain woman with the traditional Japanese enchantress in the mountain. The mountain woman's tiny hands suggest her strangeness as well as holiness, and she is a member of an old clan that lives secluded with vengeance against the rival clan which beat them in the old days. In *Light in August*, Joe Christmas never comes across Lena although they are both in Jefferson at the same time. Faulkner presumably wants to keep Lena away from Christmas so that she can remain an idealistic representation of maternity and serenity, which partly purges the atrocious violence in the end. Nakagami's mountain woman, on the other hand, comes into close contact with the protagonist. She takes him to the noble lady's mansion where the strange clan members with boar or monkey heads grieve over the loss of the battle in the past. But she mysteriously disappears soon after the pseudo-monk feels the impulse of strangling her, and her benign disappearance exempts him from committing another murder. Both Lena and the mountain woman assume some kind of maternal serenity which alleviates violence in the racial / gender / class struggles.

The real role of these women in both texts, however, is not to give any easy solution or delivery from suffering, but to confirm the protagonists' self-outlawed wandering. Neither Lena Grove nor the mountain woman reconciles the conflict between the nomadic hero and patriarchal society. Lena still plans to marry Lucas Burch, who is after the reward money for catching Christmas. With all her images as Virgin Mary and as Keats' unravished bride 'moving forever and without progress across an urn' (Faulkner, 1987: 7), Lena hopes to marry the irresponsible, greedy man who plays all the disadvantages of Christmas, his former business partner. Of course she might choose better in the end and marry Byron Bunch, an honest and kind man who follows her. Either way, while she maintains the primordial power of fecundity as earth mother, she also shows the incentive for a family, which might settle down in Southern society as one of its basic

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units. 'I reckon a family ought to all be together when a chap [baby] comes. Specially the first one. I reckon the Lord will see to that' (Faulkner, 1987: 23), she says. Lena is wise enough to be silent when a furniture dealer wants to talk about the lynching of Joe Christmas. But her silence contradictorily suggests that even Lena must share a part of the town's memory of lynching in her journey away from Jefferson.

As a matter of fact, Lena succeeds Christmas as a potential nomad, who negotiates with society better than Christmas. Lena, her baby, and Byron as a pseudo-family keep on moving, without deciding whether she is going to marry or not, or whether she is really going to settle down. With Byron Bunch as a possible husband-father surrogate, they try a new sort of family barely in touch with patriarchal society or authority.

As for the mountain woman in 'Fushi,' her introduction of the protagonist to the bloody creek near the noble lady's mansion and to the men with animal heads or hands suggests the dead end of those outcast people. The story of the beaten and persecuted clan resembles that of the Japanese old Heike family in the twelfth Century, but Nakagami carefully makes the identification rather vague. The similarity and the warp from the history and the legends of the Heike clan make them ahistorical, and yet enthralled in the illusory past of the narrative. The mountain woman makes him realize that he must go wandering without being caught in the traditional narrative construct, or without hope for maternal, divine grace beyond patriarchal society. While Lena assumes Christmas's ambiguity in the form of her pseudo-family and shares some of the social responsibility for his death in her travels, the pseudo-monk in 'Fushi' maintains his vague identity, and constantly interrogates the meaning of his quest and of the murder he committed in his wandering.

In *Light in August*, Faulkner alludes to ancient myth or the traditional monster-conquest tales to reveal that the Southern white narrative depends on the black/white divide for self-justification and violence. The difference and the monstrousness of the aliens from society are emphasized to defend the use of violence and to secure the male and white authority. The gender struggle between Joe Christmas and Joanna Burden is also affected with the racial

problem. Faulkner, however, in crossing the divide both of race and gender, and in pursuit of the signification of mixed blood, not only criticizes the racial discrimination of Southern society: he comes to question the logical foundation of the binary code itself. The binary thinking of the elect and the damned, the good and the evil in the Puritan tradition is seen both in McEachern whose hometown is not mentioned but presumably in the South, and in Joanna, whose family is originally from the North. The binary code constitutes the fundamental ground of the US way of thinking, its idea of justice, and the trenchant boundary between the 'we' and 'the others.' Christmas is the victim of the black/white divide in Southern society, but Christmas's monstrous ambiguity challenges the binary opposition of American narrative constructs in general as well.

Kenji Nakagami, on the other hand, is aware of the treacherous structure of Moebius Strip in the old Japanese narrative constructs. The traditional Japanese narratives of religious miracles paradoxically connect the sacred or the noble with the damned in hierarchal society. They suggest the delivery of the damned and the wayward wanderers through their encounter with holy saints or noblemen who recognize their hidden kinship. The persecuted son's defilement and sin are purged through the merciful recognition of legitimacy and authenticity given from his aristocrat father. Nakagami turns the table in the face of such a seductive illusion, and makes the village woman dare for the authoritative power through the gesture of total surrender in sex against 'Holy Master.' The protagonist is deeply involved in this defiant attempt and recognizes himself in her desperate act. As the pseudo-monk in 'Fushi' realizes, however, there is the danger of absorption into the authority, and he cannot wholly accept the apparently woman-like position of treacherous surrender. Nakagami presumably alludes that the women who surrender in sex in front of strong men in his texts represent *Monogatari* (the traditional Japanese narrative construct), which is responsible for creating the illusory Moebius Strip of the damned turning into the sacred.

At the end of the story, the pseudo-monk is left alone in the mountain to go on wandering. Christmas at the end is suspended in the image of blood skyrocketing above the town

of Jefferson. Faulkner stays this monstrous image of neither white nor black to haunt the community based on binary codes. But Lena's continuing journey and the loose image of her pseudo-family suggest that Christmas's challenge against the binary code of patriarchal society can continue in the more peaceful form of Lena's journey. Nakagami's pseudo-monk is aware of his ambiguous identity in society just like Christmas is, and senses that his alienated position is similar to that of the woman outcast. But Nakagami, unlike Faulkner, does not let a woman take over the male protagonist's quest of salvation or challenge against patriarchal authority. He assigns the pseudo-monk to go on wandering, without Lena's serenity, to go beyond the illusion of salvation in the Moebius Strip of the Japanese narrative constructs.

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AMERICAN WOMEN REFORMERS IN CHINA

and the Paradox of Internationalism, 1910s-1930s

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Louise Farnam, a graduate of Vassar and a PhD/MD from Yale, landed in China in the Autumn of 1921 filled with the idea that 'a great and ancient cultured people were looking to me and my likes for instruction in some of the branches of Science which they had not happened to develop' on their own.[1] From the mid 1910s on, and in particular after World War I, young college-educated women like Farnam took up careers in education and set sail for foreign countries under the auspices of organizations such as women's foreign missionary societies and the YWCA.[2] The most popular destination for these women was China. Although they supposed China was out of step with the modern world, as such, they did have high hopes for China, its people, and its culture. Women like Farnham, in general, held fast to an internationalism based on the emerging then ideas of cultural relativism—a view that cultures should be understood on their own terms, rather than by the standards of others. These women thus saw their mission in China to be the enhancing of internationalism—a basis for the cross-fertilization of different cultures—by spreading democratic ideals through their educational projects there.

1. Louise Farnam, 'Memo in 1926,' folder 132, box 66, Series 3, Record Unit 232, YRG 37, Yale-China Association Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.
2. By the 1920s, the women's missionary movement replaced the old slogan 'Woman's Work for Woman' with that of 'World Friendship.' The ideas such as 'World Friendship' rooted in cultural relativism became influential in various women's movements including the missionary movement (Robert, 1997: 273).

Such reform-minded female apostles of internationalism were often affiliated with schools of higher and professional learning for women, which had been established through the efforts of missionary women, many of whom had come to China in the late nineteenth century through the Student Volunteer Movement for the Foreign Mission (SVM).[3] With the increasing influence of the Social Gospel movement at the turn of the century, the SVM, along with other liberal Protestant groups, put emphasis on offering 'salvation through social, medical, and educational agencies' (Hutchinson, 1987: 111).[4] As part of this project, missionary women established educational institutions for women in China, most of which were modeled after schools in the US.[5] Reform-minded young American women joined these institutions as teachers and took part in educational enterprises to create the so-called 'New Chinese Women' who would venture out from the domestic sphere to become modern and independent, just like them.

Before setting sail, most of these American women reformers thought that China was a virgin land awaiting their modernizing touch. Yet, shortly after arriving in China, they discovered that the concept and the term of the New Woman (*xin nüxing*) had already made its way onto Chinese soil. For non-Western countries

3. The Student Volunteer Movement for the Foreign Mission originated with the formation of the 'Mount Hermon Hundred,' under the influence of Dwight L. Moody in 1886. In cooperation with the college YMCA and YWCA, it went into full swing at the turn of the century. For the period 1886–1919, the Student Volunteer Movement had sent 8140 missionaries abroad and among them 2524 sailed for China (Philips, 1974; Lautz, 2009). About the activities by American missionary women in China, see Jane Hunter (1984); Gael Graham (1995); Kathleen L Lodwick (1995); Carol C. Chin (2003: 327–52).
4. The SVM and Social Gospel movement differed in their views on millennialism—the former took premillenialism and the latter took postmillennialism—however, the lines between the two were blurred when the SVM shifted its emphasis on education and other human services (see: Tyrrell, 2010: 64).
5. Ginling College (Nanjing, 1915); Yenching Women's College (Beijing, 1920. It started as North China Women's College which began to offer college level courses from 1905); Hwa Nan College (Fozhou, 1909, Full college course was adopted in 1907); The North China Union Medical College for Women (Beijing, 1908); The Hackett Medical College for Women (Guangzhou, 1900); The Shanghai Christian Medical College for Women (Shanghai, 1924. It was established by uniting Mary Black Hospital in Suzhou and Margaret Williamson Hospital).

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like China, the New Woman was a significant element in the drive toward modernization and, by absorbing and vernacularizing Western knowledge and ideas, Chinese intellectuals, students, and revolutionaries in fact sought to strengthen their country to thwart the encroaching Euro-American-Japanese imperial powers. With the ascent of anti-imperial movements in China, which led to the nationalist revolution in the mid-1920s, American women reformers went through events that shook their belief in the ideals of internationalism and subsequently altered the way they viewed their own country. This paper explores how they initially envisioned their role in China and how their views were connected to ideas of internationalism. It also investigates the ways their internationalism was linked to efforts at Americanization within the borders of the US, as well as the idea of 'progress' based on the notion of unilinear historical development. It was, by the way, the women reformers who held that the US was then in the vanguard of this development. The paper then shows how the basics of their educational projects were challenged by young Chinese people through movements of anti-imperialism and national salvation. It finally shows how American women reformers interpreted and articulated what was a historical turning point in US–China relations, as well as how their time in China transformed their understanding of the mission they were assigning to themselves along with their personalities.

INTERNATIONALISM, AMERICANIZATION, AND AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

After World War I, more and more college-educated American women set sail for China as teachers. One such figure, Margaret Speer, a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and a faculty member at Yenching Women's College, recalls that at the time '[g]oing to China was no big deal. I'd known many people who had gone. [China was a country] that was opening up, people coming and going, more contacts, so that it was far away but never struck me as being dangerous.' Speer also recalls that women like herself who went to China after the War grew up by inhaling 'a great feeling of internationalism' while at college (Bailey Speer, 1994: 5–6). After WWI broke out in Europe, internationalism was advocated more ardently as a peace-

ful means to make the world 'safe for democracy.' Accordingly, internationalism became a vogue among female college students, in particular at campuses of women's colleges in the Northeast. College educators like Ellen Pendleton, president of Wellesley college, took the lead in fostering the spirit of internationalism among students by linking promotion of higher education for women in the less 'advanced' countries and enhancement of internationalism in the world. She maintained: 'No American should fail to realize that a nation cannot rise above the level of its women and if, therefore, Japan, China, and India, are to take their proper places in the world fellowship of nations, their women must receive a higher education' (Pendleton, 1922: 4). Pendleton's comments here suggest that she supported the post World War I idea of educating women in the non-West, particularly Asia, which was very much in accord with the Wilsonian idea of national self-determination and internationalism.

Owing much to college educators like Pendleton, who declared 'Wellesley must not be provincial! Wellesley must develop citizens of the world,' many young women entertained high hopes of practicing internationalism by fulfilling the new role of the American woman in the world.[6] Some took careers in education and sailed for far-flung countries like China. For these reform-minded college-educated women, internationalism was an ideal for promoting world peace and friendship through mutual understanding. In this vein, Leila J. Rupp argues that internationalism championed in women's movements at that time was more 'a spirit rather than a formal ideology' (Rupp, 1997: 108). As suffrage movement leader Carrie Chapman Catt likewise points out, internationalism was 'a sentiment like love, or religion, or patriotism, which is to be experienced rather than defined in words.'[7] No matter if their internationalism appeared more existential than ideological, however, this kind of 'spirit' did not exist in a discursive vacuum. Instead, it shared the same discursive space with the dominant 'formal ideology,' and comprised a part of the new tenets of American national-

6. Louise Moore to Helen Davis, March 13, 1947, folder 3939, box 280A, RG11A, UBCHEA, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.
7. Carrie Chapman Catt, 'Address,' IWSA 1909 Congress report, quoted in Leila J. Rupp (1997: 108).

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ism to reorganize the United States and make its presence felt on the world stage at once. What might otherwise have seemed a form of innocent and 'unproblematic internationalism,' as Ian Tyrrell reminds us, also functioned as an 'extension of Anglo-American cultural hegemony' (Tyrrell, 1991: 7).

Within the circle of Progressive reformers in the United States, internationalism was conceived as the ideal of Americanization binding increasingly diverse constituents created by the continuous influx of immigrants into America. Those reformers who John Higham categorizes as 'international nationalists,' believed the immigrants' cultural heritage was a beneficial 'gift' through which the United States might enlarge and enrich its national character (Higham, 1988: 251). They thought that the tension between different nationalities within the immigrant community would be dissolved as the country moved to establish a new 'international nationality' of America (Shpak Lissak, 1989: 144).[8]

One such 'international nationalist,' Grace Abbot–a prominent social worker who began her career as a resident of Jane Adams' Hull House in Chicago–argued: 'We are many nationalities scattered across a continent…we are of many races and are related by the closest of human ties to all the world…here in the United States we have the opportunity of working out a democracy founded on internationalism.'[9] This domestic form of Americanization, which represented the reverse side of Americanizing the world through internationalism, for people like Abbott was a way to help achieve internationalism within the boundaries of the nation. In the words of John Higham, for liberal progressives Americanization was 'the domestic equivalent of a federated world' (Higham, 1988: 252).

The bond between Americanization and internationalism was the US's collective image of itself as an exceptional nation.[10] Since the early nineteenth century, according to Dorothy Ross, American

8. Their main concerns were, however, the immigrants from Europe and oftentimes the immigrants from non-European countries were left out from their perspective.

9. Grace Abbott, *Immigrant and the Community* (1917), quoted in Rivka Shpak Lissak (1989: 141–2).

10. For the connection between internationalism and American exceptionalism, see Ian Tyrrell (1991: 1052).

exceptionalism provided the logic for Americans to imagine their country as pursuing a utopian democratic course that was both different from Europe's ways and exemplary for the world (Ross, 1997: 42). By the turn of the twentieth century, however, a growing number of American intellectuals were forced to recognize that they were subject to the same historical forces that were contouring European liberal modernity. Progressive reformers thus revised the exceptionalist creed to reflect the idea that the United States was now spearheading world development at 'the modern forefront (or the quintessential center) of liberal change' so that 'universal progress was cast in specifically American shapes.' The advantage of this innovative viewpoint was that the United States could retain 'its exemplary or vanguard role in world history' (1997: 43). This sense of 'international nationalism' made the US 'uniquely qualified to realize both goals,' namely Americanization and increasing international influence. The US's 'universal ideals could be realized only through participation in the world community' (Higham, 1988: 252). In this sense, the enterprise of disentangling the chaos within its own borders and reorganizing American society was tied to US's vigorous engagement with the world.

It was in countries like China that the US's 'universal' ideals and culture as somehow beyond time and space were put to the test. In order to prove this 'universal' applicability of American ideals, internationally-minded women reformers took part in the project of transforming the world through the spreading of the social and cultural influence of the United States. They sought to create independent professional women like themselves, suggesting that what they envisioned as 'universal' ideals were in realty the values and standards of urban, middle-class America. Spontaneously and almost unconsciously, they shrouded the particular interests held among the socioeconomic group they belonged to under the cover of a 'universal' model applicable to the entire world, China included. Owing to this tacit identification of a 'universal' model with the ideals of middle-class liberal Americans, American women reformers could pursue their mission of spreading internationalism as a project based on humanitarian universalism. Moreover, their internationalism was not incompatible with nationalism. In fact, many of them saw nationalism

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as a modern and healthy idea for all nations to earnestly embrace and develop. Margaret Moninger, a teacher in Hainan, for instance, insisted that 'China surely does need to educate her young [people] in the sprit of patriotism for its own sake.'[11] What Moninger and women like her did not realize was the fact that China already had developed a strong nationalism and was now moving onto a new phase which would expose the contradictions and hidden agenda of American internationalism.

AMERICAN WOMEN REFORMERS DURING THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The momentum for the rise of anti-imperial nationalism in China emerged from the disillusionment with Wilsonian internationalism among Chinese intellectuals and revolutionaries. The Treaty of Versailles, which formally ended World War I, acknowledged the independence of European nations only and denied independence to Asian and African nations. Such an arbitrary settlement revealed the unjust and racially discriminatory nature of the principle of self-determination—the foundation of Wilsonian internationalism. It was also out of disenchantment with the duplicity of the US and other western countries' diplomacy that anti-imperialistic movements rapidly spread throughout China, tackling also issues of cultural exploitation in addition to those of economic exploitation. For example, the Recovery of Educational Rights Movement took shape during the mid-1920s, a time when education came to be seen as a fundamental right in the new nation-state and a crucial means of spreading a national culture that could be shared by millions of Chinese. Aware of the importance of education, Chinese intellectuals and revolutionaries began to criticize schools run by foreigners for inculcating characteristics and ideals of other nations into the youth of China and thereby depriving Chinese of their educational rights. Students, teachers, provincial officials, local leaders, and those concerned over the educational situation in China gathered in meetings and conferences dealing with educational issues. They discussed 'the educational work done by foreigners in China' and concluded it was 'a form of "coloniza-

11. Quoted in Kathleen L. Lodwick (1995: 50–51).

tion"' no matter how it might otherwise seem a form of 'Charity.'[12] They expressed particular concern over the 'de-nationalizing' effect of education conducted by foreigners on Chinese students, by claiming that 'students who have received education from the Japanese, British, Americans, French or Germans, will learn to love those nations and so will lose the spirit of national independence.' They went on to condemn the educational work done by foreigners as 'an interference with the educational rights of the nation' and adopted resolutions calling for the return of control of education to Chinese hands.[13] Under such circumstances, American women's educational enterprises, along with other foreign schools, came to be accused of operating in China as local branches of Western imperialism.

This development was, for many American women reformers, beyond credulity because they believed that their projects were helping to spread American democratic ideals and internationalism and were, as such, anything but tools of western imperialism. They even took critical positions toward some Westerners who had derogatory views of the Chinese people and their culture. For instance, Hyla Watters, a graduate of Smith College and an MD from Cornell, wrote that '[t]here is sometimes something to make one disgruntled, [and] here it often comes from the attitude of Westerns.'[14] She showed her disagreement with the views of some missionaries by observing that '[i]t astonished me how the very people who battled so valiantly against "idolatry" of unfamiliar Oriental kinds failed to see the incongruity when they set up other gods, in the shape of traditional dogmas.'[15] In a similar vein, Ruth Hemenway (b. 1894), an MD from Tufts Medical School, noted that 'religion [in China] might be as good as mine in many ways, and even better for' the Chinese people (Hemenway, 1977: 14–16). Women like Watters and Hemenway espoused the relativistic view of culture and though their interests were often

12. Resolutions of the National Federation of Provincial Education Associations of China (Gaiheng, Henan, 1924), listed in Xiao Hong Shen (1993: 277).
13. Resolutions of the National Federation of Provincial Education Associations of China (Gaiheng, Henan, 1924).
14. Hyla Watters to Family, October 4, 1925, folder 9, box 1, Hyla S Watters papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
15. Hyla Watters, Elsie H. Landstrom ed., *Hyla Doc*, 25.

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limited to traditional arts and religion, they showed much respect for Chinese culture. In their eyes, the current situation appeared unreasonable and they thought Chinese people misunderstood the purpose and the character of their project. Margaret Speer, a teacher of Yenching Women's College, thus urged her peers in China to make clear to the Chinese public that 'our work is not in any way an agent of imperialism or an attempt to substitute Western religious superstitions for Chinese superstitions.'[16]

The problem was, however, more complicated than the simple issues of ethnocentricity or cultural relativism. Along with the rise of anti-imperialist movements, nationalist sentiment began to surge in China. As Anne McClintock agues, nationalism is 'radically constitutive of people's identities through social contests that are frequently violent and always gendered' (McClintock, 1995: 353). The identity of male Chinese, considered to have been emasculated by foreign imperial powers, came to increasingly assume a masculine tone so that a gender hierarchy could be preserved and sustained. Although many male intellectuals, revolutionaries, and students championed equality between men and women, often such claims were made in the context of national salvation. In spite of their public stance defending gender equality, Chinese men still required women to remain under their direct control; this helped ease their sense of inferiority provoked by the imperial powers and allowed them to create masculine identities focused on 'saving' their country and their women.

Under such conditions, American women teachers became the target of criticism by male Chinese students from nearby schools. Believing that American women teachers held Chinese female students in bondage and had estranged them from young Chinese men by discouraging marriage, some male students denounced American women teachers as foreign imperialists and feudal masters. At that time, there was a tendency among Chinese women to remain single because they saw the patriarchal family system as central to be changed so as for the old feudal way of life in China to be destroyed. A young female student, Zhang Ruoming, declared that 'in view of China's current situa-

16. Margaret Speer to Family, December 20, 1925.

tion, the best thing for women intending to be at the vanguard of "women's emancipation" is to stay single.' She continued to say that the 'crucial issue for "women's emancipation" is obtaining education and achieving economic independence' (Ruoming, 1981: 54).

American women teachers became role models for those Chinese women who sought independence. For example, Deng Yuzhi, a student at Ginling College who later became an industrial worker affiliated with the Shanghai YWCA, recalled that American teachers 'earned their own salary and…were not married. [Yet] no one thought it was odd that they were single. People respected them because they could earn their own living.…People wanted to be independent, and so did I' (Honig, 1992: 128). In fact, members of the entire first class at Ginling College even made a group pledge to remain single. Xu Yizhen, one of the pledge members, recalled that 'I loved to be alone. It was in general, the attitude of modern woman of our time. We called it singleness of purpose.'[17]

Such tendencies among female students were problematic for male Chinese students because celibacy became far more popular, especially among well-educated women, the very same kind of women who (by virtue of their class and upbringing) were supposed to be their prospective brides. For these young men, the probe of their wives was essential for their self-identification as modern enlightened men with an independent personhood. Their preference for equality on educational grounds was rooted in their aspiration to acquire a new identity as Chinese men no longer shackled by feudalism and able to serve and to save China (Glossner, 2002: 135, 139). Given their desire to have educated wives as proof of their own modern subjectivity as 'enlightened' Chinese men, they had a considerable stake in the character of education at the schools run by reform-minded American women reformers since at that time not many Chinese universities accepted female students. Even though female students at the institutions of American women reformers were perfect marriage candidates, their interest was directed at sights other than marriage. Male students often complained that the female students at the colleges like Ginling 'were…too scholarly, too much

17. Y. T. Zee (Xiu Yizhen) to Mary Lou, March 10, 1974, folder 3, box 145, RG8, China Record Project, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.

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interested in study' and 'were foreignized and not trained to make good wives.'[18] Moreover, in the eyes of male students, female students at the institutions of American women reformers did not appear keenly involved in pressing political issues that related to the strengthening of the nation and suspected that college authorities had forced Chinese female students into a kind of servitude. Yet, contrary to their suspicion, female students were as much concerned about the situation of their country as their male counterparts and were searching for ways to express their patriotism on their own terms.

At the educational institutions of American women reformers, students became increasingly sympathetic to the plight of the poor and the idea of socialism. Although as one faculty member of Yenching Women's College reported, the active communist members were 'not more than 2 or 3 percent of the whole,' more and more female students came to show serious concern about the lives of the poor, especially those in the countryside.[19] For instance, one student at Yenching asked the college for permission to live in a local village. The reason she gave was that she 'had no right to live in all the comforts which the College afforded the students [including herself] when the common people all about had so little.' In addition, she claimed that she wanted 'to share the life of the villagers' so as to prepare herself to work among them and understand the problems they were facing.[20] Likewise, Chen Yachun from Shenyang expressed her eagerness to work with people in rural areas, pointing out that '[t]here are many ways to help China, but…the country people constitute more than 80% of the Chinese nation' and '[t]herefore rural service for country women is the work I am most interested in.'[21]

The enterprise of American women reformers was, however, not designed to train students for improving the lives of the deprived population in rural areas. Since their conscious goal was to create

18. Mrs Lawrence Thurston and Ruth M. Chester, *Ginling College*, 71.
19. Margaret Speer to Family, July 5, 1936, (1994: 186).
20. Lelia Hinckly, 'The Abolition of Concubinage,' May 30, 1930, China, World YWCA archives, Geneva.
21. Chen Yachun, Short autobiographical note, June 1937, folder 585, box 24, RG 11, UBCHEA, Special Collection, Yale Divinity Library.

urban middle-class professionals like themselves, it is no wonder that the kind of work carried out by American women reformers' institutions came under criticism. As one Chinese staff member at the YWCA national conference implored, they must now 'stop being a middle class organization!'[22] Naturally, this was not an opinion limited to this one voice but was also shared by other Chinese members. The characteristics of the institutions run by American women reformers, which they believed were promoting internationalism, now appeared to Chinese women as promoting not 'universal' but 'particular' interests.

AMERICAN WOMEN REFORMERS IN A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY

American women reformers ultimately had to confront the fact that young Chinese women were no longer tracing the path that they had carved out for them. This reality, coupled with the collapse of American capitalism by the Great Depression, gave rise to a deeper awareness as to the complexity of issues concerning women and helped influence the historical consciousness of many American women reformers in China. Lydia Johnson, a YWCA worker in Tianjin, noted that in general Americans were now experiencing 'a transition period, a time of profound and far-reaching change.' The change she perceived was the failure of the American creed, one significant backbone on which American women in China and their enterprises had been relying:

> Gone is the frontier, with its traditions of independence and of individual freedom. Inadequate for the present day are old patterns of thought, built out of this individualistic frontier civilization. We are much less sure of our traditional convictions. Not only is the atom proving capable of being split, and time itself challenged by Mr. Einstein, but we are beginning to question seriously the time-honored bulwark of our economic structure, the capitalistic system and 'rights' of private property. Our 'rugged American individualism'…is being held up for critical examination.

In this age of confusion and disenchantment, Johnson also observed that 'Russia has ceased to be the nightmarish bogy…and [come

22. *Green Year, Supplement*, YWCA of China, no. 13, October 20, 1927, 14.

