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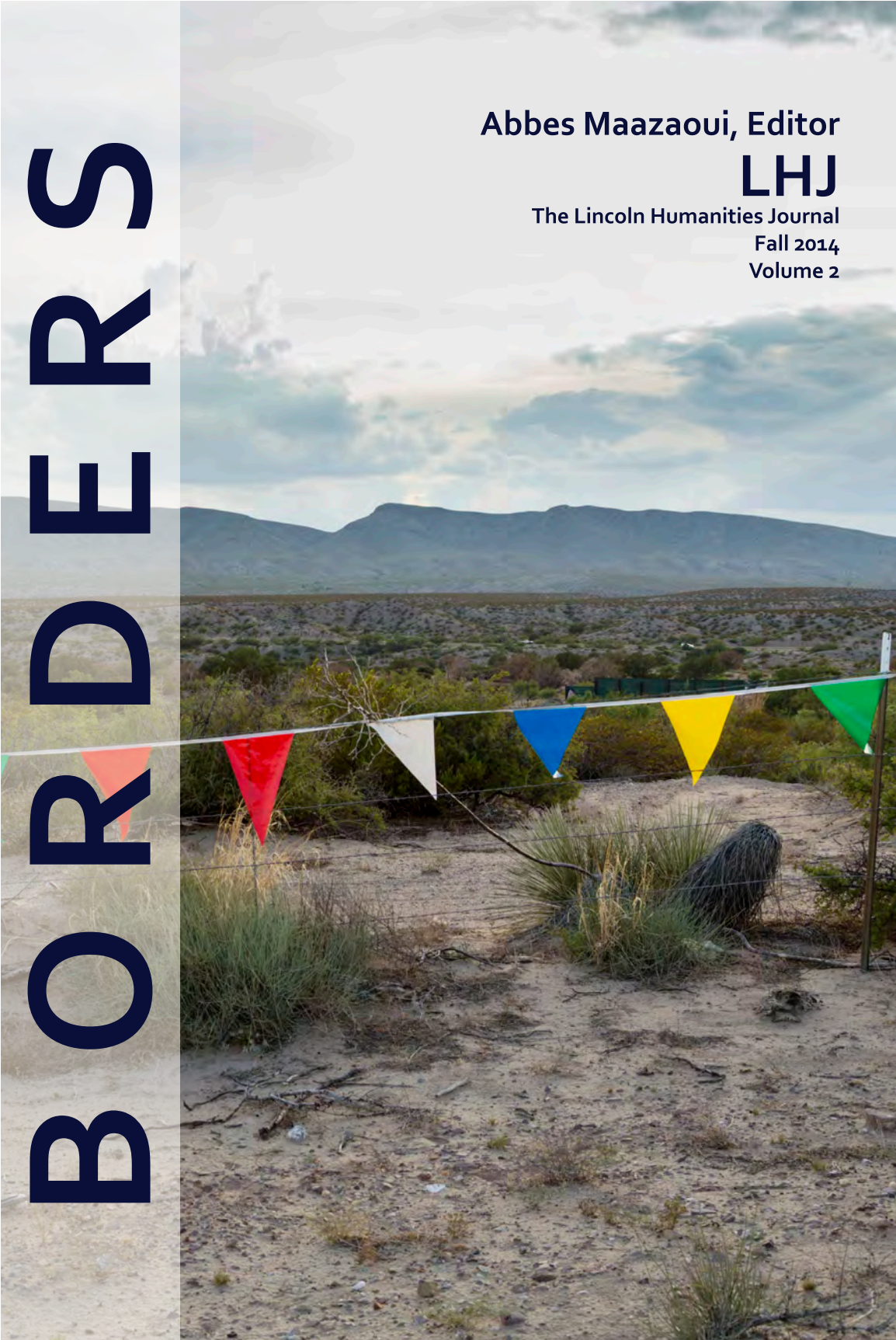
Abbes Maazaoui, Editor