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instead to be] regarded more in her true role as a laboratory for a new economic system.' Johnson argued that this experiment in Russia was 'being watched, furtively or admiringly' and became a site to search for a remedy to US's blundered system.[23]

A few American women reformers in China even went to Russia to witness the experiment themselves. Among these was Minnie Vautrin, a sociology teacher at Ginling College. In Moscow she toured Russian educational institutions and a large silk factory which was managed by a woman. At this factory, she ate a meal in the common dining room with workers and saw a propaganda movie with them. She thought the movie was better than the crass movies she had seen in Shanghai (Hu, 2000: 48). In general Vautrin's impression of the ongoing experimentation in Russia was favorable. Likewise, Maud Russell, a YWCA worker, managed to come away with a favorable impression when she visited Moscow in 1932. Russians seemed to be filled with hope and freshness, compared with the somewhat disillusioned Americans who were not that 'new' any more. Accordingly, she wrote that 'Socialism is creating a new people here. I sometimes wonder if the early immigrants to the United States had this same feeling of hope for the world that one experiences living here.'[24] Her visit to Soviet Russia was, however, not for educational purposes only. Ding Shujing, general secretary of YWCA of China, asked Russell to observe the situation developing in Russia carefully. In her letter to Russell, Ding wrote that:

> Your plan of the trip into Russia is exceedingly timely…I hope that during your stay you may find points of weakness and of strength in the Russian experiment so that China may perhaps avoid making similar ones in the inevitable and fundamental period of change in our economic structure which is already long over due. Our group is already deeply interested in this economic experiment in Russia and you may be assured of a very eager reception for any discoveries which you may make during your stay there.[25]

23. Lydia Johnson, 'A Letter from America,' May 30, 1932, Lydia Johnson Papers, China Country Files, World YWCA archives, Geneva. During the 1930s not a few Americans came to have an interest in Soviet Russia's experiment and Russia. For American intellectuals views toward Russia from the late 19th century to the World War Two, see David C. Engerman (2003).
24. Maud Russell to the Asilomar Division, May 31, 1932, box 3, Maud Russell Papers, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.
25. Letter of Maud Russell, June 1932, box 3, Maud Russell Papers, Manuscript

Russell faithfully carried out this mission, aware that the United States was no longer a beacon for the progress of the modern world or a desirable model for China's future. American women reformers were instead expected to bring into China 'new' ideas and practices not from their home country but from Russia.

Such a reality furthermore disturbed their own understanding of the United States, its place in the world, and their roles in China. Although American women reformers had earlier seen themselves as champions of internationalism and cultural relativism, they gradually became cognizant of the cultural divide between themselves and the Chinese. In this sense, Margaret Speer expressed her sense of distance between cultures and what she now saw as the futility of trying to bridge it:

> I have realized more profoundly [now]…than at any time since my first months in China the waste that is inevitable because of the tremendous psychological barrier between the East and the West. The waste, I mean, in what any one Westerner can accomplish in China compared with what he could do in his own country. It is not simply a matter of language …. it is a yawning psychological gulf, so deep that it can never be filled up, so wide in parts that one cannot get over it at all.[26]

For Speer and others, this sense of being unable to bridge the cultural divide meant that China had not followed the American model. The idea of linear historical progress, which assumed China and others would simply follow the example put forth by the US came into question. In place of earlier narratives, conceptions of divergent civilizations and multiple roads of historical progress now came into vogue as young Chinese men and women struggled to define what kind of modernity their nation needed.

After World War I, along with intellectuals such as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, many thinkers and writers in non-Western countries began to discuss and expand the concept of a plurality of civilizations as part of the larger critique of European (Western) civilization. These views regarded 'other civilizations…as (or nearly as) legitimate' as European civilization and undermined the basis of colonization by opening up new perspectives on the plurality

Division, New York Public Library.
26. Margaret Speer to Family, December 29, 1935 (1994: 184).

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of civilizations and historical development.[27] Not surprisingly, these new standpoints captivated the minds of anti-imperialist nationalists in the non-Western countries. In China, the ideas of the plurality of civilizations were largely championed by male intellectuals. In the efforts of searching for a different course of historical progress grounded on China's particular culture and civilization, those intellectuals came to pronounce the demarcation between public and domestic spheres more clearly and advocate the innovated version of China's time-honored gender roles.[28] Such an attempt to restore the 'traditional' gender division helped to bolster confidence among China's male citizens on the one hand, but also raised the specter of Chinese women who wanted to become 'New Women' (*xin nüxing*), that is, active female citizens of China who could contribute to their country through work and labor outside the domestic sphere. These women were thrust into a situation whereby they had to make the tough choice between the pursuit of their own liberation and dedication to national salvation. Ironically, they tried to resolve this dilemma by resorting to the male discourse of alternative civilizations, which put them in a tight spot.

Women like Zeng Baosun, founder and principal of Yifang girls' school in Changsha, insisted that 'it is necessary for the modern Chinese woman not to be de-nationalized but to have…a thorough knowledge of the culture and civilization of her own country' (Baosun, 1931: 243). The answer Zeng worked out stuck to the anchor of national culture put down by nationalist Chinese men. Chinese women needed to be moored in national culture in order not to drift about aimlessly. This emphasis on national culture furthermore encouraged Chinese women to lay stress upon the distinction between Chinese women and Western women. Wu Yifang,

27. The new discourse of civilization, as Prasenjit Duara argues, was a transnational intellectual project. Pransenjit Duara, 'Introduction,' (2004: 11).
28. Chinese nationalists, much like the Indian nationalists Partha Chatterjee analyses, emphasized the distinction between 'the outer' (Western materialism, capitalism/modernity/male, and the public sphere) and 'the inner' (vernacular, spiritualism /tradition/female, and the domestic sphere). The discourse of alternative civilizations helped in countries like China to reconstruct masculine subjectivity in public space by reworking domestic/public dichotomy. See Partha Chatterjee (1993: 116–34).

the first Chinese president of Ginling College, declared that 'unlike her American and European sisters, she [the Chinese woman] does not have to battle against opposition from members of the other sex' (Ayscough, 1924: 99). While gender antagonism between Chinese men and women was put aside, differences between Western women and Chinese women became more discursively important, ultimately submerging women's independence into national identity and creating a psychological gap between American women and Chinese women. Accordingly, in the eyes of Chinese women, American women no longer appeared as models to emulate or as a group that had a particular understanding of the Chinese people and their culture.

This view as to the limitations of American women in their capacity to have a true understanding of China, was held by Chen Hengzhe, a graduate of Vassar who served as a faculty member of Beijing University. In her critique of Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* (1931), a Pulizer prize-winning novel which stirred up controversy in China soon after its appearance, Chen maintained that 'Mrs. Buck's knowledge of the Chinese life is only the product of her own imagination,' despite the fact that she grew up in China as a missionary's daughter and was quite familiar with the language and customs of the land. Chen insisted that '[i]n spite of her long residence in China, Mrs. Buck seems to have held faithfully to her Teutonic tradition: she always keeps herself apart from the nation of which she writes, and never becomes a part of it.' Chen concluded that regardless of 'her abundant sympathy…the author of *The Good Earth* is, after all, a foreigner' (Chen, 1931: 914–915).

Young Chinese women like Chen now saw how the West's scheme of 'imaginative geography'—in Edward Said's term, the basic discursive mechanism of separating the Orient from the Occident—manufactured an image of China that justified the West's dominance. Yet, this device, which westerners utilized to justify their *raison d'être* in China as tutors for China's modern progress, could also be utilized by Chinese to delegitimize the Occident. The emerging 'imaginative geography' in China accentuated the differences between China and the West in order to highlight the inability of 'foreigners' to truly understand and solve the problems of China. Given this situation, American women reformers

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in China increasingly felt the boundaries between China and the US getting tighter, and were no longer certain that internationalism could support their enterprises and activities in China. Ultimately, they began doubting whether it was worthwhile for them to stay in China and continue their enterprises.

Under such conditions, American women reformers lost their sense of mission in China. For them, the initial aspirations to promote internationalism now appeared to have been little more than a pipe dream. Along with the shattered dreams came also shattered views of their own county; they had once held that the United States was an exceptional nation which was exempt from both feudalism and imperialism and was at the vanguard of modern progress in the world. Based on this outlook, American women reformers had assumed the position of liberators by spreading American middle-class ideals under the guise of universal standards for modernity. This subject position of emancipatory agency was also tied closely to ideas of liberal progress: their views of history as linear progress undergirded their belief in American ideals as universal and underpinned the legitimacy of imperialism as a part of a worldwide 'civilizing mission.' What anti-imperialism movements in China challenged was this linear view of historical progress. Disillusioned by the moral superiority of the West and its model of progress and civilization, Chinese people began to seek the possibility of alternative paths of progress. As they began to turn away from the American model of modern progress, American women's enterprises became irrelevant to the future of China. Their enterprises were lost in oblivion and left out of the narratives of the national histories in both the United States and China. Although their experiences were not in any sense connected to the glorious declaration of the 'American century' in the mid-twentieth century, they illustrate some problematic aspects of American internationalism based on the concept of the United States as an exceptional country that leads historical progress toward a more peaceful and democratic world order.

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OFF-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOL VERSUS THE STOLEN GENERATIONS

A Comparative Study on Indigenous Educational Policies in the United States and Australia during the Assimilation Period

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This paper probes into what ideas were behind two horrid incidents in western history—Off-Reservation Boarding School in the United States and the Stolen Generations in Australia—by comparing the policies and practices that the American and Australian governments adopted during the forced assimilation period with respect to indigenous children. The similarities in the background, the theoretical basis, the involvement of Christianity and the measures taken by both governments, are thus revealed.

By reflecting on history, it is possible to avoid making mistakes in the future. On Feb. 13th 2008, the Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd, made a formal apology to the Stolen Generations for the past crimes, mistakes and sufferings caused by the whites against Australian indigenous peoples:

> We apologize especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country. For the pain, suffering and hurt of these stolen generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry. To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry (Rudd, 2008).

This apology, which had been demanded by the indigenous population for many years, has aroused great interest among people who would like to look at that part of history. What had the Australian government done to the indigenous children, the so-called Stolen Generations, under the assimilation policies?

At the same time, one cannot ignore the fact that on the American Continent, similar abuse was the share of the American Indian children in Off-Reservation Boarding Schools. In fact, similarities between the indigenous educational policies of the United States and Australia in the late 19th century and early 20th century are nothing short of striking.[1]

In both cases, as part of the assimilation policies adopted by the two governments, the Indigenous children were removed from their families and communities, and were kept isolated from their own cultures. They were taught and trained in the western way for them to melt into white society.

THE SIMILARITIES IN THE EDUCATION OF INDIGENOUS CHILDREN IN THE US AND AUSTRALIA

Indigenous assimilation and the education of indigenous children in both countries occurred almost in the same period—from the late 19th century to the early 20th century—and they have much in common. Although the Australian government officially adopted the assimilation policies in the 1910s, the removal and education of Indigenous children can be traced back to as early as 1869.

Failure of Racial Segregation.

Before the European colonists first set foot on the new continents—the American continent and the Australian conti-

1. Indian Off-Reservation Boarding Schools refers to schools that were established in the United States during the late 19th century to educate Native American youths according to Euro-American standards. These schools were usually located far away from the Indian reservations ranging from those like the federal Carlisle boarding School, to schools sponsored by religious organizations. Native American children were forced to abandon their Native American identities and adopt European-American culture and the English language. Many cases of sexual, physical and mental abuse were documented as occurring at these schools.

The Stolen Generations (also Stolen children) refers to those children of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent, usually of half-caste, who were removed from their families by the Australian Federal and State government agencies and church missions, under acts of their respective parliaments. The removals occurred in the period between approximately 1869 and 1969, although in some places children were still being taken in the 1970s.

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nent—the Indigenous people had been living on the two continents for thousands of years, and they had already established their own social structures and cultures. When more and more European settlers arrived, they began to grab lands from the natives by killing them or driving them away from their land to reservations. The living conditions on the reservations were terrible and the Indigenous population declined sharply. In less than a century from its founding, the United States had fulfilled its target of western expansion from the original 13 states along a narrow strip of the Atlantic coast in the East across the American continent to the Pacific coast in the West. In Australia, likewise, the Aborigines were driven to the northwestern part of the continent, where most of the land was desert.

However, brutal treatment of the natives was criticized by more and more people, especially when it came to be regarded as contrary to the doctrines of Christianity. Therefore, with time, the whites put an end to atrocities towards the indigenous peoples. In the mid and late 19th century, because of diseases, killings, and the shrinking of their territories, indigenous peoples were no longer a major threat to the whites, so the governments employed policies of racial segregation, hoping that living within the restricted limits of the reservations the indigenous peoples would soon die out. However, that was not the case: indigenous people as a group would prevent further land-grabbing, which in itself would frequently resulted in ocassional escalations of conflicts between the whites and the natives. At the same time, indigenous peoples continued to fight for their rights, as a result of which the governments had to change their policies and find new ways to deal with the problem.

The 'Noble Savage'

A major development ocurred when the dominant attitude towards indigenous people changed among some social scientists and politicians, especially since indigenous people started to be regarded as 'noble savages' (Prucha, 1986: 2) capable of accepting western civilization.

On the American continent, among the first generation of statesmen, Thomas Jefferson had his own idea about the Indigenous people. In 1785 he wrote: 'I believe the Indian then to be in body

and mind equal to the white man.' He insisted that the mentality of Indians was equal to that of the whites in similar situations. And he quoted from the famous speech of Chief Logan, declaring that the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero could not produce a single passage superior to the chief's oratory. Physically, the Indians were as smart as the whites. They were brave, active, and affectionate. He pointed out that if the circumstances of their lives were appropriately changed, the Indians would be transformed (Prucha, 1986: 2). 'The ultimate point of rest & happiness for them is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people' (Prucha, 1986: 2). Jefferson and his contemporaries thought that the process of civilizing the Indians could be accelerated by radical changes in the conditions of the Indian society, and they set out to bring about those changes.

In Australia, similar thoughts were popular and social Darwinism became the theoretical basis for the education of the Indigenous children especially for half-caste Aboriginal children. But it was not a natural selection, it was an artificial selection in which only the half-caste were to be saved while the full-blood would die out.

Operating under the principles of the Enlightenment and of Christian philanthropy, government officials proposed to bring civilization to indigenous peoples and to change them and their cultural patterns—that is to bring about the assimilation of the Natives.

Social Darwinism

In the 1880s, Social Darwinism was widely accepted in the West, much as it differed from Darwin's natural selection—the survival of the fittest. The 'natural' mechanism of Darwinism consisted in the competition—or the struggle—of some organisms against others. The losers in the competition would have few or no descendants. Darwinism was a scientific concept describing a process whose outcomes would be independent of either human or divine intervention.

The importance of Social Darwinism, however, was emphasized in the writings of many prominent scholars, such as Richard

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Broome, who would claim that '"the survival of the fittest" seemed to explain what many white people already believed; that some races are better than others, and the weaker ones faded away' (Broome, 1994). Another scholar, Andrew Markus, correctly distinguished between the work of Charles Darwin, who was primarily concerned with biological change, and writers such as Herbert Spencer, who focused more on social evolution. He claimed that, during the 1880s, the diffusion of social Darwinism in Australia provided colonists with a world view which gave race the primacy of place (Francis).

Social Darwinism referred to theories of cultural change. Cultural evolutionary theories were often not concerned with the biological survival of individuals, but with the disappearance of the customs, religions and technology of a people. This distinction is historically important. For example, it was a theory of cultural evolution which promoted the idea that indigenous people should be transformed into Christian workers which meant that the individuals would survive while their culture was eradicated. The biological individuals, or their descendants, would be part of a more developed culture. Some nineteenth- century scientists and social scientists, including followers of Herbert Spencer, believed that indigenous culture would fade away, but they did not see this as part of a competition between individual numbers of different races (Francis).

The 19th century Darwinian social evolution had been used as theoretical basis for the assimilation of Indian children in the United States. Social Darwinism was adopted by many intellectuals and politicians to justify their ideas, policies and actions for advanced and civilized nations to repress the backward and uncivilized nations in the assimilation period (Hoxie, 1984). American anthropologist and social theorist Lewis Henry Morgan elaborated upon his theory of social evolution in his 1877 book *Ancient Society*. Looking across the vast span of human existence, Morgan presented three major human stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization (Moses, 2009). He would argue that the European white was at the top of the pyramid, while American Indians were at the bottom (Adams, 1995: 15). Although he showed great sympathy to the Indians, Morgan still thought Indians

were not able to change on their own. Thomas Jefferson's version of the concept of the 'noble savage' indicates that Indians lived in a lower stage of social advancement, and that white education could accelerate the process (Axtell, 1995; Sheehan, 1996). In Australia, until quite recently there was a general belief that the so-called 'full-blood' Aboriginal people would gradually die out and be survived by the 'fitter' white race.

For a long time, the primary purpose of administration was to avoid the 'natural' outcomes of the so-called Social Darwinism, that is, outcomes which would cause the Aborigines to disappear in competition with the settlers. They were in favor of artificial selection. The attempt to control sexual relations between Aborigines and members of other ethnic groups was an attempt to substitute artificial selection for 'natural selection.' The breeding policy was made for the half-caste population to be 'bred-up' white over a few generations. As for half-caste, the policy of the government was to encourage the intermarriage with whites. 'The object being to breed out the color as far as possible' (Australian Archives, 1933). This was artificial selection and control, not natural selection: the Commonwealth government was unwilling to let nature take its course.

In both countries, indigenous educational policies were based mainly on Darwinian social evolution, whose proponents insisted that the indigenous peoples were inferior to the European colonists—thus they would either die out or be assimilated. Indigenous educational policy had to reflect the projected reality of the disappearance of the Indigenous way of life in a short period of time.

As follows, indigenous education was built upon the premise that the native peoples had a great deal to learn from the white men, who represented the highest level of achievement reached in the evolutionary process. The task of indigenous peoples was to consume bits and pieces of the white man's world in the expectation that some day they would become as smart. The idea was that since English was regarded the greatest, most powerful and most prosperous language in the world (Prucha, 1986), indigenous children should give up their own languages totally and learn to speak English instead.

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Racism

In this manner, Social Darwinism provided the philosophical justification for racism in both countries and thus also the assimilations of the indigenous peoples was greatly impacted by racist prejudices. American Indians and Australian Aborigines were treated as uncivilized and inferior races. When reading the laws concerning indigenous people, we will be inevitably reminded of the race-based legislation concerning the Jewish people under the Nazi regime in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. The purpose and content were the same: to enable the total destruction of a racially defined group of people and to establish an all-white America and Australia. Captain Richard C. Pratt, who opened the first Bureau of Indian Affairs and who run a boarding school in the United States in 1879, once said: 'Kill the Indian, save the man,' which means that exterminating the Native population and killing the spirit and culture of the Indians so that Native American nations would no longer exist would provide living space for the 'true man,' white by default. In Australia, from about 1870 to 1950, the policies leading to the removals of Aboriginal children from their families were designed to separate the half-caste from full-blood children so that the latter would disappear as quickly as possible. The philosophy was simple: as a racially defined group, American Indian and Australian Aborigines should vanish from the face of the planet.

The Involvement of Christianity

The role that Christianity played in the implementation of governmental policies should not be ignored. Wherever the colonists went, they were followed (or preceded) by missionaries. During the period of colonization, missionaries were sent to the tribes all over the countries so as to convert the native people to Christianity. During the assimilation period, many boarding schools and children's homes were established and run by various denominations. While at these schools or children's homes, indigenous children were forced to give up not only their life styles and languages, but also their beliefs. They were generally forbidden

to speak their native languages, taught Christianity instead of their native religions, and in numerous other ways forced to abandon their own identity and adopt the white culture. The missionaries had a faith in essential humanity and believed that with proper education indigenous children would in time be raised to take their place in a modern Christian society (Read, 2006: 35).

In the United States, the movement to reform Indian administration and assimilate Indians as citizens originated in the pleas of people who lived in close association with the natives. They called themselves 'Friends of the Indians' and lobbied with officials on their behalf. Gradually the call for change was taken up by reformers in the east part of the country. Many of the reformers were Protestant Christians who considered assimilation necessary to the Christianizing of the Indians. The nineteenth century was a time of major efforts in evangelizing missionary expeditions to all non-Christian people. In 1865, the government began to make contracts with various missionary societies to operate Indian schools for teaching citizenship, English, and the agricultural and mechanical arts. The goal of the United States government was to make Native Americans assimilate into the dominant white culture. Some called this 'making apples,' as the Indians would still appear 'red' on the outside, but would be made 'white' on the inside.

By and large, most government officials believed in the virtue of Christianity, and worked to convert American Indians to Christianity and suppress the practice of native religions. Since spiritual leaders were perceived as leaders of anti-white uprisings, even in the 20th century, they ran the risk of jail sentences of up to 30 years for simply practicing their rituals. The law did not change until the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978, although, admittedly, the government had stopped prosecuting Native American spiritual leaders before then.

Because of the close relationship between federal Indian policy and American churches during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Christianity has a long, important and tumultuous history in some parts of the Indian territories. Driven by a belief in the necessity of converting Indians, and openly supported

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by federal policy makers, missionaries arrived as early as the 1820s, convinced, as Henry Warner Bowden has written, 'that one set of cultural standards the one shared by churchmen and politicians promoted both spiritual progress and national stability' (Bowden, 1981: 164–165). As a result, church leaders and politicians alike believed that conversion to Christianity would quickly, humanely, and permanently solve the Indian question.

By the 1850s, missions flourished in the eastern half of the Indian Territory (later to become the state of Oklahoma) especially among the Five Civilized Tribes. Following removals, missionaries reestablished churches and mission stations in the Indian Territory, often in tandem with schools and academies.

Between the end of the Civil War and the 1890s federal policy makers and mission groups intensified their efforts in the western half of Indian Territory. In 1869, federal officials inaugurated the Peace Policy, a church-led, reservation-based assimilation program rooted in the belief that missionaries were the most effective agents of the government's civilizing agenda. By the late nineteenth century every mainstream denomination, including the Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Mennonites, Quakers, and Catholics, had mission stations on Oklahoma's reservations.

In Australia, in common with other white colonists, missionaries at times regarded the Australian Aborigines as passive beings with no culture, no history, and no spiritual traditions of their own. Therefore, the indigenous people were to be 'uplifted' to white standards of living and Christian beliefs and practices. Catholic missions were established even in the most isolated places, and were always desperately short of personnel and financial resources, with hardships unimaginable to other Australian Catholics. Aboriginal children were forced to go to those missions to be taken care of and to be taught and trained in the western way. Sometimes they had to take a long journey to missions in coastal Broome or Beagle Bay. In 1814, the missionary William Shelley set up the first Australian Aboriginal School in the continent. William Shelley persuaded the governor to approve his plan to establish an institution for Aboriginal children in western Sydney in 1814. He believed

human nature to be the same irrespective of race–'God hath made one blood all nations of men' (Acts 17:26).

Forced Assimilation

In most cases, indigenous children were forced to leave their parents and were forbidden to speak their native languages; they were taught Christianity, denied the right to practice their native religions, and coerced into obedience in numerous other ways. The practice, needless to say, was against the will of both the indigenous children and their parents.

After the Civil War, the American federal government emphasized assimilation as a central theme of its multiple policies towards Americans Indians. The mandatory sending of Indian children to schools, particularly Off-Reservation Boarding Schools, became one of the key methods of assimilating Native American people into the mainstream culture of white America. The education of young Indians came to the forefront in 1860. Approximately 100,000 Native American children were placed in BIA-managed boarding schools over the past century. In order to force the Indians to send their children to boarding schools, the government adopted many measures. For example, if Indian parents refused to send their children to schools, they would be denied subsidies from the government. Sometimes, troops wold be sent to round up as many of the Indian children as they could. Many of these children were not only physically abused, but also, stripped of their cultural identity, abused mentally. Children were forced to give up Indian names, stop speaking their own language, and have their long braids cut off. Violating the rules, they would be punished. Some children attempted to run away, but in most cases they would be caught, taken back to school, and severely punished.

In Australia, even babies would be taken away from their mothers. It was the government that decided they would receive the white man's education by force. It was believed that once removed from their parents and cut off from their cultural environment, the children of the natives would become uprooted more easily. Most of the Aboriginal children were under five

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years old, and there was rarely any judicial process to give them relief. To be Aboriginal was reason enough for them to be taken by force or by stealth from the bush and into isolated places. For this reason, these children are still known as the 'Stolen Generations'. Then they would be taken to orphanages or boarding schools, and sometimes they would be fostered or adopted by white parents. Not infrequently, they would be told that they were orphans and. effectively, they would lose contact with their parents for ever.

In Australia, such measures were implemented in order to facilitate the anticipated Darwinian social evolution. The policy of removing all 'half-caste' children, even babies, from their Aboriginal families and placing them with white caregivers was legally instituted and carried out. The Federal Government insisted that children of mixed blood heritage be removed from the 'savage/primitive' influence of 'full-blood Aboriginals,' with the intended result being their assimilation into Australian society. From 1910 to 1970, at least 100,000 Aboriginal children were taken away from their homes, and many of them underwent physical and sexual abuse. On a regular basis, under the guardianship of the whites, Aboriginal children would be coerced into obedience by means of various forms of corporeal punishment. Undernourished, abused and living in poor conditions, these children received little education: they were expected to go into low grade domestic and farming work.

THE EFFECTS OF INDIGENOUS ASSIMILATION

The indigenous assimilation policies turned out to be a failure in both countries, for both the United States and Australian governments would violate human rights in their treatment of natives over many generations and in a multitude of ways.

The policy of forced assimilation inflicted harmful and lasting effects upon the Indigenous populations and communities. Forced boarding school programs in the early 1900s tried to strip indigenous children of their cultures and languages in the name of assimilation. The removal of children over several generations

has left much of the indigenous community with an intensive sense of distrust, fear and anger towards the dominant society.

Furthermore, as the indigenous children fell victim to the assimilation campaigns, this institutionalization had a profound effect on their identity when they grew up. It was difficult for them to fit into either the white, or the native world. The assimilation policy alienated them for life. Separating children from their extended families created a vacuum in their own cultural knowledge, and a subsequent ignorance of how to parent their own children. The long term effects were, for some, madness and death, and for others—desolation and misery handed down from one generation to the next (Read, 2006).

In Australia, many of the Stolen Generations did not even know where they had come from. Seeking and finding their original families, continuing to reconnect with its extended circles and with the whole community often marks the beginning of a painful journey back home (Kinnear, 2000).

Both American Indians and Australian Aborigines were outraged by the campaigns and they fought for their rights. Finally, the governments in both countries realized that the only way to solve the problem was to respect the native people's cultures and give indigenous people their rights to self-determination.

CONCLUSION

When the reality of the impact of having been separated and assimilated into white society really hit home, the indigenous people could reclaim their identity, their lives and their entire sense of belonging. At the same time, they would become aware of the enormous losses and emptiness haunting their lives. An honest acknowledgement of the cruel laws and practices of the past that forcibly removed the indigenous children from their homes would help to ensure that racist wrongs will never be repeated and that human rights will always be protected, for one and all, across all barriers of time, space and race.

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A HISTORICAL VIEW ON THE EXPORT OF AMERICAN LAWS

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AMERICAN LAW EXPORT: PHENOMENON AND DEFINITION

In addition to its political clout, economic strength, military reach, cultural pervasiveness, and scientific and technological advancement, American Law Export is also an important component of what constitutes America as a superpower.

American Law Export (ALE) can be defined as all the systematic and/or non-systematic arrangements made and actions conducted by governmental and non-governmental American legal bodies to protect or to maximize US legal subjects' benefits abroad in a predictable way by consciously helping or forcing the target subjects to know, to learn, to accept, to transplant, and to import from the US ideas, systems, practices, education, research, and culture in the field of law. In summary, ALE is the expansion or globalization of American law.

Many American forces have made contributions to ALE. They include but are not limited to the American government at the federal, state, and local level and the non-governmental forces, such as various interest groups, political parties, news media, public opinion, think-tanks, multinational corporations, chambers of commerce, military groups, financial capital, labor organizations, environmental protection and human rights organizations, religious groups, ethnic minorities, educational institutions, and individual Americans. Many methods and forms, such as the initiation or threat of war, economic sanctions, pressure, official negotiations, judicial practices, rules enactments, cultural diplomacy, educational exchanges, news

media, literature and art, missionary work, and volunteers abroad, have been employed to make the targeted countries, regions, jurisdictions, and international organizations actively or passively, voluntarily or forcibly, in whole or in part, understand, appreciate, study, agree to accept, import, and transplant American concepts, ideas, regimes, systems, practices, education, research, and culture related to law.

In fact, the US has the shortest history of law and jurisprudence among western powers. In the eyes of western jurists, American jurisprudence relied heavily on the development of law in Great Britain, France, and Germany before World War II. However, America quickly succeeded in establishing a leading position in law and jurisprudence in the world shortly after World War II. Since that time, many government officials have made frequent visits to the US, scholars and professors of judisprudence have become more willing to study, research and lecture at US universities and publish their articles in US law reviews, and young students have rushed to American law schools for degrees. Meanwhile, a large number of legal textbooks and sets of American law and court rulings have been introduced with or without translation (Zongling, 1995: 26).

Therefore, it seems necessary to conduct a historical overview on the export of American law before any in-depth research into ALE is attempted.

A STUDY OF DYNAMICS AND REASONS BEHIND THE EXPORT OF AMERICAN LAW

The Nature of the Expansion Behind American Law Export

The nature and motive behind ALE can be traced back to the Mayflower Compact in 1620.[1] Essentially, the Compact sets an invaluable precedent for the Constitution (Kennedy, 2006: 44), legitimizing the reasons for the expansion of the United States in the third section in Article IV (Okamoto, 2009). It is held in the Compact that 'In the Name of God … We … having undertaken … a Voyage … plant the first colony in the northern Parts of Virginia.' The authority

1. *The Mayflower Compact* <http://www.academicamerican.com/colonial/docs/Mayflower.htm> (access: July 28, 2012).

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of the Word of God and his commandments included in the biblical canon, supported by biblical typology and unquestionable trust in the omnipresence and justice of the Almighty, transformed the territorial expansion into a Chistian duty. Its observance, first, created America and then extended American territorial jurisdiction and exported American law to new areas or states. In light of the philosophy underlying expansionism since the Mayflower Compact, and bearing in mind the legality of expansion according to US Constitution, it becomes clear why no limitations have been imposed upon colonization or law export. Needless to say, the same ideology provided the basis for American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny (Renhui, 2011).

American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny Theory: The Original Motive for US Law Export

It is widely acknowledged that the expansive nature of the US relates to Puritanism and its two derivative products, namely, American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny (Nayak and Malone, 2009).

The core and starting point of American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny can be summarized in one sentence: 'as a unique nation with a unique mission in human history, the United States of America has a unique role to play because of its uniqueness from, and superiority over, the rest of the world' (Ruyin, 2007: 437–38).

American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny originated from the idea of 'a city upon the hill,' a phrase famously used by John Winthrop in his influential sermon, 'A Model of Christian Charity,' delivered in 1630. After the Revolutionary War, American Exceptionalism was expressed in two schools of thought in the practice of American foreign policy: exemplary and missionary exceptionalism. The former stresses a good example for the rest of the world with major emphasis on the idea of the 'city upon the hill', isolationism, and anti-imperialism. The latter holds that the US is a country with a special mission to God and the world. Missionary exceptionalism has exerted a major influence on the shaping of US foreign policy through such notions as Manifest Destiny, imperialism, internationalism, the US as 'the leader of the free world', modernization theory, the new world order, and the like.

The main tenet of exemplary exceptionalism is that the US should become 'a city upon the hill.' American influence on other countries should be achieved by setting a good example rather than by way of interference. The first US President, George Washington, said in his farewell address that 'a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation' will give 'mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.'[2] James Madison, the 'Father of the Constitution,' said: 'Our Country, if it does justice to itself, will be the workshop of liberty to the Civilized World, and do more than any other for the uncivilized.'[3]

According to missionary exceptionalism, it was obvious that US territory should be expanded from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast or across the entire North American continent. Together with the theory of Manifest Destiny, American territorial expansion and law export was in line with the principles of heaven, earth and the will of God, which was not only beneficial to the world but was also meant to be openly announced as His. Furthermore, the US democratic system was so perfect that there should be no national boundaries or restrictions on its expansion. Therefore, US territorial expansion and law export were construed not as an imperial invasion but as a forceful salvation and an act of enlightenment designed to save its neighboring peoples from tyrannical rule (Billington and Ridge, 1982: 513).

With the growth of US economic strength and military power, missionary exceptionalism began to achieve a dominant position (Ruyin, 2007: 439). All US decision-makers seemed to share a common wish that the US would be the world's 'New Jerusalem' stretching from Washington's 'sacred fire' to Jefferson's 'democratic ideals' and from Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' to Roosevelt's 'four freedoms'. Americans have made continuous efforts to set an example of freedom and democracy to the world so that the US democratic system can replace the so-called 'autocratic, dictatorial, decaying, and corruptive' governments (Xiuli, 2007: 57). They hold that the American mission of emancipating the earth from tyr-

2. 'Washington's Farewell Address 1796,' <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp> (accessed: September 8, 2009)
3. 'The Republican Form of Government.' <http://www.libertyparkusafd.org/lp/quotes.htm> (accessed: September 11, 2009)

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anny through the US democratic system is a secular expression of rescuing the world from Satan (Cabriel, 1997: 4). To achieve this, it is both inevitable and necessary to export American law to the rest of the world.

The Comparative Advantage for American Law Export: The Unique Geographic Environment and the Diversity and the Innovation of US Legal Civilization

There are three major reasons for the success of ALE: the unique geographic environment of America, the diversity of the American legal civilization and its innovative character.

The first factor, the uniqueness of the geographical environment, translates into the fact that it was very lucky for those Americans who believed in American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny that their neighbors, such as the Native Americans, were weaker and less modernized than the white majority, and that the continent was beyond the 'good and effective control' of the European powers. Thus, they could rapaciously entice and force Native Americans to make concessions to American territorial jurisdiction. In the face of the European law export, what the US needed to do was simply announce that the US territory was destined to encompass the whole continent of North America, or, unilaterally, issue the Monroe Doctrine to preclude European law export.

The second factor is the diversity of US legal civilization. It is common knowledge that many people have rushed to America from every corner of the world throughout the history of US territorial expansion and immigration since the colonial period, bringing in their own laws (Friedman, 1973: 15). Their legal backgrounds include the common law, the continental law, the Islamic law system, the traditional Chinese legal family, and other legal systems. All these immigrants make US law full of vigor because of its diversification, which, in turn, facilitates the development and export of American law.

The third element is the innovative character of the legal civilization of the US. Yujun comments upon it as follows:

> Compared with their world-wide counterparts, Americans show more innovation/competitiveness, and alternativeness in the thought of law

> ... Many schools of thoughts and jurists exist side by side. No school of jurisprudence could win unanimous recognition and it is very difficult to establish a dominant legal tradition on the basis of sublimating disagreements and absorbing all schools. Many schools of thoughts and jurists ... appear on the stage one after another ... Each school may be alternatively unrivalled for a certain period and no one can dominate the stage for ever ... All these puzzle the external observer and make US jurisprudence ever moving and prosperous without mummification and stagnancy which leads to [a number of] Uncertainties, namely, the uncertainties of positions, values, methods, applications, and evaluation criteria (Yujun, 2007:125).

In fact, the 'Uncertainties' are just an expression of the innovation and contention of US law that jointly provide the American legal pool with sufficient support. Such legal reserve makes it possible for Americans to cope with any 'legal emergency and contingency.'

In general, the position of American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny in US culture, the uniqueness of the geographical environment, and the diversity and innovativeness of mutually complementary, yet contending elements of the legal civilization of the United States, should be considered the most important elements in the process of diagnosing the comparative advantages of the US over its competitors in terms of ideas, systems, practices, education, research, and culture in the fields of law. The US can still exploit these comparative advantages by using (or choosing not to use) its superpower status to export its law across the world.

A HISTORICAL VIEW ON THE PHASIC EXPORT OF AMERICAN LAW

The First Phase (1776–1897): Offensiveness and Defensiveness with Territorial Jurisdiction Expansion as its Major Object

Territorial expansion is conducive to ALE because it means the expansion of jurisdiction in geographical terms. As a relatively small power during this period, the US did not have the same strength as did the continent European powers to launch as 'global' attempts at expansion, which made the civil law system more central than common law. Therefore, the US adopted a foreign policy of offensiveness and defensiveness with the expansion of territorial jurisdiction as its major object. On the North American continent, the US offensively focused on expansion to extend

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its territorial jurisdiction. In South America, the US defensively announced the Monroe Doctrine to exclude the possible impact of the European powers, thereby establishing its sphere of influence. In the Asian-Pacific region and particularly in China, America followed the policy of Metooism to grab the consular jurisdiction and unilateral MFN treatment, which expanded American territorial and personal jurisdiction while impairing China's legislative, administrative, and jurisdictional sovereignty (Deane, 2003: 177).

In North America, territorial expansion was the first effort to directly and permanently enlarge territorial jurisdiction to maximize US legal subjects' benefits. In fact, when its independence was recognized by Britain in 1783, the US was a small country whose area covered approximately 800,000 square miles.[4] The lack of land and national strength, the urgency to develop domestic economy, the need to settle contradictions and resolve the conflict of interests between the North and the South, and the threat of European envy and Native American attacks all compelled the US to adopt a foreign policy based on a strategy that was defensive if compared to the strategies of the European powers. Bearing American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny in mind, the American Founding Fathers began to fulfill their original plans. The ensuing division of America into slave and non-slave states led to further competitive efforts between the North and the South to acquire territory in the Caribbean and in Central America (Papp, 2005: 84). Therefore, the US soon embarked on the road of territorial expansion to directly extend American territorial jurisdiction making clear that '… for a century to come, the subduing of the temperate regions of North America to the purposes of civilized life was to be the main business of the United States.'[5]

Without considering the idea that the Native Americans were also equally created before the law, George Washington alleged that they were just 'beasts of prey, tho' they differ in shape … There

4. *The Making of The United States* <http://www.globalpolicy.org/empire/us-westward-expansion/25946.html> (accessed: September 16, 2009).
5. Samuel Eliot Morison, Full text of *The Growth of The American Republic Volume One*. <http://www.archive.org/stream/growthoftheameri007597mbp/growthoftheameri007597mbp_djvu.txt> (accessed: September 4, 2009).

is nothing to be obtained by an Indian War but the Soil they live on and this can be had by purchase at less expense.'[6]

Subsequent US leaders followed suit. The second US President, John Adams, said on November 22nd, 1797, that 'to prevent Indian hostilities, and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe that to give a better effect to these measures and to obviate the consequences of a repetition of such practices, a law providing adequate punishment for such offenses may be necessary.'[7] Thus, the US government officially announced that Native American human rights, according to natural law, would not be taken into consideration in the context of the country's territorial expansion and that no limitations would apply to the actions of the administration, or the means, by which the goals were to be attained. In 1811, Adams went even further by announcing that America was 'destined' to spread over the whole continent.[8]

The third US President, Thomas Jefferson, was more ambitious than his predecessors: 'Our confederacy,' he stated in his letter to Archibald Stuart Paris, 'must be viewed as the nest from which all America, North & South is to be peopled.'[9] In face of Native American resistance to his predecessors' extreme policies and actions, he nonetheless adopted a 'soft' policy that made US actions regarding Native Americans seem more neutral. On February 27, 1803, he made his policy clear: 'we shall push our trading uses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.'[10] If Native Americans refuse to cooperate, he announced on October 17, 1803, it would 'be nec-

6. Letter of George Washington to James Duane, 7 September 1783. <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=359> (access: September 5, 2009).
7. 'First Annual Message of John Adams.' <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/adamsme1.asp> (access: September 5, 2009).
8. 'Manifest Destiny in Association with Gatlinburg Cabin Rentals.' <http://www.lonympics.co.uk/usexpansion.htm> (access: September 5, 2009).
9. *The Letters of Thomas Jefferson: 1743–1826*. <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/P/tj3/writings/brf/jefl42.htm> (access: March 18, 2012).
10. To Governor William H. Harrison. 1803. <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/tj3/writings/brf/jefl151.htm> (access: September 5, 2009.)

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essary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country; for its incorporation into our Union; for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly-adopted brethren; for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property: for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them, and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired.'[11] Later, however, Jefferson wrote of the remaining Native Americans that the government was obliged 'to pursue them to extermination, or drive them to new seats beyond our reach.'[12]

In his address to Congress on December 2, 1823, President James Monroe articulated the United States' policy on the new political order developing in other regions of the Americas and on the role of Europe in the Western Hemisphere'[13] by announcing 'that the American continents…are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.'[14] Monroe outlined two separate spheres of influence: American and European. The independent lands of the Western Hemisphere would be solely the United States' domain. In exchange, the US pledged to avoid involvement in the political affairs of Europe such as the ongoing Greek struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, and not to interfere in the existing European colonies already in the Americas.[15]

Yet, not satisfied with the US interest zone being limited to the Western Hemisphere, Americans turned their eyes to distant Asia. As early as July 3rd, 1844, the US forced the Qing government to sign the Sino-US Treaty of Wang Hiya (Wangxia), which granted the US many privileges, including the right to veto any Chinese governmental modification of the tariff, unilateral MFN treatment, unilateral consular jurisdiction, privileges in the areas of the Chinese

11. Thomas Jefferson, 'Third Annual Message to Congress. 1803.' <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jeffmes3.asp> (access: September 5, 2009)
12. Thomas Jefferson, *The Letters of Thomas Jefferson: 1743–1826* ('A HEMISPHERE TO ITSELF') <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/P/tj3/writings/brf/jefl224.htm> (access: March 17, 2012).
13. The Monroe Doctrine, December 2nd, 1823. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/jd/16321.htm> (access: September 6, 2009).
14. The Monroe Doctrine, 1823.
15. The Monroe Doctrine, 1823.

territorial sea and inland waters, the right to treaty revision in 12 years, and other advantages.

To sum up, American law export during this period affected predominantly the North American continent. Its spread was related to the offensive westward movement aimed to permanently expand US territorial and personal jurisdiction. While implementing its defensive Monroe Doctrine, the US administration began to look toward Latin America with view to its inclusion into the US sphere of influence. It also followed the policy of Metooism to seize privileges and expand its interests in China. This period, likewise, saw the birth of an independent ALE policy, beginning with Commodore Perry's opening of Japan in 1853 and 1854, and expanding with the idea shared by Perry and by a medical missionary Peter Parker, that Japan could be reduced to a subordinate American ally, and that Okinawa and Formosa (China's Taiwan) could be seized (Deane, 2003: 177).

The Second Phase (1898–1940): Efforts at the Establishment of an American World Legal Order

The turning points of this period are as follows: a) the US engagement with Spain to challenge the European-dominated world order by force, and the issuance of the Open Door Policy to induce European powers' concession of interests in the area of the economy, and b) the proclamation of the Fourteen Points in the hope of securing a US leadership position in the world by way of the International League of Nations.

At the end of the first phase, the US became a major power in the world, with the third largest territory, the most industrially developed economy, the most diversified culture and civilization, the most stable political and democratic system, the most numerous interest groups, and the most sophisticated economic law. After more than 100 years, the US saw its own mature and independent development in all fields of law (Grossberg, 2008: 1). In addition to being continuously fueled by the ideologies of American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny, ALE gained even more powerful advantages in terms of its material basis, spiritual motivation, and intellectual reserve. Therefore, the US not only had ambitions

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in furthering ALE, but also saw it as a mission. Exemplary exceptionalism was thus transformed into missionary exceptionalism: the US mission to prevent neighboring peoples from being tyranically ruled (Billington and Ridge, 1982: 513).

Spain, the weakest player in the European political arena despite its extensive colonies, became the first victim of America's challenge to the European-dominated world order. The US officially declared war against Spain on April 25th on the pretext of the battleship *Maine* incident on February 15th, 1898 (Renhui, 2011). Spain was defeated. Cuba, Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico became American colonies, the transformation of which effectively expanded American territorial jurisdiction and resulted in the invalidation of any European-dominated international legal orders in those regions. The seizure of those regions and gaining control of Hawaii not only consolidated the American sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere, but also provided the US with a springboard to the Asian-Pacific region for its law export and the expansion of its interests on a larger scale, with the view to re-structuring the international political, economic and legal order world-wide.

American face-to-face competition with all European powers began in China with the implementation of the Open Door Policy in 1899:

> [The US Secretary of State, John Hay] proposed a free, open market and equal trading opportunity for merchants of all nationalities operating in China, based in part on the most favored nation clauses already established in the Treaties of Wangxia and Tianjin. Hay argued that establishing equal access to commerce would benefit American traders and the US economy, and hoped that the Open Door would also prevent disputes between the powers operating in China. For the United States, which held relatively little political clout and no territory in China, the principal of non-discrimination in commercial activity was particularly important. Hay called for each of the powers active in China to do away with economic advantages for their own citizens within their spheres of influence, and also suggested that the Chinese tariffs apply universally and be collected by the Chinese themselves. Although the other powers may not have agreed fully with these ideas, none openly opposed them.[16]

16. 'Secretary of State John Hay and the Open Door in China, 1899–1900.' <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/ip/17457.htm> (accessed: September 8th, 2009)

The Open Door, effectively, would grant Americans equal access to commerce in China. On July 3, 1900, Hay circulated another message to the European powers involved in China, emphasizing the importance of respecting the 'territorial and administrative integrity' of China with the intention of preventing the European powers from using the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to carve China into individual colonies.[17] In terms of law, it meant that, individually or as a whole, no European powers' privileges granted by unfair treaties should prevail over the privileges of the US. This marked a major step in American foreign policy toward China: the ending of Metooism and the implementation of an independent formula (beginning with the Open Door Policy) in the hope of guaranteeing the US comparative advantages over European powers on the basis of America's economic strength.

World War I seriously weakened Europe and markedly strengthened the US.[18] Watching the war between the European powers, President Wilson put forward the Fourteen Points declaration on January 8th, 1918, before America became involved in the war. It was the first program attempting to grant the US equal, and increasingly greater, influence on a new institutionalized political, economic, and legal world order, with the US eventually emerging as the world leader (Ikenberry, 2000: 4). To that end, Wilson planned to establish a universal international organization based upon an open world-wide market with national self-determination and free trade as prerequisites, yet avoiding the rhetoric of direct colonial rule. It was undoubtedly a reform and improvement of the traditional European-dominated order. Its implication was that the market regime would begin to replace military factors with respect to world dominance, which was in line with the developmental trends of world-wide economic, political, and legal systems, and in the best interests of the US (Wenwei, 2003: 44–46). Boasting an advanced legal system in coordination with the strongest economy in the world at that time, the US could, in a peaceful way, utilize legalized and institutionalized systems

17. 'Secretary of State John Hay and the Open Door in China, 1899–1900.' <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/ip/17457.htm> (accessed: September 8th, 2009)
18. 'World War I' <http://www.is.wayne.edu/mnissani/WWI/encarta.htm> (accessed: July 29, 2012)

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to expand US interests globally, including ALE. Therefore, the establishment of international organizations to strengthen and enforce the American vision of international political and economic legal system has begotten continual efforts to address international relations, foreign exchanges and ALE. This was the beginning of the systematic American law export (Renhui, 2010). However, America did not join the League of Nations because of domestic isolationism, and because some Americans held that the security policy of the 1920s should rely on banks rather than tanks (Braumoeller).

In fact, the US did not follow a policy of absolute isolationism before and immediately after World War I. In Latin America, President Franklin Roosevelt, who, at that time, worked for the Department of the Navy under Wilson, offers an interesting example. After the US invasion of Haiti in 1915 resulting in the death of thousands of Haitians, Roosevelt became the author of Haiti's new constitution and bragged that he worked in a major change in the country's political system. The Haitian constitution had originally forbidden foreign land ownership to eliminate the potential threat of the return of the white-owned plantation culture. Roosevelt did away with it, paving the way for Haiti to become an American neocolonial asset.[19] The Roosevelt-written Haitian constitution may have served as a precedent for the US transformation of legal systems in Japan, Germany, and other countries after World War II. In Europe, US banks lent Germany money to enable it to meet its reparation payments to countries such as France and the UK, who, in turn, used the reparation payments from Germany to service their war debts to the US. Coming so soon after the American rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, the Dawes and Young Plans were significant instances of US re-engagement with European affairs. The Young Plan has clearly proven to have had a more lasting effect: the Bank for International Settlements, or BIS, continues to operate to this day as a forum for central banks in consultation and cooperation.[20] Therefore, it is possible

19. *The American Empire* <http://ahealedplanet.net/america.htm> (accessed: September 8, 2009).

20. 'The Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, German Reparations, and Inter-allied War Debts.' <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/id/100933.htm> (ac-

to claim that it is then that the US began to establish its leading position in international financial law. In the Asian-Pacific region, the US won two victories: one was the recognition—and internationalization—of the Open Door Policy in China, as confirmed by the Nine-Power Treaty of 6 February 1922. The other one was the legalization of American fleets as equal to Britain's and second to none, pursuant to the Washington Treaty for Naval Disarmament. Bearing these developments in mind, one may argue that, in fact, they may mark the beginning of American leadership in international economic and military law.

The Third Phase (1941–1991): The American Global Legal Order

This period is characterized by: a) the forceful transformation, transplantation, and rebuilding of the legal systems in Japan, West Germany, and Italy to export American law to those regions after military occupation; b) the centrality of the Nuremberg and Tokyo War Crimes Trials as turning points in the process of the exportation of American law at an international level; c) the establishment and utilization of the UN to formulate a public international legal system; d) the founding and the entitlement of the *de facto* veto in GATT, the IMF, and the World Bank to spread and strengthen an international economic legal system beneficial to the US, and e) the export of American law to socialist countries in the hope of establishing legal systems similar to their American counterparts.

World War II gave the US a good opportunity to establish an American legal order world-wide. At this point, the US had reached the peak of its comprehensive national strength, its government was confident of its world leadership, isolationism was on the decline, domestic resistance to the establishment of world hegemony was unchallenged, and President Franklin Roosevelt had his insight and foresight confirmed (Honghua, 2006: 19).

The Lend Lease Act and the 'Arsenal of Democracy' are meaningful symbols of the orientation of Roosevelt's economic and military preparations to reshape the world. The 'four freedoms' (freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear) were Roosevelt's political and legal blue-

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print for the world: the President held that it was American destiny to support the 'four freedoms' world-wide.[21] The development of the so-called 'Anglo-American special relationship' meant, in fact, the British recognition of American leadership, that was later reaffirmed in the Atlantic Charter, which laid the foundations for the Charter of the United Nations. When Britain, formerly the strongest European power, agreed to lend its military and naval bases to America to support the 'four freedoms,' the US, arguably, began to replace Britain in its role as the shaper of the international legal system. When the Declaration by the United Nations approved and upheld Roosevelt's 'four freedoms' at an international level, the time was ripe for the US to formulate an international legal system and finally attain the globalization of American law.

The founding and operations of the UN have established a set of public international laws in line with US standards on a global scale. With its veto right in the UN Security Council, the US can veto any other member state's objection to its illegal unilateral actions and deny the legitimacy of its adversary's unilateral actions at the same time. Therefore, the US can take multilateral actions under the UN banner and pursue unilateralism outside the UN to boycott, to sanction, and to attack those regimes who dare to challenge the US-dominated international legal system.

In terms of international economic law, the US successfully established the Bretton Woods system with the IMF, with the World Bank and GATT as its major pillars, thus effectively implementing a new international legal system in the field of finance and trade. Though the Bretton Woods system collapsed in the 1970s, the US had become the most powerful decision-maker and rule-designer in international trading and financial legal systems. Therefore, the US could and did demand many concessions from—and exported American law to—those countries that wanted to have access to international organizations and the world market. These demands

21. More comments on the significance of the Four Freedoms in the history of American law export can be seen in: 'Far from Crisis: a Perspective of American Law Export Returns in the Fields of International Economics,' (authored by Yuan Renhui, paper for American Studies Network Annual Conference 2010).

resulted in the import of American law into these countries, particularly in the fields of foreign trade and finance.

Take GATT for example: eight rounds of GATT multilateral trade negotiations were all launched with the US as the leading force. Nearly each round of negotiation proceeded in accordance with American proposals and rules. The US may have decided the negotiation agenda, including what to negotiate and what not to address. It may have also been an abortive negotiation because of American intransigence. Yet, it was the US that had the last word in the shaping of the final outcome of the negotiations. In accordance with the US national interests, only those trade rules and principles that were signed and ratified by the US could acquire legitimacy and become common rules to be abided by and enforced by all member economies. The multilateral trade negotiations had become a complex multi-level and strategic game supporting the interests of America, whereas most nations had little influence upon the shaping of their international economic relations or the formulation of international trade rules (Jianxin, 2006: 7–8). In this way, the US could actually control the development of the international economy and trade in terms of the legal system regulating them, which created a context conducive to American law exportation.

The US did more than offer a 'carrot': the 'stick' was also at hand. A variety of military organizations, alliances and security mechanisms came into being under US guidance, which served as the last means to back the US-dominated international public, economic, financial, and trade legal system in an attempt to safeguard the position of the US as the rule-maker and arbitrator.

Another factor that should be taken into account is the formation of the socialist camp. The post World War II US had a mission different from that of the pre-War period: the export of American law to socialist countries. The Cold War brought military confrontations, boycotts, and embargos, all occurring alternatively or simultaneously. International economic, financial, and trade organizations, regimes, and systems were also employed to minimize the influence of socialist states. Even though cultural export and educational exchanges were carried out in the hope of a peaceful evolution of international relations over several generations, the US, meanwhile, took every opportunity to export its market economic regimes, systems,

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and laws to socialist countries, particularly in the course of their application for entry into GATT.

China was an example in this regard. As of 1982 when China applied for GATT signatory member status, the US had raised more than 40,000 questions on China's foreign trade regime, which may be summarized in two inquiries: a) whether or not China would promise to establish a market economic regime, and b) if yes, to what concrete extent might other economies have access to China's market. At that time, the market economic regime was unconstitutional in China due to worldwide misunderstanding of the relationship between the market economy and socialism. However, this case may be evidence for ALE.