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Borders

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Invention of Borders: An Introduction ABBES MAAZAOU, Editor	4
Secession and Borders of Territorial States DANA R. FLINT, The Lincoln University	10
Vietnam's Invasion of Cambodia: Humanitarianism or Unwanted Occupation? FRANK FULLER, The Lincoln University STEPHEN MCCULLOUGH, The Lincoln University	17
East, Ocean, West: Whaling, Cultural Symbolism, and Conflict FRANKLIN R. HALPRIN, Law Street Media	26
Ukrainian Intellectual of the Early XX Century: Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz GIUSEPPE PERRI, ULB Université Libre of Brussels, Belgium	35
Examination of the Connections of the “Great Migration” to the Creation of the Black Panther Party and Electoral Politics: A Preliminary Study JEAN WAITES-HOWARD, The Lincoln University CARMEN L. MANNING-MILLER, The Lincoln University	45
Border Crossing, Hidden in Plain Sight: From Urban Community to Urban Campus JAMAL BENIN, Temple University	53
The Educational Benefits of Commissioning and Premiering Vocal Repertoire at the Undergraduate Level: A Case Study of Students at Youngstown State University and Shorter KIRSTEN C. KUNKLE, Scholar & Opera Singer	62
Fantasy, Feminism, Islamism, and Sexuality in the Literature of El Saadawi, Rifaat, al-Shaykh, and Mernissi SAMAA GAMIE, The Lincoln University	70
“You Devil!”: The Governess as Gothic Outsider in Henry James’ <i>The Turn of the Screw</i>. LAURA MCKENZIE, Durham University	85
ABSTRACTS	92
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	96
SUBMISSION GUIDELINES	98

The Invention of Borders: An Introduction

ABBES MAAZAOU
Editor

A border is not something we can see, it's an invention of men, nature doesn't care.
-- Jean Renoir, *La Grande illusion*¹

In the context of this volume, the word “borders” is used both literally and figuratively. Literally, it refers to the legal, geopolitical frontier line between countries, states, provinces, government entities and the like. Metaphorically, it is liberally used to designate any form of boundaries, real or imagined, between people based on sex, wealth, religion, race, gender, or any other perceived difference. Let's briefly examine these two aspects of borders before introducing the articles included in this volume.

Obsession with Borders

The primary meaning of the word “border” is geopolitical and is predicated on people's making a self-defined territory the equivalent of a home. In the context of this definition, sedentariness is essential, even though the attachment to a specific homeland constitutes a brief moment in the human evolution if we believe Jacques Attali, a French scholar and politician who argues that humans have been mostly nomads: “Sedentary lifestyle is a brief interlude in human history,” he writes (Attali 13; my translation)². Yet despite their nomadic tendency, humans have always had an “obsession with borders” and territories to use the title of a book by Michel Foucher, a top expert on borders. For instance, Foucher writes that:

Since 1991, more than 26,000 kilometers of new international boundaries have been established; 24,000 more have been agreed upon . . . If we add the walls, fences and metallic or electronic barriers that [many countries] have announced within the last few years, these boundaries would stretch to over 19,000 kilometers. (Foucher³; my translation)

1 “Une frontière ça se voit pas, c'est une invention des hommes, la nature s'en fout” (Renoir; my translation).

2 “La sédentarité n'est qu'une brève parenthèse dans l'histoire humaine” (Attali 13).

3 “Depuis 1991, plus de 26 000 kilomètres de nouvelles frontières internationales ont été instituées, 24 000 autres ont fait l'objet d'accords de délimitation . . . Si les programmes annoncés de murs, clôtures et barrières métalliques ou électroniques étaient menés à terme ils s'étireraient sur plus de 18 000 km” (Foucher; cited in Didier Masfrand).