Another aspect of ALE, characteristic for the period, may be labeled as the US striving for hegemony with the USSR. In the 1960s and 1970s, the US Agency for International Development, the Ford Foundation, and other private American donors underwrote an ambitious effort to reform the judicial systems and substantive laws of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This law and development movement engaged professors from Harvard, Yale, Stanford, Wisconsin, and other leading American law schools and generated hundreds of reports on the contribution of law reform to economic development within a few years.[22] The developments in these areas had proven conducive to ALE and, to a certain extent, the modernization of law of countries involved may be perceived as a result.

The Fourth Phase (1992–present): A New Period of the American Global Legal Order

This period brings: a) the decrease in resistance to the export of US economic laws, which, to some extent, is a result of the collapse of the USSR, the drastic changes in Eastern European countries, the founding of—and China's accession to—the WTO, and the widespread acceptance of the market economic regime; b) more efforts on ALE in the fields of international economic, financial, and trade law; c) new emphasis on ALE in the sphere of human rights, labor standards, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, environmental

22. 'Law and Development Movement.' <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAWJUSTINST/Resources/LawandDevelopmentMovement.pdf>. (access: September 11, 2009).

protection, and intellectual property rights; d) frequent forceful ALE related to transformations imposed upon the so-called rogue states' legal system; e) the increasingly important role in ALE played by American non-governmental organizations, such as multinational corporations, universities, and news media.

After the Cold War, the US paid more attention to the export of American economic and trade law. Since the foundation of the WTO, America has proven to have become the top player in the international arena of legal regulations as a result of the ensuing expansion of the US-shaped jurisdiction from the area of pure trade within GATT to investment, and then to that of IP, and possibly to labor standards, sanitary and phytosanitary measures, and environmental protection (Chunlin, 2007: 205). To substantiate this claim, it is enough to point to the fact that it was the Americans who raised most of the topics in the Uruguay Round negotiations and designed the majority of norms and rules, some of which were borrowed directly from US law, with minor adjustments only. With such an orientation of the US legal philosophy, it comes as no surprise that many American jurists and lawyers are more familiar with the WTO law than with the laws of their individual international partners, and the potential for conflict between the US and WTO law has been minimized. It may be safe to say that the laws of the WTO have entirely satisfied the US interests, particularly in relation to the Americans' special interest in the newly established GATS and TRIPs (Jianxin, 2006: 275). Owing to the WTO and other international economic organizations, the US has gained a safe vehicle to export its law, with non-economic law as a tie-in.

The expansion of international economic organizations and economic liberalization require the globalization of law firms, including American law firms, which further promotes the Americanization of target jurisdictions. Japan is an example in this regard. The Japanese legal style became Americanized in a number of significant respects in the 1990s. The Americanization of Japanese law involves more transparency, disclosure, codification of administrative procedures and adversarial legal contestation ranging from administrative procedures to the regulation of non-profit organizations and from securities regulation to product liability (Kelemen and Sibbitt, 2002: 269).

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Meanwhile, the US often takes a variety of measures against countries in violation of the American version of international law in order to achieve its own political and diplomatic goals. The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act of 1996 (Helms-Burton Act) is a notorious example.

Furthermore, the US often resorts to its unilateral legislation prerogatives, as substantiated by, for instance, Section 301 of the 1974 Trade Act. It exercises long-arm jurisdiction and cross-border jurisdiction (transient jurisdiction), and calls upon the principles of foreign sovereign immunity to expand its extraterritorial jurisdiction, as has been the case with the Helms-Burton Act, intended to bind third states' nationals in their trade with Cuba.

Finally, the US has never given up forceful means to export American law when necessary. As the sole remaining superpower, the US tends to use, or threaten to use, force, from time to time to export its laws to the so-called rogue states by way of overthrowing their governments and establishing new legal systems that are in line with American interests. The case of Iraq provides the best illustrative example of this strategy.

In general, however, the US of today prefers to export its law by means of trade, cultural assistance, and educational exchange as a tie-in. Kent Wiedemann, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, commented on this before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, on July 25th, 1995:[23]

> Trade is not just a means of producing wealth, but is also a conduit through which US concepts and ideals filter into the consciousness of all Chinese. In the long run, opening markets for America's idea industries—movies, CDs, software, television—and for products that make international communications easier—such as fax machines and computers that are linked to the Internet—may contribute as much to the improvement of human rights in China as all of our direct, government-to-government efforts combined.[24]

23. Testimony by Kent Wiedemann, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, before Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, July 25, 1995. <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/bureaus/eap/950725WiedemannUSChina.html> (accessed: September 16, 2009).

24. <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/bureaus/eap/950725WiedemannUSChina.

With the development of economic globalization and increasing international exchanges, non-governmental American organizations (such as multinational corporations, universities, and the news media) have been playing an increasingly important role in ALE.[25] Along with the development of global trade and the explosion of multinational corporations in quantity and size, their bylaws and internal rules, based largely on US laws, have become effective outside their home country. It is therefore becoming urgent to find a way to balance and harmonize the relations between these rules and the local norms and policies, when such organizations set up their subsidiaries and branches abroad.

In addition, lawyers and accountants in close relation to multinational corporations have become a group of unofficial law-makers. As multinational corporations become (informal) rule-makers in international trade and business, the role of lawyers and accountants has undergone subtle changes: on an obvious level, they are professionals in the field of the application of law, yet, as representatives of corporate interests, they become rule-makers as well.

American universities and foundations play an essential role in ALE by way of education. In Japan, American law schools are seen as having as their fundamental goal 'to provide the training and education required for becoming an effective legal practitioner, i.e., the institutions provide a 'professional legal education' (Maxeiner, 2003: 37–51).

As for the news media, the world has been witnessing their consummate skill and tremendous advantage: from the trial of O.J. Simpson, a vivid lesson in American law with an audience of hundreds of millions across the world, to Bush v. Gore, to the popular spread of *Boston Legal* and other American literary and artistic works related to law, and to the well-known Miranda Law.

To sum up, there are many ways to demonstrate the workings of the ALE and its influence in the fields of administration, legislation, judicature, politics, economy, education, culture, technology and other areas of individual jurisdiction or at international level.

html> (accessed: September 8, 2009)

25. See the preliminary study on the theory and practice of legal globalization <http://www.jus.cn/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=70> (accessed: September 8, 2009)

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Therefore, the globalization of law is, to some extent, a synonym of its Americanization. (Renhui, 2010)

COMMENT ON AMERICAN LAW EXPORT: PURPOSE, INFLUENCE, AND BORROWISM

The fundamental objective in ALE is to achieve a better, more durable, sustainable and stable protection of US interests in a predictable way outside of American jurisdiction. It seems that the US has achieved a good record and is far from a crisis in this regard (Renhui, 2010).

The successful ALE can be attributed to many factors, including the position and combination of American Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny, America's unique geographical environment, and the diversity and innovativeness stemming from the dynamics of concurrent legal theories. Of course, the economic liberalization, the globalization of markets and US law firms, the growing distrust toward government bureaucrats, heightened judicial activism, the demands for transparency, and the international influence of the American legal education also encourage the spread of American law (Kelemen and Sibbitt, 2002: 269).

Many methods, moral and immoral, legal and illegal, juridical and non-juridical, peaceful and non-peaceful, multilateral and unilateral, have been employed in ALE in different periods. Many adverse effects or negative influences can be traced back to such actions, and ALE, even today, is not always objectively beneficial to the target countries. However, few can deny that ALE has done *something* for the popularization of a legal civilization, and that, paradoxically, the ALE of today may be claimed to be conducive to actions leveled against colonialism and, to a certain extent, feudalism. As the world's most developed market economy with the most experienced managerial legal system, America has created a situation where its law is, largely, a blueprint for the 'inherent' requirements of the market economy. Constitutionalism, judicial review, the case law system, the checks and balances of power, the vigilance of public power, the pursuit of procedural justice, and other principles form what may be the most advanced legal civilization developed by humankind.

In fact, ALE demands continual innovation: in ideas, systems, practices, education, and research in the fields of law. Thus conceived, American law export in turn promotes the development of law within the United States. It may be said that innovation encourages globalization in terms of law export, and vice versa. Economic globalization requires the reduction of legal differences or barriers. Thus, the export or globalization of *some kind of law* is inevitable and it is only countries with a leading position in economic development, jurisprudential research, and legal practice that can live up to the task.

Hence, it is not reasonable to hold a too critical position toward the export or globalization of American law. An independent jurisdiction outside America may be alert to American selfish motives, yet, this does not necessarily preclude its willing adoption of a positive attitude toward ALE. Borrowism, for a number of reasons, may be a good choice. If so, other jurisdictions, when they attain a comparable level of advancement in the legal civilization of their respective countries and gain the 'soft' power, may themselves be placed in the position of an exporter of laws to the international community, including the US, thereby gaining a chance to contribute new solutions to world law and jurisprudence.

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TWO SONGS OF FRIENDSHIP:

The Convergence of Judeo-Christian and Nuu-chah-nulth Philosophies of Friendship in the Narrative Space of the 21st Century

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INTRODUCTION

The philosophy of friendship is a curious concept. Even though it is not yet an established term for a full-fledged current in philosophical thought, the coinage has proven useful as a collective category, capacious enough to encompass all intellectual stances sharing the intuition that friendship is a prerequisite of any ethics. Interestingly, it is easy to observe that such an orientation of intellectual endeavors is neither unique to the cultures of the West, nor can it be reduced to being a mere outcome of poststructural revisions of inherited philosophical paradigms. The above notwithstanding, it must be admitted that it is predominantly owing to the cultural ferment of the Culture Wars of the 1980s that such a trend could become noticeable, owing to which studies devoted specifically to the discourses of friendship came into existence.

The present article has been inspired with the productivity of this current. Limiting its scope to the domain of comparative postcolonial studies, I seek to demonstrate how parallelisms observable in the intellectual reflection on friendship in the culture of the West, the perspective of which is represented by two corresponding philosophies of Jacques Derrida and Tadeusz Sławek and in the culture of Nuu-chah-nulth, presented on the basis of the analysis of E. Richard Atleo's *Tsawalk,* may become a point of departure for a cross-cultural dialogue. The potential outcome of such a dialogue restores hope for a harmonious world: with a philosophy of friendship at its foundation, the processes of building

a balanced world—in which the long practice of the Western usurpation of power over the Other, his worldview, culture, religion, and lifestyle would be seen as illogical—might produce a paradigm in which the Other, being an indispensable component of the self, would not be conceived of in any other way than as a friend.

Such an assumption readily translates into a set of pragmatic—operational—principles encouraging not only revisions of what one already knows, but also good faith in learning. Friendship, founded upon knowledge about the Other by means of a polyphonic dialogue enhances the formation of new identities of the parties involved (Szahaj, 2004: 24–25). This, in turn, is a prerequisite of a new world order, which would exclude the notion of superiority and subordination from mutual relations. On the whole, as Sara Goering observes:

> Our friends play a key role in our understanding of ourselves as well as in our interactions with others and our outlook on the world as a whole. Through intimate dialogue with friends, we are able to see the world and ourselves not only through our own eyes, but also from the perspectives of others. We get privileged access to another's view, and thus to a broader view of the world. (Goering, 2003: 404)

It is worth noticing that even totally different cultures—like those of Judeo-Christian Europeans and Nuu-chah-nulth, being one of Canadian First Nations, residing on the western coast of Vancouver—have surprisingly much in common when their respective discourses of friendship are considered. As soon as one's reflection renders the inherited attitude of one's cultural superiority null and void, common elements are revealed and the intercultural dialogue begins. Eventually, mutual complementation instead of competition, harmony instead of hegemony, creation instead of destruction come to the forefront of the debate and may provide the basic axiological framework of reference for legislatures and individuals alike.

Yet, the optimistic vision this article advocates is far from a naïve idealization of humankind as it is, and even further from a sentimental exhortation to 'love one another.' Demonstrating the potential for mutual development, the argument of my article simultaneously helps to map obstacles which need to be overcome in the process. Fostering cross-cultural friendship requires of the friends to relinquish the safety of their old habits and beliefs and to run the risk

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of departing from well-known paths and orders to recognize and acknowledge values inconceivable within the inherited language, and to revise both: the old knowledge and the new.

A PHILOSOPHY OF FRIENDSHIP DERIVING FROM WESTERN METANARRATIVES

The cultural repertory of ideas seems to offer a potential which, sublimated, might serve as the basis for the establishment of a new relationship in a world of asymmetrical orders. This part of the article seeks to demonstrate the potential of the philosophy of friendship, which—if translated into the language of everyday education, politics and media—could provide a point of departure towards change.

The contemporary Judeo-Christian perspective, discussed below on the basis of Jacques Derrida's and Tadeusz Sławek's stances, recognizes the importance of such features in friendship as the lack of equality and homogeneity, opposition and distance. Both influential philosophers question traditional philosophical propositions, thus opening space for the revision of prevailing orders of super- and subordination. Both of them share the idea of the development of the relationship of friendship as a chance for the establishment of better world order. Their potentially complementary perspectives demonstrate the characteristics of the western 'party' committed to intercultural dialogue.

JACQUES DERRIDA'S PHILOSOPHY OF FRIENDSHIP

In Jacques Derrida's understanding 'friendship is the relation that escapes definition', because it 'is the basis for a better social order which can neither be described nor prescribed but only experienced in a transformed future' (MacCabe, 1997: 50). On no account does Derrida aspire to provide a concise and explicit definition of friendship. In *The Politics of Friendship,* an extensive and profound analysis of the statement attributed to Aristotle: 'O my friends, there is no friend,'[1] Derrida introduces a new perspective on friendship, which deconstructs (and in many cases undermines)

1. Quoted in William Watkin (2002: 223).

the principles of former approaches, represented by Western philosophers from Plato, Aristotle and Cicero to Carl Schmitt, a 20th century German jurist and political thinker.

The first notion proposed by Derrida's antecedents and challenged by the French philosopher is the notion of equality, which Aristotle claims to be indispensable in the primary and most valuable type of friendship governed by the principle of virtue (the remaining two types are related to the primacy of usefulness and pleasure accordingly). This kind of friendship, however, would be built upon a condition of ultimate reciprocity and symmetry, which seems to contradict another thought of Aristotle's, who elsewhere claimed that it is better to love than to be loved (Derrida, 2005: 23–24). Only the latter of these two concepts Derrida finds acceptable. He supports it by stating simply that friendship is 'to love *before* being loved' (8). In a similar vein, as Calvin O. Schrag puts it, Derrida compares friendship to a 'gift, genuinely understood as a thinking and a giving without expectation of return, transcending all economies of exchange relations, approaching its crest and culmination in the gift of love' (Schrag, 2006: 154). All these practices would be automatically excluded if friendship were to be founded upon symmetry and reciprocity.

Hence, paraphrasing Nietzsche's words, Derrida proposes an alternative theory:

> 'Good friendship' supposes disproportion. It demands a certain rupture in reciprocity or equality, as well as the interruption of all fusion or confusion between you and me. … 'Good friendship' is born of disproportion: when you esteem or respect (*achtet*) the other more than yourself. (Derrida, 2005: 62)

'According to Derrida, the encounter with the other is always already marked by asymmetry,' notices Chantélle Schwartz (2003:13). It is not the evenness of the parties that makes this relationship worthy, but *de facto* the opposite, the asymmetry, inconsistency, a crevice on the harmonious surface of Aristotelian friendship. Similarly, Cicero's conviction that the answer to the question about the nature of friendship should be sameness rather than otherness is challenged by Derrida. A friend cannot be 'our own ideal image,' a better equivalent of ourselves, as the Roman orator would like

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to think (Derrida. 2005: 4). Derrida is inclined towards an opposite belief that 'it is friendship with the stranger that constitutes "star friendship"' (Secomb, 2006: 456).

Thus, also the principles underlying the notion of friendship as stemming from the natural bond of brotherhood, or that of kinship, as promoted by the ancient philosophers, are undermined. Friendship based on the principle of homogeneity, meaning that those of the same blood as ours, as well as those sharing our national (or ethnic) affiliation, are our friends; those who do not—are strangers and, by extension, enemies is the symptom of ethnocentrism or outright racism, positions sharply opposite to friendship. Exposing the fissures upon the apparently even surface of what at first glance seems to be convincing argumentation, Derrida concludes that friendship cannot be based on the concept of brotherhood, which, in itself, lacks an explicit definition: 'there has never been anything *natural* in the brother figure on whose features has so often been drawn the face of the friend' (Derrida, 2005: 159).

Summarizing, Derrida creates a vision of a future-friendly democracy, which will no longer be based on the 'homo-fraternal and phallogocentric schema':

> [N]ot founded on equality and fraternity, but on responsibility to the other and on love of the stranger this friendly democracy would exceed the calculations and evaluations of reciprocal exchange and the homogenizing imperatives of fraternal similarity. (Starling, 2002: 112–113)

Derrida proposes a new, non-exclusive order of friendship, in which everybody is welcome to enter into the relation: 'the stranger, the woman and the racial other' (Secomb, 2006: 456). In this respect, Derrida's views seem to concur with the vision of friendship proposed by Tadeusz Sławek, presented in the next section of this article.

TADEUSZ SŁAWEK'S PHILOSOPHY OF FRIENDSHIP

Tadeusz Sławek derives his philosophy of friendship from his profound analysis of William Blake's oeuvre. Friendship, he asserts, 'is a therapy against despair' (Sławek, 1999: 19), it 'alleviates the pressure of existence' (Sławek, 2001: 141). He defines friend-

ship as a specific attitude towards the Other, which does not imply a simple collection of positive feelings one has for their friend, but a force which makes us go beyond ourselves (Sławek, 2001: 121). To experience such a relationship however, one must forget about oneself, so to speak, disappear, prepare space for the Other, who can enter only when one's thoughts and fears are shifted to that Other, to a friend (158). So that friendship involves withdrawing oneself from the centre of attention, which runs parallel with diminishing oneself in favour of the primacy given to Another.

The analysis of Sławek's further observations upon the notion of friendship leads to the recollection of the statement that friends never take possession of each other, since a friend can never be treated materialistically as an object or a product (122). The recognition of complete autonomy of both oneself and the Other is indispensable in every friendship, because it is always built upon the foundations of freedom and independence. There is no space for the dominance of either party in this relationship, as otherwise friendship would automatically be annihilated. When one party takes over power, friendship has no chances to survive.

The above notwithstanding, humans do have a tendency to dominate over one another and—according to Sławek—the only way to avoid it, is to keep a distance. 'Friendship, which—as Thoreau says—is always exercised at a distance, … always appears … on the horizon of our being' (Sławek, 2006: 21).[2] Maintaining this distance is of major significance, as it allows for the formation of a relationship which does not affect anyone's freedom; on the contrary, it recognizes and respects Another's independence (Sławek, 2001: 142) and contributes to the creation of a unique proximity between the parties. In this understanding friendship is a path leading to Another, it is a relationship, in which one moves towards Another, but still increases the distance (136).

Freedom of speech, the right to express oneself is another demonstration of one's autonomy. Remembering the fact that in friendship one's freedom cannot limit that of the Other, in conversations friends may say to one another whatever they choose, even if these

2. The original quote in Polish reads: ‚Przyjaźń, którą—jako powiada Thoreau—ćwiczymy zawsze w odległości, … zawsze pojawia się … na horyzoncie naszego bycia.'

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are words of anger or irritation, sometimes evoked by the friend. Anger does not have to destroy friendship: on the contrary, it often tightens its bonds. Uttering words of exasperation, indignation, or annoyance—friends are honest: they do not hide their true emotions from one another. In contrast, while encountering an enemy, one is more likely to be striving to be in control of one's emotions in order not to expose his or her weaknesses. In friendship, honest, albeit angry words lose much of their destructive power (Sławek, 2001: 121).

Furthermore, Sławek draws special attention to the fact that friendship necessitates an appropriate dose of criticism. It implies, first of all, being cautious about the validity of some truisms. As was suggested before, being a friend does not necessarily denote 'being friendly.' Friendship is not a superficial relationship of 'mutual understanding' and apparent similarity between people, but, as the philosopher suggests, the comprehension of the fact that the relation is built on the fragile foundations of specific circumstances, intermingled with our subjective perceptions and opinions (Sławek, 2001: 140). Correspondingly, friends must beware of the (misleading) apparent perfection of Another. In friendship, there always must be space for some opposition and critical thinking, allowing one to point out the other's weaknesses without ever turning to aggression (134).

The concept of the opposition is one of the fundaments of Sławek's philosophy of friendship: in his view 'the moral philosophy of friendship is the ethics of contrariness' (Sławek, 1999: 13). It is a prerequisite of friendship to oppose a friend, yet not in a gesture of aggression but rather with the intention to leave space for Another and to respect their freedom (Sławek, 2001: 132). Sławek explains the idea further:

> Friendship is a manner of being together which unconceals an unusual space in the network of human sociability: it certainly *takes place*, but in the place taken it discovers yet another realm which remains empty and vacant, and thus *not taken*, a realm of freedom and opposition. (Sławek, 1999: 29)

Sławek's analysis of Blake's works leads him to a metaphorical observation that friendship, in fact, 'is the garb of otherness' (Sławek,

2001: 132). Friendship, in other words, is not about the rejection of Otherness or about pretending that it does not exist in the relationship between friends. Instead, it is about caring respect for otherness in Another, it is about 'clothing otherness so as to keep it warm,' approaching it without fear. Friendship consists in the recognition that it is 'a sequence of othernesses which refuse to be tamed, and hence a friend must remain an ever unknown Other, distant, and untranslatable proclamation of meaning which cannot be merely "friendly"' (Sławek, 1999: 31).

On the whole, friendship awakens individuals, opens their eyes and makes them understand not so much Another as themselves, in the process of making space: diminishing, 'be-littleing,' and withdrawing to make space for Another.

The philosophies of friendship of both Derrida and Sławek exclude from the concept of friendship the component of the necessity of homogeneity, similarity and equality, considering all these concepts both unreliable and non-definable. Simultaneously, highlighting the importance of autonomy in each relationship, they advocate the diversity, and even open opposition among friends. Such a comprehension of friendship allows for the recognition of other cultures, as well as other new fields of enquiry. Eventually, it opens space for new perspectives, such as the perspective of Nuu-chah-nulth.

A PHILOSOPHY OF FRIENDSHIP DERIVING FROM TSAWALK

Nuu-chah-nulth origin stories have it that *heshook-ish tsawalk,* everything is one (Atleo, 2004: xi). This idea is central to what I refer to as the theory of Tsawalk, as oneness involves all aspects of reality, 'both physical and metaphysical' (xi). E. Richard Atleo defines Tsawalk as '[a] worldview wherein the universe is regarded [as] a network of relationships' (118). In the light of Tsawalk, unity is 'a natural order of existence' (20), not only on the level of family, community, or nation, but also in the context of the whole globe.

Relationships testifying to the unity of all can be found between the physical and spiritual worlds, but also among all living beings: everything has one Creator and one origin. This aspect of the theory of Tsawalk seems particularly significant, as its practical application

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may prove to most visibly affect the everyday life of the Nuu-chah-nulth: creation, as Atleo observes, '… was not designed for the separation or alienation of individuals from one another but to emphasize togetherness and relatedness between life forms' (Atleo, 2004: 108).

This belief constitutes the core of the Nuu-chah-nulth culture, underlying their philosophy, tradition and lifestyle. Consequently, since people have not been created to live in alienation, they form communities, and hence Nuu-chah-nulth's large houses have always been inhabited by a number of nuclear families which belong to one extended family. Nuu-chah-nulth relations with others are regulated by the teachings contained in the origin stories. These narratives sublimate the most important values of the community, including helpfulness, kindness, and—last but not least—respect. Friendship thus understood is not a guideline or a suggestion: it is each Nuu-chah-nulth's obligation. Their narratives teach men and women that such an obligation must be met first and foremost with respect to family members: '*Cla-ya-hoe-aulth-ee yakh-yew-itk:* Greet with joy, gladness, and enthusiasm those who are related to you,' but by no means is restricted to them: 'Since the Creator owns everything, all must be held in esteem' (16). There are no exceptions to that rule, as Nuu-chah-nulth believe that everybody is of one essence: 'People have human skins of different colours. When they all take off their clothing, it will be found that each is like the other spirit, in essence' (62). Consequently, Tsawalk 'necessitates a consciousness that all creation has a common origin, and for this reason *isaak* is extended to all life forms' (15–16). Since everybody is connected with Qua-ootz, everybody is to be held in esteem and treated with respect.

In the Nuu-chah-nulth worldview there is no room for any manifestation of racism or prejudice. The idea of inferiority of any living form within this worldview is alien to their culture and hence, also any attempt to treat any species more favourably than others is an unacceptable breach of the balanced order of oneness.

In the light of the above, it is possible to claim that the Nuu-chah-nulth worldview of *heshook–ish tsawalk,* everything is one, is built upon a philosophy of friendship which admits everybody with no exceptions. It assumes the common origin and essence

of all, rejects superficial divisions among human beings resulting from the lack of knowledge giving birth to stereotypes and, ultimately, fear. Nuu-chah-nulth teachings govern the relationships of all living beings. Relying upon the principles of the obligation of helpfulness, friendliness and respect, Tsawalk does not limit the idea of friendship to human persons only. Since all is one, the friendship of Tsawalk is a friendship towards one and all.

JUDEO-CHRISTIANITY. TSAWALK. THE CONVERGENCE OF PHILOSOPHIES

The dialogic debate on the philosophy of friendship in Tsawalk and in the cultures of the West presented so far seems to suggest the first, summary, conclusions. The very first step in looking for the points of convergence between the Judeo-Christian and Nuu-chah-nulth worldviews is the realization of the fact that Tsawalk 'assumes the unity of creation irrespective of any contemporary society's contradictions' (Atleo, 2004: 133). Thus, this theory functions in all circumstances irrespective of how far the present day world departs from the celebrated unity. Disruptions of harmonious existence are superficial: what counts is 'a natural relationship between creation and the source of creation' (71), the Creator. The Nuu-chah-nulth worldview reflects upon human nature in general, presenting all people as having 'a natural desire for light and a natural antipathy toward darkness,' '[t]he desire for heroic exploits,' and natural proneness to succeed as well as fail in their enterprises (11). Interestingly, in Judeo-Christian cultures, the global understanding of the universe as an orderly Universe functioning in perfect harmony with God's plan, like in Tsawalk, is not questioned even in the face of the notorious neglect for the commandment of love. The doctrine of the awesome justice of the Creator holds, and all tragedies befalling humankind are attributed to the logic of some chain of causes and effects: if a traumatic experience does not lend itself to being read as punishment for sins, it is interpreted as a test, to which the faithful are exposed by God. Reality can never contradict the Order: a contradiction is always explicable within the system of beliefs.

Such characteristics of the two paradigms of thought do not, however, exhaust the list of similarities. Apparently, the Judeo-

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Christian and Nuu-chah-nulth philosophies, evolving in two different edges of the world, have surprisingly much in common. The practical implications of Jacques Derrida's philosophy of friendship combined with those deriving from the reflection of Tadeusz Sławek, are much closer to the practical implications of the worldview of Tsawalk than any of the preceding theories.

To begin with, the concept of the binary opposition of 'brother' vs. 'enemy,' characteristic for the traditional Judeo-Christian metanarrative, has served as the basis for the establishment of all interpersonal relations as well as relations between groups for centuries. Until the emergence of the deconstructivist revision of the phenomenon of friendship the admittance into a friendly relationship has been restricted: the brother, fellow citizen, another representative of the same culture practically exhausted the list of potential friends. Such a perception of friendship is gradually changing: today, the formerly voiceless or marginal others have been finally brought back to reality, and gained a status equal to the 'non-others' in the discourse of governing the relation of friendship. Even though in the Nuu-chah-nulth philosophy of friendship excluding anyone would be incomprehensible in the light of Tsawalk, the practical implications of the two discourses of friendship may be claimed as similar.

Another aspect which may serve as a cornerstone for the convergence of Nuu-chah-nulth and Judeo-Christian 21st century philosophies of friendship is the recognition of the diversity of all living forms, which Nuu-chah-nulth always appreciated and which eventually starts to be valued by the Judeo-Christian world. According to Nuu-chah-nulth: '[a]ll life forms have intrinsic value. Humans of every race have equal value' (Atleo, 2004: 130). Moreover, each has its role intended by the Creator, so he or she is indispensable to the creation of complete reality. For the Western world, diversity starts to appear as an extremely rich source of information, not only about other people, languages and cultures, but primarily about oneself. The experience of multiculturalism gave birth to eco-philosophical stances, acknowledging the interrelatedness of all life forms, as well as human rights movements, struggling for the non-discrimination of people on grounds other than merit. The encounter with the Other allows one to reconsider one's own

worldview, beliefs and opinions with a certain dose of criticism, as is illustrated by the two following observations by Sara Goering:

> when we talk about the value of diversity, we do not blindly value any and all differences, but rather we value the kind of difference that contributes to a greater understanding or appreciation of our lives and our aims, as well as those of other people.

and elsewhere:

> Mill suggests we should value diversity (as rich variation rather than just any difference) for its ability to keep us questioning and reassessing our own beliefs, theories, and styles of living. (Goering, 2003: 405)

Eventually, the most significant point of convergence of both discussed stances is the *obligation of friendship*, which, in Judeo-Christian culture, stems directly from the deconstructivist revision of the various faces of the *politics* of friendship by means of the critical study of its language, and in the culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth is a direct consequence of the elementary sense of unity conditioning the preservation of harmony and comprehensible order, as well as individual and group survival. Differences notwithstanding, it is worth remembering that '[t]he benefits to be had from seeking out more diverse friendships are multidimensional' (Goering, 2003: 405–406), and that individuals representing even the most distant cultures, yet functioning under an *obligation* to befriend Another do stand a chance to enjoy the above benefits.

CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS THE PRACTICE OF FRIENDSHIP

Poststructuralist philosophers of deconstruction have demonstrated that there is no longer an 'I,' a white European Christian, who is the point of reference. Quite the reverse, there is always the Other who precedes this 'I.' The apparent constancy of the world has collapsed together with the realisation of the fact that I am the other concurrently. Sławek illustrates these words with Derrida's reformulation of Descartes' famous statement:[3]

3. See: Tadeusz Sławek (1997: 12).

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> I think, therefore I am the other; I think, therefore I need the other (in order to think); I think, therefore the possibility of friendship is lodged in the movement of my thought in so far as it demands, calls for, desires the other, the necessity of the other, the cause of the other at the heart of the *cogito*. (Derrida, 2005: 224)

Thus, the presence of the other is indispensable in human life. Each act of thinking opens an opportunity to establish a new friendship. Every chance should be used: friendship, after all, is 'the synonym of existence,' 'the source of being' which is not just 'pretence and delusion' (Sławek, 2001: 151).

The first step on the long path leading to the achievement of such a state and the establishment of cross-cultural friendship is to admit to oneself that one is actually *willing* to make an effort and try tuning in to Another's perspective. Gadamer says: 'You cannot understand, if you do not want to understand' (Sławek, 2001: 148). However, to gain such a perspective, 'a series of cultural changes (at the level of linguistic, legal, religious, media, and economic reforms) that would mediate self-other relations and facilitate less appropriative relations between individuals in contemporary life' are needed (Deutscher, 1998: 170). The process requires the destabilization of all the certainties and axioms that rule one's life, which is why it often proves so difficult (Sławek, 2001: 148). The effort is not futile, though. What can be gained in return is a new world order governed by such rules as mutual respect, and recognition of the other's value, and not the appropriation of or hegemony exercised over another. As Sławek explains, friendship implies the movement towards, not for the other, with neither intension of taking possession of the other nor any sign of aggression (Sławek, 1997: 3). Thus, friendship is always characterized by '*wanting the other to be equal*.' At that, friendship by no means demands unanimity or total agreement on how problems should be dealt with. 'For friends it is enough to agree that some problems, which are disregarded by others, are in fact really important. They do not have to agree upon how to solve these problems, though' (Staples Lewis, 1968: 60).

On the whole, the cultural and philosophical differences, apparently insurmountable, should be treated as different ways leading to the achievement of the same goal, solving problems and finding

the truth (Szymańska, 2003: 169). None of the worldviews can claim that theirs is the only legitimate way: such a lack of judgment has resulted in colonialism, slavery and other forms of oppression– not necessarily grounded in sheer economic need. Since we are Others to our Others, our existence *obliges us* to be mutual friends. Acknowledging this obligation, we take the first step towards a new order of the world. The order of friendship.

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WHO IS INDIAN ENOUGH?

The Problem of Authenticity in Contemporary Canadian and American Gone Indian Stories

White man knows that he is an alien and he knows that North America is Indian—and he will never let go of the Indian image because he thinks that by some clever manipulation he can achieve an authenticity that cannot ever be his.

Vine Deloria Jr. 'American Fantasy'

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Readers of Canadian literature may recognize the presence of what Margaret Atwood has called the 'Grey Owl Syndrome' (Atwood, 1995: 35–61) often addressed in post-colonial writing.[1] One discerns a similar trend in American literature as well. However, interdisciplinary critical attention devoted to the problem of transculturation, its background, process and impact so far has been limited. There are well-known treatises on playing (the white man's) Indian, for instance by Robert Berkhofer, James Clifton, Terry Goldie and Daniel Francis. Powerful Native-born cultural critics like Philip J. Deloria and Ward Churchill approached the topic from ethnic and political perspectives. The Canadian John Berry has explored ethnic change from a cross-cultural psychological perspective

1. For instance, in Robert Kroetsch's ironic *Gone Indian* (1973) or Armand Ruffo's wonderful long verse entitled *Grey Owl: the Mystery of Archibald Belaney* (1996), the postmodern deconstruction and retelling of Archie Belaney/Grey Owl's shape-shifter life, based on Belaney's autobiographical fictions, including *The Men of the Last Frontier* (1931), *Pilgrims of the Wild* (1934) or the *Tales of an Empty Cabin* (1936) and Lovat Dickson's *Half-Breed—The Story of Grey Owl (Wa-Sha-Quon-Asin)* (1939) and *Wilderness Man: The Strange Story of Grey Owl* (1973).

which I have also adopted—along with other psychological approaches—in my extended studies.[2] However, the problem of authenticity and authentication in the transculturation presented by literary texts has not yet been given the critical attention it merits.

Among other critics, Deloria claims that authenticity is a central problem of all passing experiences. As a part of a larger research project on recent North-American indigenization novels, I focus here on some contemporary 'going Indian' stories that present various aspects of ethnic /trans-cultural shape-shifting and the problem of authenticity in particular. The non-Native Canadian Philip Kreiner's *Contact Prints* (1987), the environmentalist and '(Mostly) White Guy' Robert Hunter's *Red Blood* (1999), and the partly Ojibwa Luise Erdrich's *The Painted Drum* (2005) depict three different types of passing/Othering experienced by our contemporaries in the framework of a modernist, a popular, and postmodernist piece of fiction respectively. Whether it is someone recognizing the mercantile power of Indianness, the spiritual force of Native culture or a deeper level of genetic, spiritual and mythological identification, the core/locus of identity, the cultural umbilical cord that someone recognizes as an essential need, the reader is invited to explore, on the one hand, the difference between masking, superficial identification and acculturation/integration, even values attached to mainstream and ethnic minority culture, and on the other hand, his/her own identity concept and cultural attachments.

Let us take a look at the problem of authenticity itself, from both Native and non-Native critical positions, and then I would like to offer an analytical method that may further an understanding of this central issue in the context of specific works of literature. As for the American scenario, Philip Deloria's invaluable book *Playing Indian* provides us with the history of the literary Indian that is one with the creation of the national

2. See, for instance, J. A. Kadar, 'Archie, Who Are You Fooling, Anyway?—Fluid Narrative and Identity in Armand Garnet Ruffo's *Grey Owl*: The Mystery of Archibald Belaney' (2008: 35–56).

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American epic (Deloria, 1998: 73) and its quest for authenticity. From the time of the fraternal societies (e.g. the New York Tammany, the Society of the Red Man, the Improved Order of the Red Man), which presented themselves as wisdom keepers of the vanishing race and the founding fathers of the New American man, while also expressing the anxieties of the new republic (Deloria, 1998: 58), there have always been individuals and groups who pursued Indianness in various forms. More recently, primitivism has been turned into a new ideology that suggests that Indians refused to vanish. The failure on the part of real Natives to meet the Noble Savage or Vanishing Indian image has made many non-Natives believe that it is not Natives who disappeared but their original culture, while Natives themselves should be viewed as inauthentic holders of their traditions (Deloria, 1998: 69–70, 91). Consequently, non-Natives can claim equal access and the right to practice the Native lifestyle. The racist implications of such an ideology are readily apparent.

Contemporary Native intellectuals have given voice to their concern about the authenticity issue and its embodiments, such as the definition of Indian blood quantum, the 'Indian enough?' question related to both urban and reservation Natives, the impact of Pow Wow Trails as well as the 'dangerously indistinguishable' (Churchill, 1992: 143) urban laborer Natives who face the confusion and doubts about their authenticity in the eyes of fellow non-Native laborers, who are weekend warriors, or those who refuse Native validation. Furthermore, what really concerns those who study the various forms of distortions in many walks of life (e.g. literary hoaxes, unauthorized healers, Indian authenticators, wannabes, white shamans as well as some academics who call themselves Indian experts) is that they claim a deep understanding of, and exclusive access to, Native culture, take Native spirituality as a common human possession (Churchill, 1992: 193), and become 'Culture vultures: genocide with good intentions' (Churchill, 1992: 185). The mechanisms of legitimating non-Native playing with Indianness and its means are discussed elsewhere. What is central in the problem of authentication

related to playing Indian is that the desire to become Indian and tailor reality to an image (Churchill, 1992: 33) is as old as the desire to become American (Deloria, 1998: 185), based, as it is, on the fundamental idea of the marriage of savage and civilized elements, with ever renewing tools of legitimation, both physical and intellectual: 'chipped off fragments of Indianness, put them into new contexts, and turned them to new users' (Deloria, 1998: 179). Churchill adds that the trick we can observe these days is that there is no more repression, but repackaging and even promotion, incorporation of Native perspectives 'to ease the tension between worlds' (Churchill, 1992: 143).

Even at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, the phenomenon of playing Indian, claiming some extent of due access to Native American culture, is still widespread and has taken updated forms, such as New Age spiritualism and the movie *Avatar*. Recently, the powerful Red Power movement has claimed rights over the legitimation and access to Native culture, urging us to pose some authenticating questions to those claiming personal access to Native culture, such as who that person is representing, what is his/her clan affiliation and who instructed him/her. Native critics like David Treuer argue that perhaps frauds hurt, especially native writers, for they do not have the opportunity to write a review in any major magazine, 'unless they lard their prose (as do Nasijj and Alexie and Carter) with perceived Indianisms and authenticating marks' (Treuer, 2006: 190). Wendy Rose, the acclaimed Hopi writer, adds her feelings related to the authenticity problem and white shaman poets as follows:

> As a poet, I am continually frustrated by the restrictions placed on my work by the same people who insist that poets should not be restricted. It is expected—indeed, *demanded*—that I do a little 'Indian dance,' a shuffle and scrape to please the tourists (as well as the anthropologists). Organizers of readings continually ask me to wear beadwork and turquoise, to dress in buckskin (my people don't wear much buckskin; we have cultivated cotton for thousands of years), (Linda Zoontjens quoting the 'Native American Elders' Reactions to Castaneda and "Don Juan"') and to read poems conveying pastoral or 'natural' images. I am often asked to 'tell a story' and 'place things in a spiritual framework'.

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> Simply *being* Indian—a real, live, breathing, up-to-date Indian person—is not enough. In fact, other than my genetics, this is the precise opposite of what is desired. The expectation is that I adopt, and thereby validate, the 'persona' of some mythic 'Indian being' who never was. The requirement is that I act to negate the reality of my—and my people's—existence in favor of a script developed within the fantasies of our oppressors. (Rose, 1992: 413)

These fantasies, however, are one side of the literary world. The other side, I believe, is the microcosm of those post-colonial literary pieces that radically reshape the preconceived fixities of race, cultural difference, binary oppositions, grand narratives and other ideologically attuned frames of mind.

Ideological concern over identity is discussed elsewhere in detail. In the following analyses, I would like to offer a method for the study of how fictional characters struggle with their own quests for identity, meaningful existence or other benefits, and face the central problem of authenticity regarding their relationship with Native American culture. Below I experiment with the application of narrative psychology in the study of transcultural identity formulation in literary texts. Anna de Fina suggests that we should explore how characters build relationships between identities and actions in 'storied' worlds (de Fina, 2006: 351).

Firstly, I apply Peter T. F. Raggatt's personality web protocol (PWP) (Raggatt, 2006: 22), to explore the shape-shifting fictional characters' most enduring personal attachments (to people, objects, events, orientations), the information clusters and strength of association that comprise the particular character's web of attachments grouped into voices of the self, for instance, a humiliated self, an activist, manhood or femininity. Combining these aspects with the cluster of marital, vocational, social, ideological, ethical and avocational commitments that Harold D. Grotevant recommends as focal points of inquiry (1994: 166), one obtains a picture of the given character's social web protocol. Another relevant feature is the character's attitude towards his/her own whiteness. The next question is the personal positioning (ego-recognized identity) and social positioning (alter-ascribed

identity) that locate the character for us in the fictional universe of the text.

Shifting our attention from the character to the text as the site of identity development, I would like to adopt two more approaches. One is the comparison suggested by Ed de St. Aubin (*et al.*) in 'A Narrative Exploration of Personal Ideology and Identity' of normative and humanistic ideology dimensions. The authors differentiate between the normative and humanistic life stories on the basis of the selfing processes they present. The latter is the process of organizing one's life material (memories, possessions, personal attributes, aspirations and significant others) into a life story (St. Aubin, 2006: 235). While primarily normative life stories reveal a need for control, social recognition and alter-inspection with a basically moral interest, the humanistic stories present fluid and open selfing, introspection and self-development based on interpersonal relationships, altogether functioning like psychotherapy (St. Aubin, 2006: 235–44). St. Aubin remarks that in case one wishes to balance normative expectations with personal traits, escapist fantasies may emerge, imaginary lives that are present only in the normative narratives, but not in the humanistic ones (St. Aubin, 2006: 241).

The other approach in the study of indigenization stories with regards to the question of authenticity is Guy A. M. Widdershoven's classification of narrative identity types, according to which the closed type presents one's life as a coherent totality without discontinuities, deviations and deep crises, while in such biographies and historiographies events contribute to a specific outcome. The second type is open, without any final conclusion to reach. Meaning is built up gradually, the character of the quest experiences various actions, passions and crises. The third type is similar to the second, but it is radically open, like most postmodern narratives. They are endless tales with innumerable variations in which the importance of events is questioned (Widdershoven, 1994: 111–4). The chart presented on the facing page offers a summary of these foci which will be examined in the context of the three abovementioned novels.

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Analysis points	*Contact Prints*	*Red Blood*	*Painted Drum*
Attachments (Raggatt) –to people –to objects –to events –body orientation commitments (Grotevant) (marital, vocational, soc., ideol., ethical, avocational)			
Indigenizing character's attitude to his/her own whiteness (Kadar)			
Positioning (Raggatt) Personal (ego-recognized identity) Social (alter ascribe identity)			
Narrative: normative or humanistic (St.Aubin)			
Narrative identity type (Widdershoven) (closed/open/radically open)			

Moving into the actual world of the literary texts, we will see three different types of passing/Othering processes. In the first one, the heroine recognizes the mercantile power of Indianness, the second presents a protagonist who understands and acquires the spiritual force of Native culture, while in the third the central character immerses herself in Native culture on the deeper level of genetic, spiritual and mythological identification. These novels are all indigenization stories based on authentic, direct contact experiences of various kinds, but none could be called escapist fantasy, like the real gone Indian that misses this direct contact. They differ substantially, however, in the function and extent of passing, as explained below.

PHILLIP KREINER'S *CONTACT PRINTS* (1987): AN IRONICAL SPIT IN THE FACE OF CLAIMS FOR AUTHENTICITY

> *Someone would have noticed the parallels between my Lucy-Otterpelt-cum-Winnie-Beaver act and the 'Totem Tom-Tom' production number from Indian Love Call, then exposed me on the fifth estate … Joe, I tell you in all sincerity, I had to flee. I owed it to my art to flee. Winnie Beaver is dead now, but her masks are accruing in value.* (*Kreiner, 1987: 213*)

Kreiner's novel focuses on two characters moving in the frontier of the Cree and non-Native world: Joe, who is a sojourner to an almost vanishing small Cree town, where he works as a teacher and takes pictures of his experiences, and Iris, alias Winnie Beaver, the Indian impostor artist who sells her Cree masks to Americans and Germans, utilizing the mercantile power of Indianness. Joe is a visitor, supposedly a passive observer, while Iris is quite active, and her personality is marked as a liminal being, a shape shifter. However, as the story unfolds, we can see Joe's gradual immersion in a Native Cree way of seeing the world, while Iris is stuck in her original white Anglo cultural attitude, which exploits the relationships provided by colonial discourse. She does not present any significant character development. Her vision of herself and the world, including the Cree people, does not change in the course of her experiences among them.

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I focus on her character, because it offers an ironic interrogation of the problem of authenticity related to going Indian.

Iris Bickle seems to have a minimal attachment to people or ideas, and whatever attachments she does have are essentially practical ones, primarily of a vocational nature. She does not pursue any ideological or ethical commitments. She is quite sarcastic about her vocation, apparently proud of her profound understanding of the colonial agenda of playing Indian and making money off the ignorance of other white folks. However, she is very attached to one specific type of objects: masks, more exactly her 'own' Cree mask replicas, which sell like hot cakes. The 'artifakery' (Deloria, 1998: 184) of the masks serves as a tool for the legitimation of her access to the culture and the spirits they represent. Furthermore, the masks in post-colonial pluralistic societies, especially in Canada, stand for an expression of respect for Native culture, and there is a widespread attempt in these societies to neutralize ethno-cultural difference and tension by incorporating the culture of the Other into the larger body of Canadian culture. In Kreiner's words: Winnie Beaver's 'early masks are part of the Hydro Company's corporate art collection' (1987: 75). Paradoxically, the company is building a dam that would destroy the Cree village and make the villagers move, for 'an Eskimo isn't covered under the terms of the Relocation Agreement' (Kreiner, 1987: 98). So the company's collection of Native artifacts is a means of purchasing a kind of atonement for drastically altering the human and natural environment. In addition, exhibiting the masks is at the same time an expression of the fixed colonial boundaries between 'primitive' and 'civilized' cultures, the well-known cultural appropriation of the Western art establishment. So far, I have mentioned some of the relevant social functions of the masks in the context of Canadian postcolonial politics. However, their function as a means with which to conceal, alter or authenticate the identity of an individual is another interesting issue.

As for the nature of masks and masking, i.e. dressing in feathers (ethnic trans-dressing), they appear as a major authentication tool for most of the Gone Indian stories.

Péter Müller has some relevant insights concerning the operation of the mask. It gives new life and can make one live: when pressing one's face into the mask, the transformation and attainment of a sense of 'he is me' is tedious, like giving life through labor. Applying the mask is a learned and emotional process, yet there is no way to identify entirely with the new persona. In the mirror one can see the person one has become, and one may begin to feel as him. Nevertheless, there is a danger: one may immerse oneself too deeply in the role, going beyond and forgetting who s/he is (Müller, 2009: 264–5). Iris, unquestionably, is not lost in her mask; she does not identify with it too deeply. Instead she seems to explore the opportunities given by possible selves, alternative identities, what Michelle Stem Cook calls 'the impossible me' (2000: 65).



http://www.nativepeoples.com/article/content_images/070s3masks.jpg&imgrefur

In the story world of *Contact Prints*, Iris's passing is occasional: she creates and sells the masks, but actually masks herself as the interpreter of Lucy Otterpelt, a young Cree woman whom she presents as Winnie Beaver to deceive the German journalists of the *Sterne* magazine. The journalists not only stand for non-Native intellectuals of a 'big blond *übermensch* type' studying Native culture, but also represent Europeans enthusiastic for everything Indian (Kreiner, 1987: 144). It is quite funny how Lucy's Cree words are 'translated' into English, since Iris makes sure that her words are not only politically correct but also ensure the merchandize value of the product she is selling, i.e., the masks, the story behind them and the spirituality one hopes to obtain through them. She applies other props, such as Indian-like jewels and fake rituals. The scene in which Winnie is asked about her art offers a concise example of how this works in the framework of authenticating her 'arts' and adjusting reality to her interests. She replies in Cree, narrating what she would do in bed with the journalist, while Iris translates:

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> It's only white people who confer the name 'art' upon my masks, which are functional, not 'artistic' in intent, having religious connotations within my culture. The thought that my masks hang in galleries all over the world, contributing to the white man's aesthetic discourse is genuinely problematic, if not downright embarrassing to me. My own people do not consider me to be an artist. (Kreiner, 1987: 149)

Now let us turn our interest towards the indigenizing character's attitude to whiteness. Two situations present two important faces of Iris, her impostor trades and the ambiguities on which her character is built. One is related to Joe, since he makes both Iris and himself face their own whiteness. The invisibility of whiteness and the fact that it becomes visible only through the gaze of another culture are discussed elsewhere, as are the Indianness paradigm (built on stereotypical projections) and the recognition of the epistemological power of distancing a group of people and labeling them as Others. Iris provokes Joe to take a more active role, but he shows little enthusiasm: 'What do you want me to do? Dress up like a Chingatchcook and join you in a public abdication of power' (Kreiner, 1987: 9)? Joe seems more responsible and less enthusiastic about playing the Indian game Iris is pursuing, although she does realize that her material urges have perhaps led her too far: 'I wanted the money, now it is too late to stop' (140).

The other facet Iris presents us is that of the Mexican artist selling 'authentic' Mayan silkscreen prints to tourists in Cancún under the label 'Under the Volcano: *Artesanías Indígenas Mexicanas*-exotic without being threatening' (Kreiner, 1987:243). Her marketing genius makes her seek a Canadian partner in business. She argues in her letter to Joe: 'You won't believe how hungry Americans are for authentic Indian art in the Mayan style. Next fall in Acapulco I plan to launch my new Aztec line' (214). Both facets prove her success in going between two or more cultures and utilizing all, without actually committing herself to any. Her personal positioning and her ego-recognized identity show us a firm, stable concept of identity at the core and a constantly fluctuating gel-like entity surrounding this core. 'They love me in Germany' (Kreiner, 1987: 141), and 'They want an Indian princess … I'll give them one. I'll give them an Indian princess they'll

never forget' (Kreiner, 1987: 144), she adds. Her social (alter ascribed) identity, therefore, is liminal, make-believe, or rather: believe-whatever-you-wish type. In the signature scene of the novel, Iris is sarcastic about the epistemology of colonial discourse: 'But such is the strength of the human mind, its singular capacity to impose interpretation simply because it wants to interpret, that they ate up my bullshit like dung beetles coming off starvation diet' (Kreiner, 1987: 144). This hunger for aboriginal spirituality is presented in Hunter's *Red Blood*, too. However, in Kreiner's text, authenticity is constantly sustained, interrogated, negated and then the quest for it, for any firm hold on it, is absolutely devalued.

Finally, taking a look at the text as site, i.e. the type of narrative that Kreiner had created and its relationship with the problem of authenticity, I believe that this is a normative narrative, with outer expectations, conventions and preconceptions almost exclusively shaping the central character's life. She is aware of this fact, though she, like many other gone Indian figures, seems to be an intercultural mediator, a supposedly open-minded teacher and visitor to the North and the Cree. Her conscious, manipulative use of masking obviously makes her non-authentic. Yet since she is honest at least to Joe and herself about it, and since she ironically signifies in the discourse that she plays a game with white consumers and not the Natives, I would argue that her voice is inauthentic only with regards to her ethnic identity and role playing. The narrative identity type is somewhat open, surely not radically open, for at least Joe's vision of himself and the world around him changes over time, while Iris presents no significant change or development at all, in fact the impact of her activity re-fixes color lines.

ROBERT HUNTER'S *RED BLOOD: ONE (MOSTLY) WHITE GUY'S ENCOUNTERS WITH THE NATIVE WORLD* (1999)— OR FANCYING WITH SOME NATIVE ROOTS ON A JOURNEY TO CONTEMPORARY NATIVE REALITY

[s]cholars would not be impressed, however, and I knew this, and fretted, fearing an exposé of how I had taken a generic

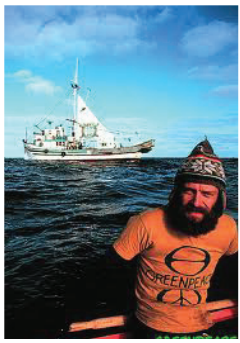
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> *Indian yarn and bent it to suit my eco-agenda—my God, what could be more shameless? … New Age guilt. (Hunter, 1999: 44–5)*

Hunter's *Red Blood* could be read as a popular treatise on an 'almost Indian' experience. However, in the context of gone Indian literature and the problem of authenticity, I would argue that it is not the artistic merits but the approach that makes this text remarkable, since it indicates an important tendency, i.e. an environmentalist New Age agenda merged with an understanding of Native spirituality. Moreover, it also calls attention to another important North-American phenomenon these days: the quest for roots among those with some indigenous ancestry ('Indian blood'). The narrator is aware of the nature of his quest for this spirituality, a more comforting identity, a critical attitude towards the pitfalls of late capitalist modern societies, a close-to-nature attitude, a welcoming community, something vital to struggle for, and the healing of grief over lost beloved ones. Moreover, his voice sounds honest about the perplexities of ethnic relations, current politics, and social tendencies, as well as his own occasional confusion concerning where he belongs. Nevertheless, like all white persons who play Indian, he has the assuring certainty of his choice to move in and out of his ethnic role, his alternative identity any time he wishes, and this, as we know, is a prerogative of white persons only. To stay invisible is one option, and to go Indian (or adopt any other ethnic identity) another. Actually, this freedom of choice seems to be another traditional prerogative of whiteness. Hunter's narrator enjoys entering the funfair of playing Indian and trying out various ways of acting Indian, like trying various funfair facilities. The events he participates in serve as sites to prove his identification and strength, as well as his views on Natives and Anglo-America/Canada.