This ongoing proliferation of physical borders flies in the face of those who believe that modern globalization would make the world “flat” and would hasten the abolition of borders⁴. Not only new borders are continuously being drawn, but a quick survey of the current geopolitical situation shows that the most serious international conflicts relate to the delimitation of territories⁵. In addition, whether in North America or elsewhere, the presence of cameras, fences, minefields, barbed wires, and patrols at border crossings has reached an unprecedented level. Security has moved to the forefront of globalization, making borders a thriving market for new mechanisms of scrutiny⁶. No wonder, border crossings are often the dramatic locus of migration control, exchange, underground traffic, resistance, and transgression⁷.

This obsession with borders is not only important to the military-industrial complex (whose tasks include defending and protecting borders), it manifests itself at the local level, albeit on a smaller scale, in the form of gated communities, fences, and private guards. More importantly, the concept of border is extended figuratively to other human practices dedicated to establishing all types of boundaries and divisions within the same group, or between societies, races, sexes, cultures, genders, neighborhoods, etc. This second use of the word “border” opens up the domain of borders to media studies, the humanities and the social sciences.

Whether real or metaphoric, natural or artificial, visible or invisible, all these categories of borders have one thing in common: they are effectively used as a tool of exclusion and disengagement⁸.

Erecting / Crossing Borders

As object of fascination, borders are the center of two contradictory and competing forces. On the one hand, there are the apologists who advocate erecting borders and defending them against all forms of intrusion. For Charles-Yves Zarka, a French philosopher, a borderless world would be a desert populated with interchangeable individuals⁹. Régis Debray goes further in the defense of borders. In his book, *Eloge des frontières (In Praise of Borders)*, he argues that borders are essential to peace:

⁴ This is the thesis of Thomas Friedman's book, *The World Is Flat*.

⁵ Just to cite few examples: Israel and Palestine, Pakistan and India, Russia and its old satellites, China and its neighbors, and the two Koreas.

⁶ For instance, specially equipped airports in the United States were tasked to be the stop-gate for the recent Ebola outbreak in West Africa.

⁷ Immigration is a hot and divisive issue worldwide. Migrant literature abounds, and reports of abuse and tragedies are recurrent events, particularly between Africa and Europe, and Mexico and the United States. Cf. for example *Partir (To Leave)* by Tahar Ben Jelloun. For a study of immigration in this novel, see Maazaoui.

⁸ They are particularly potent when the figurative and literal dimensions of borders are combined to exacerbate the effect of exclusion. Such would be the case under the Apartheid regime, or during racial or religious pogroms.

⁹ Cf. his recent book, *Refonder le cosmopolitisme*, whose philosophical principle was laid down in *L'inappropriabilité de la Terre : principe pour une refondation philosophique*.

The border is peace. Where there is no border, there is a state of war... The border is something vital that we Westerners have pumped into the illusion of 'borderlessness'... Those who do not want boundaries are being pushed to building walls. The border is the vaccine against the wall. See the Middle East. As long as there is no border between Israel and Palestine, there will be a wall. The essence of a good border is that we cross it on both sides. This is a round trip¹⁰. (Interview; my translation)

Conversely, proponents of cosmopolitanism seek to cross if not eliminate borders, and build bridges. They believe that borders are unnatural, and infringe on people's freedom of movement. Far from being a solution, borders are considered a means of control and repression, an obstacle to peace and cooperation, and a perpetual source of conflicts and violence. Writer and world traveler Hédi Bouraoui epitomizes this view. His poems, novels and essays denounce all forms of borders and argue for world citizenship and nomadic lifestyle¹¹. Bouraoui's dream is "To be a mere mortal / Who spends his life / in the world / Motels / Without identity" (*Echosmos* 28; my translation)¹². His reluctance to be confined within the boundaries of a particular territory or any categorization is well established. In *Echosmos*, he writes: "I refuse to be / Classified / Even in the family / Of shellfish," wanting simply to be called "a neutral Yes / without a rhyme or Home / Who denies all fortunes / labels and Nations / Nationalities / Source of hate / and immortality" (28; my translation)¹³. It is no surprise that living between borders is how some would like to define their own mosaic identity. To describe this experience of hybridization and 'borderlessness' various scholars introduced concepts such as the "rhizome" by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, the "tout-monde" and the "divers" by Édouard Glissant, or the "borderlands" and "mestiza" consciousness by Gloria Anzaldúa. For this self-described "Chicana dyke-feminist" writer,

Borderlands are physically present whenever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy. (Anzaldúa, Preface)

¹⁰ "La frontière, c' est la paix. Là où il n' y a pas de frontière, il y a un état de guerre. ... la frontière est quelque chose de vital que nous, Occidentaux, avons refoulé dans l' illusion du 'sans-frontiérisme'. La frontière, c' est la modestie : je ne suis pas partout chez moi... Ceux qui ne veulent pas de frontières sont acculés à faire des murs. La frontière, c' est le vaccin contre le mur. Voyez le Proche-Orient. Tant qu' il n' y aura pas de frontière entre Israël et la Palestine, il y aura un mur. Le propre de la bonne frontière est qu' on la traverse des deux côtés. C' est un aller-retour." The book includes the lecture given by Debray in Tokyo in 2010.

¹¹ Even for non-French speakers, the titles of some of his books are self-explanatory: *Immensément croisés* (1969), *Eclate-Module* (1972), *Sans frontières-Without Boundaries* (1979), *Echosmos* (1986), *Reflet pluriel* (1986); *Emigressence* (1992); *Nomadisme* (1995).

¹² "Etre un simple mortel / qui passe sa vie / dans les Motels / du monde / Sans identité."

¹³ "Je refuse d'être / Classé / Même dans la famille / Des crustacés"; "un Oui neutre / sans rime ni Maison / Qui nie toutes les fortunes / les étiquettes et les Nations / et les Nationalités / Source de haine / et d'immortalité" (28).

This hybrid encounter subsumes the erasure of boundaries, and provides for an open space of intimacy between languages, cultures, ethnic groups, races, nationalities, and classes.

Both of these two competing attitudes toward borders have profoundly shaped the world as we know it¹⁴, and are likely to determine our destiny as a human race. Jean Renoir reminds us in his classic film, *La Grande illusion*, that borders are “an invention of men” and that “nature doesn't care” about where a frontier line is. It may be in this truth that borders have both their curse and silver lining: humans inventeth and humans removeth.

Other Voices

The essays in this collection present many interpretations of borders. The first two articles deal with issues pertaining to physical borders. Dana Flint warns against the dangers of forming and defining territorial states on the basis of national aspirations of a single ethno-group. He argues that implementing secular pluralism and human rights is more promising, for it mitigates the need to secede and opens up, for the long-term, the possibility of a world without borders. Frank Fuller and Stephen McCullough examine the limits of border crossing for humanitarian purposes. Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in the 1970s to stop the Khmer Rouge killing fields illustrates the ethical consequences and political dilemma of humanitarian invasions.

The next four articles deal with areas at the crossroads of both real and metaphoric borders. Franklin Halprin explores the challenges of overcoming boundaries and cultural misconceptions. The whaling controversy, which opposes Japan's social, cultural and historical construct of whaling to those of environmentalists and Westerners led by the United States, provides a good case in point. Giuseppe Perri reconstructs the life events of a Polish-Ukrainian intellectual of the early XX century, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, and his multicultural allegiances through wars, invasions, and migrations. Jean Waites-Howard and Carmen Manning-Miller study the transformative role of the Black Panther Party (BPP) by reconstructing how the “great migration” successfully paved the way for social and political change 'north of the borders.' Jamal Benin discusses Hyman's life and community activism as an emblematic series of geographical, social and cultural border crossings.