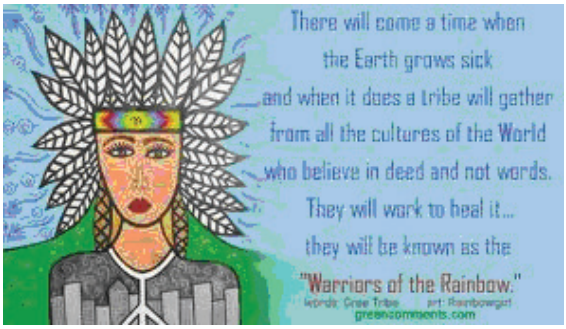
Homi Bhabha's foreword to Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask* (1986) considers the rhetoric of resistance as a gesture to solidarity only, which makes present something that is in fact

absent (Bhabha, 1986: xvii). This ambivalence further snowballs as the Indian image unfolds as an imitation of reality, a subversion, camouflage, i.e., manipulated representation (Bhabha, 1986: xxiii). The 'rhetoric of resistance as a gesture to solidarity only': one can only wonder whether Hunter would subscribe to this point of view. His narrator has developed a number of attachments and various fluctuating commitments. In fact, the whole text unfolds on the pull and push dynamics of ethnic encounters, interaction and change. We can assume from the outset of the story that playing with Indianness will remain a game for the narrator, an activity he can disrupt and leave his red mask behind, returning to 'full blood' whiteness (or a racially invisible stance) with a pinch of exotic/ romantic/environmentalist primitivism/ Indianness/ Otherness. But certainly he will not stay with any Native band for a lifetime, and he will not totally identify with First Nation values at the price of giving up his original cultural roots and affiliations, some proof of which could be his occasionally racist utterances.



http://www.google.hu/imgres?imgurl=http://walkingwithwolf.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/greenpeace-activist-bob-hunter

Among the narrator's commitments, his familiar relations receive less attention than the public sphere of his life. His mother's death ('Your mother went into the Great Sweat Lodge in the Sky and slammed the door behind her' [Hunter, 1999: 13]) and the mourning ritual in which Indian spiritual healing plays a major role is the basic situation, but shortly after that he joins an environmentalist battle and also becomes involved in tribal activities, accepting a role as a strategic advisor of band manager Bob Royer (Calihoo)



http://www.greencomments.com/graphic/cat/Art/rainbow-warrior

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and his council, then Indian chief, administrator, bureaucrat, and a co-author with Royer of *Occupied Canada*, a book Hunter wrote in complete ignorance of his Huron blood. His ideological and ethical commitments surface as the various events of his life present him with challenging decisions.

Now let us take a brief look at some of the events through which the narrator's sense of ethnic identity, Indianness and whiteness, unfold and his attitude to authenticity is revealed. He goes through some transformative experiences that stimulate his spiritual development and approach to Native culture. For instance, once he is saved by a Native with whom he has absolutely nothing in common, 'Or so [he thinks] at the time' (Hunter, 1999: 7), then a totem talks to him. His reactions are ambivalent, which he explains as follows: 'The truth was, by then I was afraid of these Native guys. Just like I was afraid of magic. Afraid of inexplicable coincidences that suggested a higher level of order at work in the universe that one could directly perceive. I didn't want to hear from old eco-war buddies' (Hunter, 1999: 50). He got positive feedback on his move towards Native people related to his being accepted by a community with which he temporarily identified: 'I got … Indian. I spoke to the Brothers as a brother. I was one with them … I became proud. I was indignant. I was aggrieved on behalf of my people. Fortunately, on another level, as they say, I was fully aware that I was also probably crazy from decades of substance abuse, and was just slightly out of control. Harmless, of course' (Hunter, 1999: 157). Authentication is important for him. He wonders if a warrior is eligible to join the Eagle Clan of the Gitksan if he participates in a battle (Hunter, 1999: 162). However, he has a nervous breakdown after a sweat lodge experience (Hunter, 1999: 50–1) that was similar to the famous movie scene of *Clear Cut*, in which the transformation of the white Anglo-Canadian bureaucrat is equally ambivalent and troublesome. The same confusion and uncertainty is discernible when Hunter joins the environmentalist struggles under a merged Indian and Greenpeace agenda. 'There was a good damned chance this was a genuine Warrior thing, anarchistic, out-of-control, on the cusp between

absurdity and eco-occultism, sheer Indian weirdness' (Hunter, 1999: 60).

The notion of 'sheer Indian weirdness' constantly alienates him from the Native people he meets and befriends. Furthermore, there is an interesting side-stream of implied thought: Native people occasionally also play Indian, that is, when in a power game a generic white man's Indianness is convincing enough or even better than presenting oneself as a real member of a certain aboriginal community, some Native individuals also go Indian: 'Art[hur] has fully assumed a Gitksan alter ego, clad in a ceremonial vest with his bear-tooth necklace, plume of eagle feathers, and war paint' (Hunter, 1999: 172), while the chief also nods, plays the game (Hunter, 1999: 186). One can realize here that the question of authenticity is not exclusively related to non-Native people and their decisions to play Indian.

It is important to raise two questions related to authenticity: one is the central character's ethnic identity and notion of Indianness, going Indian and its authenticity with regards to the reality base and direct contact with Native people. The other is the honest attitude towards their own comprehension of ethnic transformations and relations. The duality of voice characterizes both Iris in Kreiner's novel and Hunter's narratory voice: on the pages of his autobiography Hunter admits his confusing feelings about identifying with some Native issues, and Iris is also honest to Joe about her shams. Hunter writes: 'And I, who have been playing Indian since I can remember, am being invited to join the battle on the Indians' side. A moment of destiny, surely. At least, if nothing else, a great working-out of a boyhood fantasy. Do the genes remember?' (Hunter, 1999: 161). In another passage, he contends: 'Walking onboard dressed in war paint and feathers and claiming it. Right under their noses. *Fuck you. This boat is ours. You owe us, baby*. In their face' (Hunter, 1999: 158–9).

The we/they disparity, the binary opposition of red and white worlds, and ethnic identity as communal, generic, as well as the shared attitude to be honest when communicating with fellow white people underlines the racial implications

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of both central characters. Their temporary shape shifting, though it is based on very different motivations, has more to do with a generic Indian image, white man's Indian/Eskimo, than specific experiences of contact with a particular Native American or Inuit band. Hunter explains: 'we have deliberately named no tribe in this story because we want it to mean the same to all tribes, to all the Indians' (Hunter, 1999: 43). 'Scholars would not be impressed, however, and I knew this, and fretted, fearing an exposé of how I had taken a generic Indian yarn and bent it to suit my eco-agenda—my God, what could be more shameless? … New Age guilt' (Hunter, 1999: 44–5). Essentializing the Indian and doing so as an insider-outsider put him in paradoxical situations. For instance, he makes a Native man wear the clothes of a different tribe on board of the ship, for it does not matter, the point is to look Indian: 'Any Indian. … I am beginning to feel like the producer of a small scale traveling show … . My identity has fragmented. I am a reporter/activist, insider /outsider, director/narrator, manipulator/observer, participant /witness, exercising what you might call multiple "either-or" functions. … This is a new one for us. A role-reversal' (Hunter, 1999: 164). The disparity between personal (ego-recognized) and social (alter ascribed) identity is resolved by the above transformation strategies and the act of telling his own story, his narrative version of identity development.

It is not only Indianness and authentic ethnic identity that the narrative centers around, but also whiteness and Hunter's narrator's growing understanding of what it means. The inner voice of the environmentalist Indian warrior tells a lot about it: 'I'm the guy in the yachting whites who looks like he can afford a lawyer, and therefore maybe even a yacht' (Hunter, 1999: 167); 'I am used to power, unconsciously' (Hunter, 1999: 168). When his naïve enthusiasm about fighting for a good cause gets him into serious trouble, this 'old peacenik' (Hunter, 1999: 230) wishes to be safely back at his job in Toronto (Hunter, 1999: 263). His whiteness, therefore, is on the one hand his original culture of which he is critical and against which he rebels as a 'candidate for eco-saint-

hood' (Hunter, 1999: 212), but on the other hand it is a safe ground to return to from the troubled waters of intercultural clashes with a renewed sense of radicalism, 'which, for us, might equate with identity' (Hunter, 1999: 207), as he admits. The overall implication of the book, like that of many others, is that the seemingly open-minded and non-racist protagonist reinforces long-standing racial stereotypes and the walls between races, no matter how much Huron blood he may happen to find in himself in the meantime. The narrative matches this approach, for despite its rebellious, loud anti-colonialism, it is run by social norms and expectations, the fear of not properly locating himself on the trajectory of ethnic relations and social prestige or getting into inconvenient situations due to his shifting identity. Consequently, the narrative identity type is open, but not radically.

Hunter's novel follows a long tradition of literary texts that reveal white man's need to get closer to First Nations' culture and identify with a selection of features ascribed as characteristics of that culture. Moreover, the narrator's quest for new ways to utilize Native spirituality follows the standards of the same tradition, as well as the Millennial/New Age para-esoteric and eco-friendly episteme that so many North-Americans and Europeans have pursued in their search for an improved self, identity, human and natural environment. The real family ties that the narrator discovers on his journey, however, do not necessarily make him part of Native America/Canada today, for he is not ready to acculturate if acculturation entails a loss of the comforts he has enjoyed in his white social sphere. Therefore, his short visit in *that* world, the world of the Other, does not resolve any ethno-cultural boundaries at all. His limited authentic first-hand experiences would not give him access to an authentic hybrid identity, and indeed he may never have sought anything of the sort in the first place.

LOUISE ERDRICH'S *THE PAINTED DRUM* (2005): THE MYTHIC UMBILICAL CORD RECONNECTING FAYE WITH HER ETHNO-CULTURAL ORIGINS

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> *I've always been a little curious about Kit's passion to be an Indian. It seems a lonely obsession, I never see him with other Indians or would-be Natives. And as the point is to have a tribe and belong to a specific people, I wonder what he gets out of his fantasy. But of course, he explains on the way home, his search is about making some connection. Only connect, he says, absurdly, and adds, maybe E. M. Forster was an Iroquois at heart. Once he knows for certain where to connect, maybe everything about him will fall into place. Then again, maybe Kit Tatro irritates me because at some level I understand his longing and confusion all too well. (Erdrich, 2005: 53)*

Erdrich's novel addresses a fundamental question: who is Indian enough? In search of her own answer, the author presents a beautiful web of intertwining stories of edgewalkers, different people in cultural transits on the trajectory (mindscape) of a contemporary mental Frontier. These edgewalkers, as Nina Boyd Krebs argues, recognize certain intercultural patterns and then make choices across them (Boyd Krebs, 1999: 64), while they are never in both cultures at the same time. Their self-awareness is remarkable, the way they embrace conflicting faces of personal history (Boyd Krebs, 1999: 67), while their success depends on this awareness and their flexibility, the risk of being alone, their willingness to accept help, seek sacred paths, recognize commonalities, honor their own complexities, and pay attention as they step back and forth (Boyd Krebs, 1999: 69–72). The last feature of edgewalkers (presented in her view by protagonist Faye Travers) is the capacity to tolerate anxiety (or its lack) (Boyd Krebs, 1999: 65).

Faye's attachments to people and objects offer glimpses into her culturally in-between world. First of all, her mother, who is 'perfectly assimilated, cold-blooded and analytical about the reservation present, and utterly dismissive of history' (Erdrich, 2005: 59), represents the non-traditional urban Native people who reject being identified as the ethnic Other and prefer the comforts of a more assimilated life at the price

of losing touch with tribal traditions and ties. However, when travelling together with Faye and the drum, she also somewhat reconnects with the Pillagers and tribal history. As for Faye's father, he was a professor of philosophy with a troubled family reputation. He married Faye's mother in part because 'he was fascinated with her background, I think, as though she had some mythical connection to the natural world that he lacked and loved' (Erdrich, 2005: 80). He explains: 'Your mother is the Renaissance and I am the Reformation' (Erdrich, 2005: 81). Thus Faye's early life was marked by the ambiguity of a real Native person's refusal of her Native past and identity on the one hand and an outsider's keen interest in Native culture on the other. She is the fruit of this strange intercultural setup. The family descends from an Indian agent who worked on the North Dakota Ojibwe reservation, home to her mother's family. An Indian agent and Native Americans, how can the child of such a relationship cope with her family history? Besides, her ex-partner, Kurt Krahne is amazed to learn after a long time that Faye is half-blood: his reaction depicts the ignorance of someone she loved and someone who lives right next door to some First Nations: 'I thought you guys were, like, Korean or something' (Erdrich, 2005: 58). So, Faye finds herself identified as someone 'not Indian enough', someone living in *Zwischenraum*—'the space between'. As we can see, authenticity is ironically interrogated here, the real Native person is somewhat ashamed to reveal that she belongs to a culture in which others are only slightly interested.

Two more exciting edgewalkers appear on the wonderful palette of the novel. (Squaw Man) Kit (Everett) Tatro, an Indian agent hoarder and collector with an inclination to grab what he finds (Erdrich, 2005: 31), is convinced that he is an Indian without any tribal blood, for his family came over after the Mayflower, and Simon Jack, 'The Ornamental Man', is a trapper who went Indian and lived with a band. In both cases the author signifies the shape-shifting character's masking strategies. As for Tatro, 'his name is really Everett. He's nicknamed Kit. He's got an Indian name, too, one that sounds like something from an old gunslinger movie or a Karl May novel. It might be White Owl,

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same as the drugstore cigars' (Erdrich, 2005: 51). To look authentic, he wears eclectic clothes and accessories: amulets, bear claws, herbs and bones. He has a painted tipi in his yard and goes hunting 'Indian style'. Like Grey Owl, he was a great womanizer who apparently lived alone, doing some research on his genealogy (Erdrich, 2005: 52) to check his Iroquois blood … Faye's reaction challenges this attempt to construct a symbolic ethnic identity: '*I believe, I am convinced*, even *saved*, that to throw myself into Native traditions as Kit Tatro wishes so sincerely to do, is not my character' (Erdrich, 2005: 269). The vision of becoming a brand-name ethnic entity for her seems like a good trial of a new skin, an alternative identity that makes a person perhaps more present with a 'new gravity. It really seems like he is someone' (Erdrich, 2005: 267). However, this ethnic branding does not work so easily with her. Her transformation and identification with her truer self takes more time, effort, pain and knowledge of myths and the past.

The second shape-shifter who plays with Indianness but then stays with a Native tribe is Simon Jack. He is like a mad trapper of the Canadian literary imagination. His vanity and mannerisms make him an unusual but still accepted member of his tribe. However, when his attempts to exploit his opportunities among the Natives (especially women) are revealed, the power of sisterhood and mythic forces slowly kill him and make him disappear in a unique, magical-realistic way. He seemed to have enslaved his wife and lover, while the two of them finally make him their slave and bury the living dead with pity by sewing a wonderful dance outfit to cover his body. On the threshold of reality and myth, past and present, Faye receives these stories and creates her own patchwork of identity based on these traces, with the help of a magic object to which she gradually develops an attachment: the painted drum.

As an estate appraiser, Faye evaluates past artifacts in a small New Hampshire town. The Native American antiquities that she has found made her curious to know more about the relationships between the dead and the living, between her own ancestors and herself. When she finds some earrings that her mom bought from an auction, she refers to Edward

Curtis's photos (Erdrich, 2005: 67), the archetypical frozen stereotypes of the white man's Indian. These objects cast light on colonial encounters and trans-cultural experiences, too. Faye creates a collage of past traces out of people, stories and objects, like Gail Anderson-Dargatz's fictional character Beth Weeks in *The Cure of Death by Lightning* (1996). For instance, Faye finds a box of kerchiefs, a memorabilia of a lifetime of tears, and finds out their story. Her attachment to objects seems like a substitute for real personal relationships, but with the drum a new kind of attachment seems to have developed: this powerful yet delicate magic tool with symbols and powers she does not recognize at first.



http://www.native-drums.ca

She can hear its sound. She is a good listener, the person authorized by the spirits of lost children to give new life to this unique painted drum. She seems to have extra-sensory skills, or at least an outstanding sensibility for trans-cultural and transpersonal relationships. For instance, she can see the shadow of death over her sister. She does not develop strong personal relationships in the fictional world of the novel, at least not traditional ones. She develops attachments to ideas, such as her keen interest in roots. In fact her process of going Indian is mythical and spiritual, without the common physical markers of ethnicity, such as clothes or public rituals.

Turning now to the indigenizing protagonist's attitude to her own whiteness and Indianness, more exactly the white component of her ethnic identity and her identification with her Native blood, Faye is a non-traditional Ojibwe who positions herself as in the following terms: 'I am a boundary to something else, but I don't know what' (Erdrich, 2005: 118). Her personal, ego-recognized identity (e.g. Erdrich, 2005: 50) is emphatically fluid throughout the narrative, while her alter-ascribed social identity is mostly confusing for her peers, but more transparent for those who have trans-historical visions and profound experi-

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ences with her family's past. Faye has a communicative block when asked about her ethnic identity that derives from negative experiences with the non-authentic edgewalkers around her: 'Every time I've been tempted to tell him that my mother is an actual American Indian, an Ojibwe, something about Kit Tatro has stopped me' (Erdrich, 2005: 52). Furthermore, the mostly negative reality of contemporary reservation life (for instance references to Indian health care, the pow wow outfit business, the lack of protection and security for Native Americans) also adds to a reserved attitude towards her identification as a Native American person. The fabulously rich mythic culture and its past is to balance the harsh reality of contemporary Native American life, in which Faye and the rest of the novel's edgewalkers serve as indicators of power relations as well as mediators to open doors that are otherwise firmly locked in the episteme of red and white relations. The humanistic type of this narrative reveals a new, radically open narrative identity type that differs from the models of identity seen in the other two novels under discussion.

However, for our major point of interest, i.e. authenticity in these indigenization stories, the non-Native Kreiner's *Contact Prints* from the 1980s, the environmentalist and '(Mostly) White Guy' Hunter's *Red Blood* from the 1990s, and the partly Ojibwa Erdrich's *The Painted Drum* from the early 2000s depict three different types of passing/Othering, three different authorial approaches to race relations, and three narrative identities that consider the problem of authenticity relevant to various extents. Kreiner's ironic fiction is an early recognition at the peaks of multiculturalism in Canada of the ambiguous and supposedly non-racist ethnic relations behind labels like pluralism and diversity and the ongoing but less visible colonial practices that Indianness and whiteness denote. Iris/Winnie Beaver's sarcastic attitude to exploiting Native arts and culture for her material benefit and her disregard for authenticity make her an extreme representative example of neo-colonialism and Indianness.

The 1990s provided the matured hipsters and eco-warriors a perspective from which to look back on their achievements

and the process of utilizing Indianness in their quest for identity and ecological agendas. For them, direct contact with Native Canadians and Americans was as relevant as the combination of Native spirituality and green movements in their ideological struggle for a better world and an improved identity. For Hunter, who happened to find some real blood relations with the Huron as a kind of bonus, authenticity is not a central problem, for he understands that fellow white men with interests to struggle against would ignore the nuances of Native culture anyway. Indianness signaled by generic markers would do, too, such as the feathers he asks real Natives to wear in order to imitate an 'Indian look' when they fight for their rights.

The Millennium has seen the publication of wonderful works of US and Canadian literature in which one finds sophisticated approaches to Indianness that are thought-provoking in their complexity and ambiguity and ambivalence. This may be due to post-modern and post-colonial criticism and developments in the social sciences, or perhaps two or three decades of experiences with multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism as a promoted national ideology in both countries nurtured greater awareness among writers and made them more likely to address questions concerning the gap between plausible ideas of tolerance and diversity as beautiful and the reality of the lingering colonial heritage that is interwoven in the everyday communications, stereotypes and politics of difference. Erdrich's richly woven cobweb of past and present and edgewalkers who move like spiders on the web of the narrator's imagination offers a number of approaches to the problems of cultural appropriation and authenticity. Instead of asking who is Indian enough, she explores who wants to be Indian and why (or why not), as well as addressing the question of how can one cope with symbolic, alternative, refused or newly gained senses of ethnic identity, with or without the claim of authenticity.

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GLOBALIZATION, IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CORES:

Mixed-Blood and Métis Writers in Canada and the US

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Contemporary cultural theory construes identity as a particular, modern, way of socially organizing cultural experience. Stuart Hall (1996), notably, discusses it succinctly as an ensemble of definitional practices anchored in the positioning of one's group in relation and in contradistinction to other groups. History, language and culture are effective resources to use in reinforcing one group's 'difference' or distinctiveness, because they appear to invoke origins in a historical past with which one's group continues to correspond; that is to say that they are readily used in the creation of origin myths. Benedict Anderson has famously asserted that our cultural identity is constructed by self and communal definitions predicated on specific, usually politically inflected differentiations such as gender, religion, race, or nationality; all are categories of *imagined* or *imaginary* belongings which are publicly institutionalized and discursively organized. Thus it is that we live our gender, race, religion, or nationality in a structured way, that is to say, according to a *politics.*

Globalization is thought to threaten a group's previously established identity politics. Cultural sociologist John Tomlinson summarizes how that situation is widely believed to have evolved:

> Once upon a time, before the era of globalization, there existed local, autonomous, distinct, and well-defined, robust and culturally sustaining connections between geographical place and cultural experience. These connections constituted one's—and one's community's—'cultural identity.' This identity was something people simply 'had' as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional

long dwelling, of continuity with the past. Identity, then, like language, was not just a description of cultural belonging; it was a sort of collective treasure of local communities. But it was also discovered to be something fragile that needed protecting and preserving, and that could be lost. Into this world of manifold, discrete, but to various degrees vulnerable, cultural identities there suddenly burst (apparently around the middle of the 1980s) the corrosive power of globalization. Globalization, so the story goes, has swept like a flood tide through the world's diverse cultures, destroying stable localities, displacing peoples, bringing a market-driven, 'branded' homogenization of cultural experience, thus obliterating the differences between locality-defined cultures which had constituted our identities. Meanwhile, cultures in the mainstream of the flow of capitalism, specifically, dominant US of A. culture, saw a standardized version of their cultures exported worldwide (Tomlinson, 2003: 269).

Tomlinson's ironic account of the 'globalization story' clearly indicates his disagreement with it, but before examining his perspective, it would be appropriate to dwell briefly on one example of how the 'free-trade' point of view has been applied to Canadian literary matters.

One year before the publication of the Tomlinson essay just cited, Canadian novelist and essayist, Stephen Henighan argued that, 'for Canada, globalization means Americanization. … No sooner had the Free-Trade Agreement gone through than Canadian novelists lost the thread of contemporary Canadian existence' (Henighan, 2002: 134, 190). Best-sellers were no longer determined by 'local' critics applying criteria stemming from Canadian experiences and sensibilities, but in terms of their projected marketability elsewhere in the world. In support of his argument, Henighan presents scathing, critical close readings of novels that have become the sacred cows of 'CanLit.'[1] He believes that they do little more than illustrate how globalization has transformed a formerly robust national literature into an increasingly insipid, uniform one whose 'assault on the stuffy, provincial, overweeningly decent, obstinately regional yet residually communitarian Canadian ethos' (Henighan, 2002: 134) means that '[n]o one can remember the Canada of the 1990s' (190).

Henighan's polemical essay may lack nuance, but it does nonetheless underscore the fact that many contemporary Canadian

1. The *English Patient* (Michael Ondaatje), *Fugitive Pieces* (Anne Michaels), and *The Stone Diaries* (Carol Shields) are three cases in point.

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literary writers eschew Canadian-ness in favor of 'universality.' The present article will discuss a literary phenomenon that, rather than illustrating the imperialistic, assimilative workings of globalization, highlights the latter's propensity for producing the 'local.' 'The' literature to be discussed is produced in Canada and the US, by writers who share a little-known culture. I am referring to the Métis, a specific people who, born out of unions between French-Canadian men and Native women, are literally native to the North American continent. In 19th-century Western Canada, more specifically in and around the Red River settlement in present-day Manitoba, on the Canadian prairies, they felt that they constituted a 'New Nation' defined by specific and distinct cultural practices resulting from a unique blend of two cultures (Dickason, 1985). by the end of that century, however, they were well on their way to becoming 'Canada's forgotten people' (Sealey and Lussier, 1975). Events that will be detailed further on resulted in their 'disappearance' from the public eye. Until the early 1970s, parts of that culture were practiced and maintained in the private sphere, but large chunks of cultural and historical knowledge were lost: oral traditions cannot remain intact when faced with the progressive erosion of conditions permitting their transmission. How, then, has this people pursued its quest of itself while contending simultaneously with the need to recover forgotten patrimonial knowledge, as well as the onslaught of images, ideas, values, and practices flooding the very cultural landscape on which it has undertaken that quest?

This article will address that question by first returning to the theoretical stance taken by John Tomlinson in regards to the relationship between specific cultural identity and globalization. The second part will give a brief history of the Métis people in North America, in order to underscore the importance of the role that artists play vis-à-vis the Métis community at large. The last section will then look at how Tomlinson's theory applies to the work of chiefly two literary artists of Métis ancestry: Canadian poet Marilyn Dumont, and American poet and novelist Louise Erdrich.

UNDERSTANDING THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

Tomlinson invites us to understand global modernity as a cultural package, one characteristic of which is productively described

in terms of the deterritorializing character of the globalization process. Social geographical location is no longer an important factor, since it merely participates in the 'mundane flow of cultural experience' (Tomlinson, 2003: 273). Cultural experience is 'lifted out' of its traditional 'anchoring' in particular localities in various ways, and shared around. The places where we live, then, become increasingly 'penetrated' by the connectivity of globalization. Location, writes Tomlinson, is increasingly penetrated by distance. The entering of globalized influences, experiences, and attitudes into the 'core of our local lifeworld' does trigger a transformation in our routine pattern of cultural existence, but in the face of these globalized and globalizing influences, local culture manifests a robustness or 'upsurging power' (270), thereby offering resistance to the centrifugal force of capitalist globalization. That which had previously been nothing more than inchoate, less socially policed belongings, develops into *organized* resistant identitarian strategies or formations. This is because identity, particularly in its dominant form of national identity, is not a mere 'communal-psychic attachment,' but a major component of institutionalized social life in modernity, the product of concerted cultural construction and maintenance of state regulatory and institutionalizing efforts, exercised mainly in the domains of education, law, and the media. In this way, globalization may be said to create or produce, and proliferate identity. Let us now look at the role played by that process in the literary discourse of North American Métis writers.

THE EVOLVING 'PLACE' OF THE FRANCO-MÉTIS IN CANADA AND THE U.S.