The last three contributions examine various figurative aspects of borders in the context of education and literature. Kirsten C. Kunkle applies the concept of boundaries to music education, challenging instructors as well as students to break through curriculum limitations and traditional expectations, and specifically, to “go beyond the expected norms of classical vocal training at the undergraduate level.” Samaa Gamie's essay offers a comparative analysis of the complicated processes of fantasy and rebellion in four Muslim women writers: El Saadawi, Rifaat, al-Shaykh, and Mernissi. These feminist writers created female characters whose aim is to carve a space of personal and sexual liberation both

¹⁴ For a potent illustration, see how Centennia Historical Atlas software condenses 1000 years of Europe's shifting borders from 1000 AD to the present into a 3½-minute video: http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=890_1367106116.

within and from dominant discourses and ideologies of patriarchal Islamism. In a subtle reading, anchored in Derrida's theory of invagination, the concept of *mise en abyme*, and the gothic genre, Laura McKenzie argues that, in Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw*, it is the governess who operates as the "narrative's outsider," and who disrupts the normal inside/outside divide. By distablizing normative boundaires, the narrative negates any conclusive and monsemic signification.

Let's hope that this volume will generate further dialogue, as people's fascination with borders is sure to continue if not intensify. Admittedly, no one could deny that the world has become more complex and more mobile, and that there is a sense of "widespread deterritorialization" (Harrington 117), which seems to usher in the promised era of a world without borders¹⁵. Yet the creation of new borders as well as the fortification of existing ones is certain to continue as evidenced by the stickiness of immigration issues in developed countries, the emergence of an independence fever among many groups bent on controlling their own destiny¹⁶, and finally, but unfortunately, the routine flare-up of (borders) conflicts across the globe.

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¹⁵ As Arjun Appadurai has observed, "more people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places [and countries] other than where they were born" (6; cited in Harrington 119).

¹⁶ Just this year, many referendums have been held to create new borders: Crimea / Ukraine, Scotland / UK, Catalonia / Spain, etc. Many more are likely to flare-up in Russia, and even in Western countries where borders are presumably secure: Belgium, France, and even the United States.

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Secession and Borders of Territorial States

DANA R. FLINT
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The Concept of Border

A “border” is the outer boundary of something, especially of a surface or area. But this need not be only physical borders. Borders can be the boundaries of the self where intrusion is an invasion of self, borderline psychotic as between what is or is not psychotic, the line between what is permissible and what is not, or the edge of the application of a concept between instances in which it applies and those in which it does not apply. Such edges may be sharp or fuzzy; the concept of “bald” has fuzzy edges, for example. The list could go on, but I am interested in political borders, those of states, provinces, countries and territories. A political border defines the outer limits of such territories, just as the border of one’s lot defines the outer limits of the land one owns. For convenience, I will refer to this border-defined land as the territorial state.

There are borders in a descriptive sense as represented in maps of forests, mountains, oceans, rivers, and other natural terrains. There are even tree lines where trees stop growing in the higher elevation of mountains. However, political borders are distinguished because they mark a territory within which a political authority is sovereign, and outside of which that authority ends. Political borders are subject to claims of legitimacy, not merely descriptions of natural edges. Moreover, within territorial states, there can be borders, such as states within the United States, cities and towns within states, and private property within towns. Also, because they represent the point of entry and exit of individuals traveling between territorial states, airports represent the borders between territorial states even though located within a given territorial state. This practical adjustment for airports underscores the way territorial borders serve the practical concerns of political and legal authority.