During the 19th century, the Franco-Métis formed a majority group in what is today named the Western Canadian province of Manitoba: as key players in a space that developed in function of and concomitantly with the fur trade, their language was spoken in public and private domains, and the lands they occupied were 'theirs.' Once the Canadian government began to covet those lands, their world was turned upside down. When the 1870 Manitoba Act created the province of Manitoba, it 'promised'—or the Métis were led to believe that it did so—that 1.4 million acres of land

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of the new province would be set aside for Métis children, and that the occupied lands along the river would be left alone. But that was not what came to pass.[2]

As white settlers from Eastern Canada poured into the new province, tens of dozens of Métis were driven from their land. Whether influenced by this development or not, others abandoned their homes in order to engage in economic pursuits requiring that they leave Manitoba (Ens, 1996). Many went south to the US, and many others, farther north and west, into present day Saskatchewan and Alberta. In an attempt to avoid a similar kind of territorial dispossession in their new space of residence, the Métis of Saskatchewan sought to obtain land titles from the government of Canada. When, time after time, their demands and letters went unanswered, they resolved to take action. The result was what is commonly called the North-West rebellion of 1885. Despite the brilliant military tactics of Gabriel Dumont, the Métis were defeated by the Canadian army at the battle of Batoche, and their spiritual and political leader, Louis Riel, was hung for high treason. Dumont fled south of the border into Montana, and then, eastward, to a French community in New York, from where he sojourned briefly in Quebec, in an attempt to garner support for the Métis cause. After the Canadian government granted amnesty to the Métis, he eventually returned to Batoche, where he ended his days in 1906.

Contrary to Dumont, many other Métis embarked on journeys that ended in permanent exile. Some disavowed their Métisness and, re-identified as Canadian or American 'Indians' or as 'generic' non-Native Anglophone Canadians or Americans, and isolated themselves from their own people. Scattered all across the North American continent, they lived 'incognito.'

2. Whereas the government signed 'treaties' or, euphemistically put, collective territorial 'compensation,' with First Nations people in exchange for extinguishment of Aboriginal rights, they offered the Métis the opportunity to apply for individual certificates called scrips, which ostensibly attributed to the holder either a surveyed parcel of land or else money with which they could purchase land surveyed for that purpose. Scandals developed around those scrips, and many people either did not receive the scrip(s) to which they were entitled, or were enticed to sell them to speculators who bought them for a fraction of their worth, and then sold them for much more.

Others managed to relocate in Métis communities. Among the more 'fortunate' were those who moved to remote villages like Cumberland House, in Saskatchewan, or Saint-Laurent, in Manitoba. Others, dispossessed of their lands, were reduced to setting up shacks on Crown lands reserved by the government for the construction of public roads, eventually creating what became known as 'road allowance communities.' Still others fled south of the Canada-US border, notably to join friends and relatives who had settled on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation in North Dakota after the 1870 creation of the province of Manitoba.

Regardless of where they lived, by the end of the 19th century, the Métis were in survival mode and had largely 'disappeared' from the public eye. Many of those who continued to live amongst their own in a community that included elders maintained or conserved what they could, but the conjuncture was not conducive to public celebrations of their social practices.

Since the 1970s, the Métis in Canada and the US have become an increasingly self-aware and visible people. Those who live in the US, where they have no official status, must identify solely in relation to their 'Native/Indian' ancestry, but that does not necessarily mean the disappearance of their 'Métisness.' Indeed, the author of *History of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians* who had been the Reservation's Tribal Chairman from July 1953 until January 1959, wrote in 1960 that 1% of the Band's population were 'full-bloods,' not meaning people 'of pure Indian descent,' but those adhering to an 'Indian way of life.' the majority were 'Metis' or, as they refer to themselves, 'Mechifs,' a term corresponding to the Métis pronunciation of the word 'Métis.' Contrary to the 'full-bloods,' this group favored the European/French aspects of their double heritage, and prided themselves as a progressive people.

Descendents of the 19th-century Métis who continued to live in western Canada have been formed by different experiences, but generally speaking, and contrary to their Turtle Mountain counterparts, those who adopted 'progressive' practices, which largely meant that their socioeconomic status allowed them to first emulate, and subsequently, assimilate to, French Canadians, were considered to be French Canadians. Consequently, the term 'Métis'

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no longer signified a nation, but an impoverished and marginalized social class (St-Onge, 2004).

Regardless of whether the 'original' communities fell apart because of displacements or re-identification through social mobility, the sparseness of today's Métis cultural 'archives' is in large part due to the fact that their culture has been an oral one.[3] When a nonliterate community is torn apart, much of the stuff of oral traditions is lost. With no one to transmit one's knowledge and ways of knowing to, no one else to validate one's beliefs, a particular 'way of being in the world' gets forgotten. Moreover, Métis *difference* vis-à-vis both First Nations and whites, construed in terms of failure or lack[4] rather than cultural distinctiveness, has often resulted in feelings of shame for their heritage, and contributed to the decision to not transmit practices and beliefs indicative of Métisness. Certainly, when denigrating stereotypes are internalized, they lead to identity issues with devastating psycho-social consequences.[5] Interestingly, that very decision to submit in various ways to the pressures of 'invisibilization' triggers an acute awareness of the need to feel 'at home' *some*where, *some*how.

In North America, aboriginal First Nations groups have undertaken projects of cultural reterritorialization in the form of reclaiming localities (land rights movements). Tomlinson observes that although their 'claims of identity are inextricably

3. The narrator of one of Maria Campbell's *Stories of the Road Allowance People* confirms this in the following words: 'dats dah reason why we have such a hard time / us peoples. / Our roots dey gets broken so many times. / Hees hard to be strong you know / when you don got far to look back for help. / Dah Whitemans / he can look back thousands of years / cos him / he write everything down./ us peoples / we use dah membering / an we pass it on by telling stories an singing songs. / Sometimes we even dance dah membering.' Maria Campbell, *Stories of the Road Allowance People*, Penticton, Theytus Books, 1995, p. 88.

4. See, for example, the poem 'Leather and Naughahyde,' in Marilyn Dumont 1996: 58.

5.Referring to the way family members of her parents' generation had been 'knowing / not knowing' about their Native side 'for years,' Métis writer Joanne Arnott suggested fifteen years ago that '[t]he violence, the sexual abuse and every other oppressive and "crazy" thing that happened to and around me is intimately connected to that crazy-making denial and the crazy-making racist oppression that parented it' (Arnott, 1995: 64).

mixed with issues of political and economic justice, … the argument for many, is for a right to an ethnic "homeland" conceived as coexistent and compatible with a national identity' (Tomlinson, 2003: 275). The Métis have undertaken similar reterritorialization projects. Those that have taken the form of land claims have been largely unsuccessful. The 2007 dismissal of the lawsuit that the Manitoba Métis Association launched in 1981, claiming that the Métis community was entitled to land agreements made in regards to a 1.4 million acre stretch of land in the Red River Valley, for example, concerns the breach of a 'promise' made 136 years earlier. I would like to suggest that in the face of the repeated failure to reappropriate land, reterritorialization through cultural production acquires an incommensurable importance.

CULTURAL CORES IN NORTH AMERICAN NATIVE LITERATURE

Earlier, I cited Tomlinson's reference to globalizing influences that infiltrate the 'core' of our locally situated lifeworld. The word 'core' is also to be found in a text belonging to Native American author Louise Erdrich, who wrote in 1985 that, 'in the light of enormous loss,' contemporary Aboriginal artists must 'tell the stories of contemporary survivors while protecting and celebrating the *cores of cultures* left in the wake of the catastrophe' (Erdrich, 1985: 23; emphasis added). Consideration of Métis literary production in light of both references to the notion of cultural cores prompts the question of the interrelationship between a pervasive and invasive majority or imported culture and a local culture whose colonization has all but completely decimated its cores.

In the literary domain, 'Native American' and 'Native Canadian' writers are in the process of producing what has become in the last two decades a particularly dynamic, burgeoning literature. Many of those writers are descendents of Canada's 19th-century Franco-Métis. One of them, Maria Campbell, whose seminal autobiography sought to reveal to Canadians 'what it is like to be a Halfbreed woman in our country' (Campbell, 1973: 8), is considered by many to have initiated contemporary Native Canadian Literature.

My last sentence correctly suggests the tendency to think the field of Native Canadian Literature in terms of a pan-Aboriginal

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approach, that is, by conflating Métis and First Nations writers and works. On the one hand, this approach is understandable and appropriate, particularly in light of the divisive effects of government policies such as the *Indian Act* that, prior to 1985, pitted 'status Indians' against 'non-status Indians' based on gender: if a Native woman married a non-Native man, she lost her 'Indian status,' but not so a Native man who married a non-Native woman. The reader can easily imagine the sort of injustices, inequality, and hostility that kind of policy has created among members of a same family, community, and/or marginalized national group. The feeling of belonging-ness and solidarity achieved through thinking of themselves and each other in an inclusive way empowers the group and the individuals within that group and enables them to better resist the negative effects of colonialism affecting them all, albeit in different ways.

Indeed, First Nations and Métis people share many experiences, but their history and culture have developed in distinctively different ways. One chief perspective that brings this to light concerns the role played by different aspects of European, in particular French culture in each community's linguistic, culinary, and spiritual practices. The conflation of First Nations and Métis literatures, then, prevents readers from appreciating the complexity of 'Native' or 'Aboriginal' or 'Indian' populations that inhabit North America, and also, leads to problematic representations. The critically acclaimed novel, *in Search of April Raintree,* first published in 1983 by Métis writer Beatrice Mosionier (whose last name was Culleton at the time), for example, depicts two sisters who, despite their being identified as Métis, do, think and say little that would enlighten a reader on the subject of Métis cultural specificity. Now that Native literature is recognized and celebrated as a dynamic and increasingly robust field, both in Canada and in the US, the twenty-first century is witnessing the emergence of a contemporary Métis identitary poetics that, through the recuperation of traditional identitary and cultural paradigms or 'cores,' speaks to historical and cultural specificities particular to the Métis as well as the latter's membership in the pan-Aboriginal community at large. Let us now look at how that shift has manifested at a time when globalization is no longer but a hypothetical situation.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Canadian writers identifying as Métis have become numerous enough for it to be appropriate to speak of second and third wave authors, as well as emerging writers. Among these, novelist, short-story writer, and essayist, Lee Maracle, and poet Marilyn Dumont, both grew up in the full knowledge that they were Métis, while fellow writers Gregory Scofield, Joanne Arnott, and Sharron Proulx-Turner grew up with the uncertainty of their cultural sources: they reclaimed their Métis identity as adults. Short-story author Sandra Birdsell presents yet another identitary scenario: raised with the knowledge of her maternal Mennonite sources, while secrecy surrounded the details of her father's Métisness, she has yet to discover those details and the importance they could have for her and her writing.

In the US, published and emerging writers whose art carries traces of their Métis ancestry tend to have roots in the Turtle Mountain Chippewa reserve in North Dakota, a community of 'mixed-bloods' whose cultural sources are historically the same as Canada's Métis of French-Canadian ancestry. Two cases in point are the aforementioned poet and novelist Louise Erdrich, who has been publishing since 1984, and poet and fiction-writer, Mark Turcotte, whose first book of poetry was published in 1995.

A SHIFT TOWARD SPECIFICALLY MÉTIS CULTURAL CORES IN CANADIAN MÉTIS LITERARY DISCOURSE

In 1993, Métis award-winning poet Marilyn Dumont wrote that 'the circle, mother earth, the number four or the trickster figure' were 'positive images of nativeness' that permitted writers to assert their membership in an 'authentic,' but nonetheless generic native community (Dumont, 1993: 47). Moreover, they had the disadvantage of raising issues regarding colonization and reductive 'othering' stereotypes, internalization of those stereotypes, and/or pressure exerted by aboriginal identity politics. In her 1996 prose-poem, 'Circle the Wagons,' Dumont discussed the dilemma in terms of specifically Métis and pan-Native cultural references, as well as those indicative of the global context:

> There it is again, the circle, that goddamned circle, as if we thought in circles, judged things on the merit of their circularity, as if all we ate

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was bologna and bannock, drank Tetley tea, so many times 'we are' the circle, the medicine wheel, the moon, the womb, and sacred hoops, you'd think we were one big tribe, is there nothing more than the circle in the deep structure of native literature? … Yet I feel compelled to incorporate something circular into the text, plot, or narrative structure because if it's linear then that proves that I'm a ghost and that native culture really has vanished and what is all this fuss about appropriation anyway? … There are times when I feel that if I don't have a circle or the number four or legend in my poetry, I am lost, just a fading urban Indian caught in all the trappings of Doc Martens, cappuccinos and foreign films … (Dumont, 1996: 57).

As this last passage makes clear, pan-Native symbols *do* function as resistance against mass culture imports, but their use by the Métis writer elicits feelings of unfulfillment. Since the year 2000, Dumont's projects have continued to critique the attitudes of whites to Native people and pay tribute to various aspects of personal and family life, but there has been a shift toward *wahkotowin,* a Michif Cree word that, to quote Maria Campbell, means 'honoring and respecting kinship, relationship and [human] family. … They are our stories, songs, ceremonies, and dances' (Campbell, 2007). In 2007, Dumont and five other Aboriginal women staged *Honour Songs*, a performance of texts written by Alberta's Native women on personal life experiences, and incorporated into a visual art installation of shawls based on the texts and a performance.[6] On the subject of the entire experience, Dumont wrote:

I am very proud not only of the words we crafted and performed through *Honour Songs*, but in some ways, maybe more so, of the hand-work we constructed and displayed along with the performance. This was one small way to validate women's handwork which is often marginalized as craft rather than taking its rightful status as art. While sewing the shawl, I felt that my hands and spirit were somehow shadowing all the Aboriginal women's hands that meticulously crafted clothing for their families' survival during the history of Edmonton, and that the sewing I did was a demonstration of my respect for their skill and hard work. The written word is important, but the handcraft was the unspoken message of *Honour Songs*. … Creating things with our hands as a group, also spoke to the practice of aboriginal women work-

6. Youtube clips and photographs of the performance, are found at http://www.edmontonpoetryfestival.com/anthology/honor.html

ing together in extended family groups, groups which continue to this day to raise children and hold communities together (Dumont, 2007).

By paying tribute to cultural cores that allow her to express the specific Métisness of an art form belonging also to Non-Métis Aboriginal people, Dumont practices a poetics that is simultaneously personal and communal. Since the *Honour Songs* project, Dumont has deepened her connections with other traditional art forms such as beading and weaving, and this is reflected in her writing, notably in two as-yet unpublished poems, 'and with second sight, she pushes' and 'Sky berry and Water berry.' In and through the first piece, the poet remembers the painstaking movements of her mother's beading, as the patient push-and-pulls of her needle and thread give artful, loving birth to 'her belief / in petal, stem and leaf,' while reconfirming her connections to the natural world, to the children she also gave birth to, and to her children's children:

with second sight, she pushes
the needle and thread up precisely
where her eye wants to meet it
on the surface of the fabric
then down
between each bead
by seed bead

seed

over and over
repeated

...

The bead's colour makes no sound
but it is cranberry, moss, and fireweed
it is also wolf willow, sap and sawdust
as well as Chickadee, Magpie and jack-rabbit

a bead is not simply dark blue
but Saskatoon blue

...

and it's not just a seed bead
it's a number # 11 pearlized bead
or a number #10 2-cut glass bead
or a number #10 French white heart

...

she, this link
holds

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each beadberry
a thought
each beadberry
a word in prayer
for her son
for her daughter
for her grandchild ...

In the second poem, beading is constructed as heritage that connects one with the cosmos, and as a ceremony that brings back to life lost, longed-for ancestors and a way of life whose remembrance adds something delicately new to the present:

like the life-liquid of berries, her brothers
thirsted for in ceremony
and recalled now in colour
their small fruit
tasting of blossom

While remaining firmly anchored in the contemporary urban context that is the poet's space, these poems pay tribute to the cultural cores that not only demonstrate emphatically that the myth of the 'vanishing Métis' is bosh, but also empower the poet to feel 'at home' in today's global context.

A SHIFT TOWARD SPECIFICALLY MÉTIS CULTURAL CORES IN US MÉTIS LITERARY DISCOURSE

The characters created by Louise Erdrich possess many universal characteristics, but between 1984 and 2008, tropes emphasizing their Métis heritage and cultural patrimony have undergone a visible shift. Those depicted in her first novel, *Love Medicine*, the 1984 edition of which was followed by a 'new and expanded' 1993 edition, make frequent auto-identitary references to their 'Indian-ness,' and only a limited number of references to their Métis-ness. The signification and significance of the latter references are for the most part easy to miss, since the narrators of the different stories do not bother to elaborate or explain such details. Moreover, the reader is encouraged to not dwell on intra-communal distinctions, since, as we shall see, each reference to a specifically Métis trait or practice is followed by a reference that blurs that distinc-

tiveness. To illustrate my point, here are a few samples taken and stemming from the novel's second chapter, told in the first person by Albertine Johnson, the daughter that her mother, Zelda, had with her ex-husband, '[her] Swedish boy' (Erdrich, 1993: 15). Albertine is a medical student in Fargo, but has returned to the reservation for a visit.

Soon after her arrival at the family home—the grand-parents' house is treated by the family like 'communal property' (Erdrich, 1993: 29)—Albertine is asked by Zelda if she has 'met any marriageable boys in Fargo yet,' the narrator explains that 'By marriageable I knew she meant Catholic' (14). When her mother expresses consternation upon learning that her daughter is more interested in a career than in marriage, the latter protests, remembering that 'Mama had kept books for the priests and nuns up at Sacred Heart ever since I could remember' (15). Are readers reading about 'a North Dakota reservation' for the first time surprised to learn of the existence of a Catholic Indian community? or does that bit of socio-cultural information slip by them? This would not be surprising, since the abovementioned sequence is interrupted by a narrative sequence that, told in the same paragraph, introduces another important theme, that of Native and non-Native interculturality.

As Albertine's cousin, King, and his wife, Lynette, enter the driveway, the following exchange is triggered:

> 'There's that white girl.' Mama peeked out the window.
>
> 'Oh, for gosh sakes.' Aurelia [Zelda's sister] gave her heady snort again … 'What about your Swedish boy?'
>
> 'Learnt my lesson. … Never marry a Swedish is my rule.' (Erdrich, 1993: 15)

The trope targeting the devalorization of Native-European cultural *métissage* is made explicit in the narrator's comparison of her grandfather, Nector, who 'came home from boarding school knowing white reading and writing,' and his brother, Eli, who 'knew the woods': 'Now, these many years later … my Great uncle Eli was still sharp, while Grandpa's mind had left us, gone wary and wild' (Erdrich, 1993: 19). As the novel progresses, it reinforces the opposition between the two brothers. Nector is identified in relation

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to the town, social conversation, fiddle dances or parties (Erdrich, 1993: 61, 63), his dream of a 'French-style wedding' (63), 'slim wages and his chips at the pool hall and home-brewed wine' (91), his marketable good looks (124, 233), his mistress's 'French rouge' (131), the 'songs he sings out in the middle of Mass' (232), and finally the insight that God 'has been deafening up' on the reservation's residents (236). Eli, meanwhile, is a 'nothing-and-nowhere person' with a 'soft hushed voice' and knowledge about carving, birdcalls, 'whistling on [one's] own fingers,' and snaring. His songs are 'wild, unholy … Cree songs that made you lonely. Hunting songs used to attract deer and women' (92), and he is the loving father-figure that, at the age of nine, June Kashpaw, whose death opens the novel, chooses to live with.

When King and Lynette leave momentarily, Zelda resumes her criticism of her niece-in-law, and ends by underscoring the importance of cultural 'purity':

> 'That white girl,' Mama went on, 'she's built like a truck-driver. She … '
>
> 'Jeez, Zelda! … so she's white. How do you think Albertine feels hearing you talk like this when her Dad was white?'
>
> 'I feel fine,' I said. 'I never knew him.'
>
> I understood what Aurelia meant though—I was light, clearly a breed.
>
> 'My girl's an Indian,' Zelda emphasized. 'I raised her an Indian, and that's what she is.' (Erdrich, 1993: 24)

After a short absence, King and Lynette return home, where the group is soon joined by Gordie, King's father, and Eli. at one point in the evening, an inebriated King turns to his uncle and the following exchange takes place:

> 'Can you gimme a cigarette, Eli?' King asked.
>
> 'When you ask for a cigarette around here,' said Gordie, 'you don't say can I have a cigarette. You say *ciga swa*?'
>
> 'Them Michifs ask like that,' Eli said. 'You got to ask a *real old-time Indian* like me for the right words.'
>
> …
>
> 'I think the fuckin' world of you, Uncle!'

> 'Damn right. I'm an old man,' Eli said in a flat, soft voice. '*Ekewaynzee*.' (Erdrich, 1993: 32–33; emphasis added.)

In the 1984 edition of the novel, the second part of Eli's first response is 'You got to ask a *real old Cree* like me for the right words' (Erdrich, 1984: 30; emphasis added.), and his second response does not include the Ojibway word for 'old man' (commonly spelled 'Akiwenzie' in Canada). The 1984 reference to Eli's Cree heritage places emphasis on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Indian Reservation's mixed socio-cultural core, but by so doing, it also diminishes the tension the novel seeks to establish between the 'Michifs' on one hand, and 'real old' or 'old-time' people or 'Indians,' on the other. Written without any explanation, translation, or other commentary, the 1993 Ojibway word Eli uses to self-identify underscores the oppositional relationship, and consequently as well, the novel's objective of re-actualizing the Turtle Mountain Band's pre-French-contact core, when the Plains-Ojibway or Bungi were a mixture of only Native tribes: '[m]ostly Ojibway, a little bit of Cree, a little bit of Ottawa; and also a little bit of Assiniboin and Sioux' (Gourneau, 1989: 5).

Given that ideological position, the community's catholicity referred to in the novel's second chapter and amply alluded to throughout the rest of the novel must also be devalorized as the novel advances toward its dénouement. Historical accounts of missionary experiences suggest that in 'Indian' gathering sites, evangelical efforts were largely unsuccessful because their 'faith in their own religion' was so strong (Nute, 2004: 37), whereas the contrary was true in communities with a Métis majority, notably the Pembina mission, located approximately 177 kilometers east of the Turtle Mountain Reservation (Nute, 1942: 309, 327). If the majority of the characters depicted in *Love Medicine* are Catholic, they are very likely descendents of Métis whose 'old language' would have been Michif, a rare mixed language consisting of nouns taken mostly from French, but also English, and verbs taken chiefly from Cree, but also Ojibway.

That the old ways so explicitly favored in the novel signify Ojibway values and language, then, is a rejection of Métis cultural cores. This is perhaps most notable in the evolution of Marie, Nector's wife, who, because she 'doesn't have that much Indian

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blood' passes for a 'skinny white girl' in her youth (Erdrich, 1993: 43, 63). On the one hand, Marie is associated with the convent, galette, the French word for bannock (103, 141), political power, and appearances. On the other hand, she manifests a latent spiritual and physical attraction to and for Eli (94), with whom she shares a particularly affectionate love for June Kashpaw, one of the many children she 'takes in,' and most of all, she develops a relationship a with Rushes Bear and Fleur Pillager, both of whom are speakers of the old language and keepers of the old ways and spirituality. When the two women act as Marie's mid-wives, they attend also to the birth of Marie's Ojibway self. That it is a new dawn for her is symbolized by the fact that it is the first time that she gives birth in the daylight. Moreover, her search for a motivational birthing word leads her to the rediscovery of an Ojibway one from her childhood, *Babaumawaebigowin*, meaning 'driven along by waves' (Johnston, qtd. in Beidler, 2003: 61). Guided by the 'low voices' of the two women, Marie thus makes her way safely 'to shore' or 'home,' where she discovers that she has a new son, but also, that Rushes Bear is her 'own mother, [her] own blood' (Erdrich, 1993: 104). Some thirty years later, Marie has rejected the 'new' world, symbolized by 'the Catholic [worldview], the Bureau [of Indian Affairs] [and] the comfortless words of English' (263). Having frequented 'other old people at the Senior Citizens,' she speaks 'the old language,' and has hung on to the 'old strengths Rushes Bear had taught her' (263).

Fifteen years after the publication of the longer version of *Love Medicine*, Erdrich published *the Plague of the Doves*, an intergenerational novel involving two families, which, from its very beginning, establishes the primacy of the Catholic, French-Native mixed-blood universe that the first novel made so little of. Indeed, the novel's opening sentence introduces the reader to the 1896 universe of the narrator's great-uncle, Father Severine Milk, 'one of the first Catholic priests of aboriginal blood' (Erdrich, 2008: 5). His brother, Seraph Milk, is her grandfather or Mooshum, and it is his stories and storytelling that she recounts, intertwining them with details of her own love story with Corwin Peace, thus establishing the significance of Métis values and beliefs while underscoring the incommensurable importance her people place on community

and oral tradition. The story of Evelina's grandparents' mutual *coup de foudre* illustrates this.

In the field where Father Severine summons the villagers in an effort to rid the community of the eponymous disaster, Mooshum loses consciousness when he is struck by one of the doves:

> At this point in the story, Mooshum became so agitated that he often acted out the smiting and to our pleasure threw himself upon the floor. He mimed his collapse, then opened his eyes and lifted his head and stared into space, clearly seeing even now the vision of the Holy Spirit, which appeared to him not in the form of a white bird among the brown doves, but in the earthly body of a girl.
>
> ...
>
> And there she was! Mooshum paused in his story. His hand opened and the hundreds of wrinkles in his face folded into a mask of unsurpassable happiness. ... She had the pale, opaque skin and slanting black eyes of the Metis or Michif women. ... Her last name ... comes down to us from some French voyageur ... I imagined their dark, mutual gaze. The Holy Spirit hovered between them. (Erdrich, 2008: 11–12)

Other threads of Métis cultural cores woven into the texture of Erdrich's 2008 novel include numerous references to Louis Riel—Evelina, it turns out, is named for Riel's 'first love' (Erdrich, 2008: 265)—words or entire sentences in the mixed French-Cree/Ojibway Michif language[7]—for example, when Evelina says she thinks she looks French, her interlocutor replies: 'Well, you are French, aren't you?' and Mooshum comments: 'La zhem feey katawashishiew' (191).[8] Shortly thereafter, when his granddaughter demonstrates that the language she is learning is 'standard' French, and not Michif, Mooshum says disgustedly, using the Ojibway word for 'white person,' 'That's not how it goes! She tries to speak Michif and she sounds like a damn chimookamaan' (191). Evelina protests, 'I sound *French*, Mooshum. Je parle français!'—but her

7. One of the homodiegetic characters, Judge Antone Bazil Coutts, explains that 'Ojibwae language in several dialects is spoken on our reservation, along with Cree, and Michif—a mixture of all three' (Erdrich, 2008: 195).

8. This response is likely to have been taken from Laverdure and Allard (1983), where the entry under 'girl' includes the sentence 'The young girl is pretty. La zhenn feey katawashishiw' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983: 110). I would like to thank linguist Richard Rhodes for informing me that the correct spelling of the last word, in Cree, is 'katawâshishiw.'

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grandfather comments, 'Ehhh, the French, Lee Kenayaen!'[9] and soon finds the opportunity to declare that on 'the Chippewa side, we're also hereditary chefs. And we're quick' (Erdrich, 2008: 192). Last but not least, as I show in another study (Sing, 2010), an important leitmotiv in the novel is constructed around a particular model of that most emblematic of Métis cultural icons, the violin or fiddle. Its story alone encapsulates the spirit, beliefs, and passions of a people whose identity is still relatively little known by students of North America's cultures.

* * *

This study has emphasized the shift that has occurred in the writing of two contemporary authors of Métis ancestry, one a Canadian, Marilyn Dumont, and the other an American, Louise Erdrich. The earlier works of both writers emphasized pan-Native Canadian and American cultures, whereas their more recent writing show them to be increasingly committed to debunking the myth of the 'vanishing Métis' assimilated to the beliefs, values, and practices of a 'universal,' globalized North America. Dumont and Erdrich continue to affirm the links between First Nations and Métis peoples and cultural practices, but rather than writing about a generic Indian identity, they bring to the fore the personal aspirations and cultural cores that are specific to their respective communities. By so doing, they show these communities to be worthy of literary representation. As members of a culture that was almost completely destroyed by the dynamic of nation state building in Canada and in the US, then, both writers show that globalization allows for a resurgence of local cultures, community identity, and new ways to share multiple identities. Just as importantly, they indicate the conditions under which that is made possible, since community or Métis-ness is not portrayed as an isolated, frozen-in-time homeland or set of practices and beliefs ready to be accessed whenever one feels in need of a dose of identitary refreshment. Rather, local, culture-specific community or grounding is constructed as a space that emerges through the accumula-

9. 'The French Canadians,' in standardized French, is 'Les Canadiens.' Mooshum's dialect is Michif French.

tion of repeated moments of attentiveness paid to a number of potentially mnemonic fragments, each one of which remains bereft of meaningful signification unless considered creatively and in relation to other such fragments. Writers such as Dumont and Erdrich exploit universal themes such as memory, loss, family, and identity as they are affected through and by explicitly (re)territorialized cultural experiences, and by doing so, show that globalization certainly does not have to mean the inevitable transformation of the continent's literary landscapes into one insipid, uniform everyman's land. On the contrary, they validate Tomlinson's claim regarding the robustness of the 'cores of our local lifeworld' (Tomlinson, 2003: 270) and the role they can play in resisting the force of globalized and globalizing influences, but underscore the personal investment and efforts needed to produce that source of resistance.

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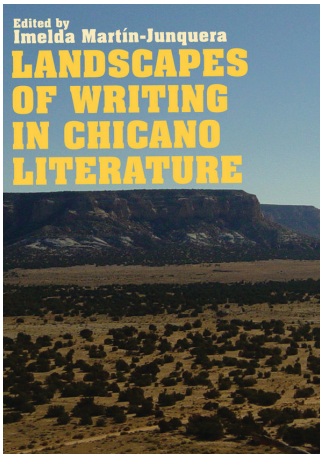
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LANDSCAPES OF WRITING IN CHICANO LITERATURE

edited by Imelda Martín-Junquera
Palgrave Macmillan 2013



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Landscape may be perceived as a seemingly simple natural phenomenon of a certain visual value. However, as this collection of essays demonstrates, landscape transcends its own tangibility: in its beholder's eyes, it may become an *interior*, a complex inscription of history, experience, and a vista of the future.

Writings are their authors' traces: deep imprints in the ground or snow. The landscape, storing these unique signatures, becomes storied itself. Even though an increasing number of scholars in the Americas appreciate the narrative power of the landscape, the number of studies and publications addressing the matter remains insignificant. The landscape, patiently, awaits reading: holding stories in store, it invites insight. This is precisely what the texts collected in the *Landscape of Writing in Chicano Literature* offer.

The majority of the contributors to the volume address the complex correlation of identity and space in Chicano literature. The critical texts of the first part of the collection focus specifically on *The House on Mango Street*, *Women Hollering Creek,* and the recently published *Caramelo or Puro Cuento*. What the narratives share is certainly the theme

of the performative function of space in the process of identity formation. The land, ruthless and barren as it may be, functions as the space of emotional nourishment and cultivated beauty. The descriptions of the land, offered, mostly, in English, are often presented in lieu of writer's memories: land and memory fuse into a *Welt/Anschauung*, a transcendent, yet worldless landscape, capable of speaking whole worlds.

And thus, the first chapter by Elisabetta Careri explores the eponymous house on Mango Street, a safe zone for its inhabitants. Any trespassing may—and does—result in dangerous encounters with strangers. Participating in the dynamics defined by the house and its neighborhood becomes a meaningful process: the understanding of the very intimate relationship between character and their habitats involves not only one's revision of what one assumes should be true about the quotidian experience of the daily world, but also one's readiness to learn one's language anew: at home, phrases such as 'upstairs' or 'over there' are meaningless to an outsider, whose own 'upstairs' or 'over there' might be topoi of an altogether different set of stories.

Careri makes an interesting observation on the relationship between the building, the protagonist's body residing within the walls, and nature that complements the living picture. *The House on Mango Street* faces four elm trees that 'grow towards the sky.' Anthropomorphized, the trees fuse with Esperanza's body and her house. Unlike the building, the human being within it and the trees remain in constant motion. Such a landscape, with a symbol of permanence in the center and epitomes of change in the fringes, defines the girl's safe zone: a zone made of literary discourse of 'impure blood,' whose impurities 'bled through' from Sandra Cisneros's own biographical landscape. In this context, Elena Avilés, the next contributor to the volume, emphasizes the narrative power of the aquatic rhetoric in the text: she exposes the relationship between the landscape-related figures of water and the figurations of character. Water, in her view, stands for mother nature and its ungraspable, ever floating identity,

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which, like that of a woman's, defies the limits of language. The connection between the idea of the limits of the female body and the aquatic imagery (the flow of the creek) allows Avilés to provide her reader with an insight, whereby the combination of landscape with the concept of cultural displacement renders the *genius loci* central to the narrative as a figure rendering palpable the otherwise ineffable dynamics in a woman's life.

A female-centered perspective is also applied in chapter two, in which Elena Avilés discusses *Women Hollering Creek.* She reads the land present in the work as a culturally shaped territory upon which women *voice* their identities. Landscape therefore gains yet another role. It ceases to be a *setting* for events, it *tells* stories *pronouncing* the links between past and present and gives voice to the people who used to have none. Avilés argues that the Chicana/Chicano representations of landscape more than often alludes to the fight and struggle for the land that had been lost for a variety of complex reasons. The chapter focuses on women altering geography by manipulating the visions and views of landscapes existing in the narrative. Particularly interesting is the way in which Avilés connects the idea of crossing the US-Mexican border with the symbolic transgression of borders of one's identity: adapting to a new life as a wife, becoming a new citizen in a different country, all such transformations involve the transgression of the limits of one's self, resulting in one's becoming 'someone else', a new person.

The next chapter, by Ellen McCracken, has a more of a linguistic undertone. The author analyzes *Caramelo* by Sandra Cisneros as well as *The Brief Wondrous life of Oscar Wao* by Junot Díaz. The text itself is what interests her most. Literary footnotes and other paratexts identified in the works she selected as her material are studies with the use of methodological tools inspired by Gerard Genette. The analysis leads to the conclusion that such paratexts serve as cognitive thresholds of the processes of reading and interpreting. McCracken asserts that such a treatment of paratexts chal-

lenges the Western linear, present-dominated narratives, and offers a new perspective on footnotes or side-notes that may include mini-biographies, or even fully fledged stories.Thus, a paratextual landscape becomes the central text itself, which is the main point of Maria Laura Spoturno's argument presented in the chapter immediately following. Like McCracken, also Spoturno explores the paratextual stratum of *Caramelo*. Her inquiry complements the previous one by offering the reader a more disciplined categorization of paratexts and by demonstrating how, in the acts of reading, they shift from the margins of the main text and displace it, thus becoming, to use a Derridian phrase, dangerous supplements. She classifies them as privileged agents of a cultural and linguistic mediation. As the story progresses, paratexts become protagonists themselves.

With the second part of the book comes the change of the scenery. The next section of the collection offers studies addressing Chicana poetry; its general focus is upon the female body as a component of Chicana landscape. In the fifth chapter of the collection, Elyette Benjamin-Labarthe investigates poetry in the wide social, political, and economic context that historically conditioned male/female poetry writing and, simultaneously, determined the usage of the figures of nature in poetic texts. She stresses the importance of the difference between traditional Mexican poetry and Chicano/Chicana poetry: the latter, in her view, constitutes a distinct genre, characterized by the centrality of themes such as exile, alienation or nationhood. These motifs are in tune with the depictions of landscapes; the characters complement the natural world together with its *milpas, saguaros*, or *chamisa* blossoms, while mountains, rivers, fields, arroyos and flowers are no longer inanimate props in the process of storytelling, they became active and dynamic elements of protagonists' behavior and experience.

A shift in focus may be observed in the next chapter by Yolanda Godsey who explores the industrial milieu, in which gender struggle takes place. She also tackles the issue of undocumented workers who struggle with class, gender, and racial

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discrimination every day. The author locates her argument in the context of the 1987 Simpson-Rodino Amnesty Law that granted 'undocumented people' the opportunity to obtain legal residency, which also provides the intellectual backdrop to Godsey's study of the play *Real Women Have Curves* by Joséfina López. The plot revolves around visits from *la migra:* the immigration authorities that circulate the protagonist's—Estela's—neighborhood and control the mode of the girl's work in the garment industry. The shift in the landscape brings economic factors into play: Godsey shows how women are slaves to wage and how unjust the lower positions to which they are relegated truly are.

Inferiority and submissiveness of women in the male dominated society is a topic of major importance to Carmen Melchor Iñiguez and María Jesús Perea Villena. The scholars analyze texts by writers who offer a new vision of a Chicana: a woman able to fight against harmful beliefs shared by her traditional community. They raise issues of unhappily married Chicana teens, marginalized wives overshadowed by their macho husbands, and recent sexual liberation. The emergence of the feminist thought in the Chicana community notwithstanding, one may infer that difficulties in communicating the rationale for the newly adopted stances to the Anglo-speaking community in the US have proven to be the factor slowing down the process of change. Working toward the transformation, the feminist Chicana writers allow themselves to be ironic about their situation and vent their frustration creating narratives in which the category of womanhood, much less rigid than that born out of the androcentric discourse, allows individuality.

The third part of the volume offers an insight into the cultural conditioning of the Chicano population in the United States. Forced to negotiate their identity and ethnicity while creating their own vision of reality, Chicanos produce narratives relying upon the contuity and change of the cultural landscape with which they identify. The section begins with Berta Delgado Melgosa's study, who, analyzing selected biographies of Chicano Vietnam War veterans, argues that

identity can be constituted by trauma, which, albeit shared by representatives of many American ethnicities, always generates figures of difference. Such figures, one might infer, may be treated as portals into the discursive logic of each of these ethnic identities, including that of the Chicanos.

Sophia Emmanouilidou takes a different approach towards exploring the relation between the Chicano and the white American experience. She revisits the concept of neighborhood, focusing especially on the ambivalence of the negative associations of *el barrio*. She invites her readers to see the space of *el barrio* as a sphere of fraternity and solidarity, an enclave protecting cultural and ethnic heritage. She presents *el barrio* as a formative space and a safe space: a space in which one's origin is celebrated, in which one's identity is formed and in which it develops. Emmanouilidou deftly deconstructs the double entendre invoked by the word *el hoyo* ('a hole') being the name of *el barrio* in a collection of short stories by Mario Suárez, thus drawing attention to the interpretive potential of the frequently neglected Spanish onomastics in well-known works of literature.

Tey Diana Rebolledo explores the landscapes of protagonists' imagination using symbolic maps provided by authors of selected Chicano/Chicana narratives. She emphasizes the difference between Chicano and Mexican experience showing how Chicano identity and sense of belonging, frequently metaphorized and metonymized with reference to the figure of the house, is a construct of memory, whose texture includes threads of personal and group experience of resistance and trauma. If both home and neighborhood are states of mind, as the scholar asserts, the house and the landscape it co-creates, may well be the most legible figures of the Chicano/Chicana self.

Interweaving Spanish vocabulary within an English narrative, Chicano/Chicana literature adds a unique element to the US literary landscape. As such, it becomes a graceful object for yet another type of identity-oriented studies. The question of code switching is analyzed by José Antonio Gurpegui, María López Ponz and Cecilia Montes-Alcalá who

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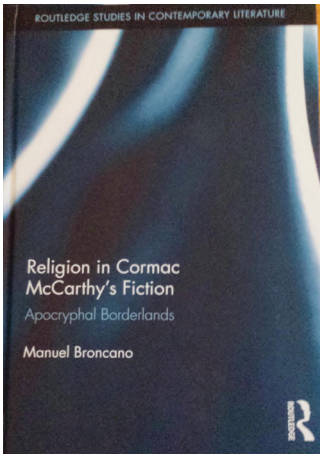
all argue that language is a weapon susceptible to political manipulation. People of Mexican descent are by far the largest minority in the United States of America. Uprooted, disconnected from their original landscape, they build it anew in the language, which remains one of the most emblematic way of 'cultivating' *the langue*. Rooted in a new soil, language requires attention and care to grow and flourish. Integrated with the substrate, the *trans*planted language manifests itself within the English discourse in loanwords, syntax and instances of code switching; a process natural to bilinguals. The above notwithstanding, Gurpegui notices that in the US context Spanish will never influence English the way the latter shapes the former: such a process would be culturally counterproductive as it would hinder the comprehension of the message. To warrant the efficiency of trans-ethnic communications, translation comes to the forefront of scholars' attention as a strategy of pivotal importance. For instance, Ponz, whose article focuses on Spanish-to-English translation, claims that translation determines the work's reception in the target culture. However, bearing in mind that writers tend to adapt the simultaneous usage of Spanish and English in their texts to their own needs and literary goals, it is important to observe that the growth of 'bilingual' literature, that is literature abundant with non-English expressions and rich in code-switching, has been stigmatized as of lesser value only initially. With time, however, it became clear that such a phenomenon is a result of a desire to confront the two concurrent languages with the view to achieving a particular effect (Lipski). The aesthetics of code-switching offers an interesting artistic tool for Chicano writers, who may thus position an English-speaking reader face to face with what is simultaneously very well familiar, yet uncanny; next-door, yet a world apart.

To sum up, the volume offers a multifaceted 'synaesthetic' introduction for those non-Spanish speakers who wish not only to experience a valuable insight into Chicano/Chicana literature, but above all, for those who are ready

to 'organically' comprehend the Chicano culture. The speechless, yet outspoken landscape, employed by the contributors to the volume as a means of modeling unmediated experience of the Chicano reality, opens space for more than just another discussion on the Chicano literature and its contexts. An interesting element of the present day academic scenery, *The Landscapes of Writing in Chicano Literature* will be an eye-opener to anyone who wishes to venture beyond the limits of his or her own discourse and to see what is there.

IASA ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT



Manuel Broncano, *Religion in Cormac McCarthy's Fiction: Apocryphal Borderlands*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

This book addresses the religious scope of Cormac McCarthy's fiction, one of the most controversial issues in studies of his work. Current criticism is divided between those who find a theological dimension in his works, and those who reject such an approach on the grounds that the nihilist discourse characteristic of his narrative is incompatible with any religious message. McCarthy's tendencies toward religious themes have become increasingly more acute, revealing that McCarthy has adopted the biblical language and rhetoric to compose an 'apocryphal' narrative of the American Southwest while exploring the human innate tendency to evil in the line of Herman Melville and William Faulkner, both literary progenitors of the writer. Broncano argues that this apocryphal narrative is written against

the background of the Bible, a peculiar Pentateuch in which *Blood Meridian* functions as the *Book of Genesis*, the *Border Trilogy* functions as the Gospels, and *No Country for Old Men* as the Book of Revelation, while *The Road* is the post-apocalyptic sequel. This book analyzes the novels included in what Broncano defines as the South-Western cycle (from *Blood Meridian* to *The Road*) in search of the religious foundations that support the narrative architecture of the texts.

Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland, and College of Arts and Sciences, Salem State University, USA, are happy to announce the international conference:

Ties and Knots. Bridges between Lands and Cultures
Ustroń, Poland
September, 18th–20th , 2014

CONFERENCE THEME

The conference has been conceptualized as a forum of interdisciplinary academic debate which aims to investigate the dialogic (perhaps dialectical as well) relationships between socially dissimilar and topographically distant cultures. The metaphor of 'bridges' becomes a scholarly construct gesturing towards globalization processes which –as the cultural understanding of the term wishes to indicate– pave the way for the intensification of cross-cultural and cross-ethic interactions taking place within global socio-political systems whose scope goes well beyond the well-entrenched boundaries of local traditions or regional political structures chief among which is the national state.

The idea of bridges is also an invitation to theorize on the processes of individual and collective identity formation with respect to contemporary multicultural societies (Great Britain, the USA, Canada). The processes, philologically speaking, are necessitated by the willingness to understand and accept the language/languages of the Other, to *bridge* the chasm of mutual misunderstanding, distrust or suspicion. In this way, approaching the Other cannot be conceived as a purely linguistic challenge. Its cultural and moral (ethical) dimensions are also manifested by the critical imperative to overcome cultural differences by means of postulating a shared sphere of symbolic resources whose norms and val-

ues may pave the way for the emergence of multilateral relations, generalized trust expectations and communicative rationalities.

Additionally, the conference is an attempt to delineate a methodological framework for discourses and theories that purport to conceptualize cultural spaces which—as opposed to objective, geographical areas—are characterized by the propensity to *bind* topographical distances by means of symbolic *ties* which foster and facilitate the familiarization of geographical places and subsume them within the perimeter of shared discourses of culture. The metaphor of *knots*, however, is also inviting a discussion of bonds that are so tightly entangled (for better or for worse, and in Darwinian discourse it defines his theory of evolution) as to become problematic and, perhaps, unresolvable. Needless to say, the conference becomes an opportunity to discuss the idea of space (but also what transcends 'space and time' as in metaphorical bridges) which is conceived as a cultural construct *in statu nascendi*, a distinct product of signifying practices, rather than an objective dimension of human practice.

When approached from a different perspective, *ties, knots and bridges* may function as metaphors illustrating methodological challenges and opportunities associated with cross-disciplinary discourses, projects or disciplines in the humanities, arts or social sciences. The conference, consequently, aims to explore processes by which supposedly dissimilar theories, concepts or notions are yoked by scholarly ingenuity to create the *discordia concors* of contemporary academic practices.

More specifically, the papers are expected to address possible juxtapositions and intersections of the following in socio-cultural, literary and other discourses:

- spatial and temporal dimensions of cultural practice;
- religious and ethical 'ties and knots' between lands and cultures;
- inter-connections between historical/literary/cultural epochs;

- cross-cultural relations that are problematically entangled together ('cultural knots' or 'Gordian knots' across cultures);
- discourses of cultural entanglement and cultural ensnarement, both on individual and social levels;
- cutting through cultural ties and attempts at disentangling relations in space, time and culture.
- theories of trust, social capital and intercultural competence;
- discourses of globalization, hybridization and cultural assimilation;
- mediascapes: digital networks and virtual realties as distinct forms of cultural spaces;
- transport and communication: technology vs. humanities;
- spaces and places as phenomenological categories;
- the social construction of urban and rural spaces;
- aesthetic bridges (accolades) between various cultures (in music, poetry and visual arts);
- methodological problems connected with contemporary cross-disciplinary initiatives;
- critiques of relationships between disciplines, arts, genres and discourses;
- bridging the impossible: utopianism in sciences, political discourses and the history of ideas;
- new spaces to occupy; new ideological spectacles in the age of Facebook and digital media.

ABSTRACT SUBMISSION

Abstracts of papers within the range of 200–250 words should be submitted by e-mail to tiesandknotsconference@gmail.com by February 20th, 2014. The proposals should include the participant's name, academic title, affiliation, e-mail address as well as a short biographical note (100 words, approx.).

The notifications of acceptance will be sent via e-mail by March 5th, 2014.

Conference proceedings will be published

FURTHER INFORMATION

Queries regarding the conference can be sent to: tiesandknotsconference@gmail.com

Please note that the relevant details concerning accommodation and conference fees will be provided in the subsequent CFP.

CONFERENCE ORGANIZERS

- Prof. Jude Nixon, Dean of Arts and Sciences, Salem State University, MA, USA.
- Prof. Ewa Borkowska, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland.
- Dr. Agnieszka Adamowicz-Pośpiech, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland.
- Dr. Rafał Borysławski, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland.
- Dr. Tomasz Burzyński, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland.
- Dr. Tomasz Kalaga, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland.
- Dr. Maciej Nowak, Institute of English Cultures and Literatures, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

The Transatlantic Walt Whitman Association is pleased to announce:

Whitman Across Genres
The Seventh Annual International Walt Whitman Symposium
to be held at
Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg
Bamberg, Germany
July 25 & 26, 2014

Founded in Paris in 2007, the Transatlantic Walt Whitman Association (TWWA) invites students, researchers, and Whitman enthusiasts to participate in its 7th annual Whitman Week, consisting of a Seminar for advanced students interested in Whitman and Whitman's poetry, and a Symposium bringing together international scholars and graduate students. Previous Whitman Weeks have been held at Universität Dortmund, Germany (2008), Université Francois Rabelais, France (2009), Università di Macerata, Italy (2010), Universidade Estadual Paulista, Brazil (2011), Szczecin University, Poland (2012), and Northwestern University, USA (2013). The 2014 events will be held at the Otto-Friedrich-University in Bamberg, one of Germany's most beautiful medieval and baroque towns situated in a region known for its historical architectural sights, natural beauty and rich culinary culture.

TWWA'S MISSION

Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass remains a landmark of modern poetry and world literature. Every year new editions of Whitman's work are published in a variety of languages; an ever-expanding group of poets 'reply' to him in their poetry; his poems are set to music and are quoted in films; he is invoked in the discussion of political and cultural issues, as well as of gender and sexuality; and he continues to be a huge presence in college and university curricula globally. In order to respond adequately to this international

phenomenon, TWWA sponsors a yearly International Whitman Seminar, during which students from different countries come together for an intensive, credit-bearing Seminar taught by an international team of Whitman specialists.

SEMINAR STRUCTURE

In the morning classes, focusing on some of Whitman's major poems and selections from his prose, students will have an opportunity to confront Whitman's books, share their readings of key poems and clusters, and discuss Whitman's attempts at a multilingual English, his cohesive representation of human relations, and his work's international significance. In addition, there will be afternoon workshops on the reception of Whitman in various countries, as well as the translation of his poems into various languages, including German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish and Asian languages. (The specific readings that will be the focus of the Seminar will be announced a month before the start of the Seminar.)

FACULTY

The team of international instructors for 2014 will be: Betsy Erkkila: Professor of American literary and cultural studies at Northwestern University; author of *Walt Whitman Among the French: Poet and Myth* (1980) and *Whitman the Political Poet* (1996); co-editor, with Jay Grossmann, of *Breaking Bounds: Whitman and American Cultural Studies* (1996); editor of *Walt Whitman's Songs of Male Intimacy and Love* (2011); Ed Folsom: Professor of American Literature at the University of Iowa; co-director of the online Whitman Archive; editor of the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*; author, co-author and editor of over 20 Whitman-related books, including, most recently, *Walt Whitman's Democratic Vistas: A Facsimile of the Original Edition* (2010), *Re-Scripting Walt Whitman* (2007) co-authored with Kenneth M. Price, *Whitman Making Books / Books Making Whitman* (2005), and *Whitman East and West: New Contexts for Reading Walt Whitman* (2002); Walter Grünzweig: Professor American Literature and Culture

at the University of Dortmund, Germany; author of *Constructing the German Walt Whitman* (1995) and *Walt Whitmann: Die deutschsprachige Rezeption als interkulturelles Phänomen* (1991); contributor to, amongst others, *Breaking Bounds: Whitman and American Cultural Studies* (1996), *Whitman East & West: New Contexts for Reading Walt Whitman* (2002), and A Companion to Walt Whitman (2009); Peter J. L. Riley: Early career fellow in American Literature at the University of Oxford, UK; author of 'Leaves of Grass and Real Estate,' published in the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*; co-founder and committee member of the British Association of Nineteenth-Century Americanists; currently working on the book project *Moonlighting Modernity: American Poets at Work*.

HOUSING

International students will live together at no charge with Bamberg University students, thus creating opportunities for meaningful intercultural dialogue. Symposium Students are expected to attend and invited to take part in the Symposium, held immediately following the Seminar, and featuring scholarly papers by Whitman scholars and graduate students from various countries. A separate paper proposal must be submitted in order to participate in the Symposium. This year's Symposium theme is 'Whitman Across Genres.'

APPLICATIONS FOR THE SEMINAR

Applications for the seminar should include a curriculum vitae, a one-page statement of interest, and a short letter of support from an instructor who knows the applicant well. All of these materials, including the letter of recommendation, should be submitted electronically to the University of Bamberg Chair of the Seminar, Professor Christine Gerhardt at <twwa2014@uni-bamberg.de> by February 15, 2014.

AN OPEN CALL FOR PAPERS

TWWA welcomes papers that explore Whitman's accomplishments in genres other than poetry—Whitman as a journalist

or fiction writer or letter writer or keeper of notebooks or essayist. In particular, we are looking for papers discussing the interrelations of his short fiction, novel, journalism, essays, private jottings, correspondence, etc., including interrelations between this body of writing and his poetry. We are also looking for presentations that investigate Whitman across all types of adaptations and reworkings in the work of later writers and artists who have talked back to Whitman: poets and translators, novelists that build upon Whitman's work, filmmakers who quote Whitman (or even portray him), musicians who set his work to music or respond to him in their own compositions. Papers should be no more than 25 minutes in duration.

One-page abstracts should be sent electronically, no later than February 15, 2014, to all four Symposium Organizers:

- Eric Athenot <eric.athenot@orange.fr>
- Stephanie Blalock <Stephanie-blalock@uiowa.edu>
- Christine Gerhardt <christine.gerhardt@uni-bamberg.de>
- Kenneth M. Price <kprice2@unl.edu>

RIAS EDITORIAL POLICY AND RIAS STYLE

RIAS EDITORIAL POLICY

- *RIAS* is an electronic, print-on-demand, open-access, peer-reviewed journal.
- *RIAS* appears twice a year, in Spring and Fall. Copy deadlines for unsolicited submissions are mid-June and mid-December, respectively. While calls for papers are not always disseminated for upcoming issues, when made, such calls will be announced at least 9 months prior to the scheduled publication date for each issue.
- *RIAS* welcomes submissions from all disciplines and approaches and from all parts of the world, provided that they pertain to the study of 'America' in the broadest implications of that term.
- Submissions can be sent to the editor-in-chief, Cyraina Johnson-Roullier, via automated submission system at the website www.rias-journal.org or at johnson.64@nd.edu
- *RIAS* seeks articles (up to 5,000 words) of general interest to the international American Studies community. If you have a proposal for an article, please contact the editor-in-chief with a brief synopsis (200 words). Suggestions for special issues, position papers, or similar initiatives should also be addressed to the editor-in-chief.
- Every submission should be accompanied by the author's name, institutional affliation, and brief author bio, in addition to an abstract of up to 200 words.

- In principle, we accept contributions in all 'American' languages (i.e., English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.). Accompanying abstracts should be in English (and, if appropriate, in the language of the article's composition).
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