Political borders are determined by the arbitrary decree of kings and are the result of armed struggles, among many other forms of arbitrary fiat; or they may be determined by international treaties as an attempt to achieve rational negotiated agreements. Sometimes such borders coincide with natural descriptive boundaries, such as rivers, lakes, oceans, and mountains. Sometimes they are a straight line, as straight as a geometrically minded surveyor can get it. There are many entertaining stories on how borders get formed. In one case, during the 1770’s, a survey team was charged to establish the boundaries between Quebec and Vermont. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on how one sees it, one fifth of the survey team’s expenses was for alcoholic beverages. Later, on a review of a 22 mile stretch surveyed by the team, an international commission concluded that the boundary line was “far from a straight line.” Also, here is a

problem with rivers: the border between Indiana and Illinois is a straight line until it gets to the Wabash River; then the river becomes the border. Nature was uncooperative, however, and over time the path of the river moved. So now parts of Illinois are on the Indiana side. So much for using rivers as borders.

In what follows I will focus on certain justifications offered for forming such territorial states, and I will argue that our international system of states should not be a system of territorial states that is coextensive with ethno-cultural groups, though there may be exceptions to this based on considerations of ethno-cultural group self-defense. Global society would be better off if territorial states included within their borders a diversity of ethno-cultural groups together with governing institutions characterized by secular pluralism and human rights.

Justification of the Territorial State

Territorial states belong ideally to a whole system of states with each state being sovereign over the territory circumscribed by its borders. While the borders of territorial states are generally recognized and respected, they are not adhered to or deliberately obstructed in many situations. For example, some large states exercise hegemonic control over their smaller and weaker neighbors and governments within some states are not strong enough to exercise control over their own territories. This is now happening with Russian intrusions in Ukraine. Nevertheless, such territorial states form part of a whole web of states. While the formation of these states is a varied story, maintaining a system of such states is, on the one hand, a way to maintain world peace, and, unfortunately, border disputes are a source of wars. Moreover, invasion of one state by another state or entity is considered an act of war, and to the extent that it occurs life for millions of people can become destabilized and threatened.

So what justifies the territorial state? First, a system of laws has to apply in a jurisdiction, which is to say that it needs a territory for its application. For this to occur, a sovereign political and legal authority must exercise legal monopoly over the territory over which it is sovereign. Borders play a role because they define what is or is not part of the territory. Second, the predictability, stability, and security of the lives of people in a territory depend on there being a system of laws created and enforced by a supreme legal authority and which applies to these citizens consistently and relatively permanently. Without such a governing authority life in a given territory would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," as Hobbes famously said. So every state requires borders in which civilized life under a system of laws can be carried on. That is a central reason for the existence of territorial states.

Argument For The Right of Self-Determination of Ethno-Cultural Groups

Since the justification of the territorial integrity of the state is that it enables the state to serve the legitimate interests of individuals within the borders of the state—including providing them security and stability—the sovereign political authority of any state is obligated to maintain its territorial integrity, including

the integrity of its borders. Changes in its borders through secession, annexation by another state, or invasion, can disrupt or even destroy civilized life for individuals in a given state. All of these changes of borders involve the right of self-determination, as discussed by Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz, who go on to propose that ethno-cultural groups have a right of self-determination, and then propose that based on this right of self-determination, such groups have a conditional right to form their own territorial state through secession.

Margalit and Raz describe “encompassing groups” or “ethno-cultural groups,” as follows: they are large scale and anonymous—not face-to-face groups—and have a common culture that is inclusive of most aspects of the life of their members. Mutual recognition of members as belonging to the group is based on informally acknowledged general characteristics. By virtue of one’s birth and upbringing one comes to belong to such a group, and belonging to such a group provides a sense of self-identity. Moreover, such groups have unique cultural traditions and practices. Through these traditions and practices members gain opportunities for living only available through the group. Thus, as a member of an ethno-cultural group, the full expression of oneself is best achieved or may only be achieved through the group’s unique common culture.

Ethno-cultural groups enable prosperity, self-respect, and wellbeing, which gives them intrinsic value. Since members of the group are normally in the best position to determine what contributes to the prosperity, self-respect, and wellbeing, some form of self-determination or self-governance is desirable for such groups. Margalit and Raz do qualify this claim. Self-governance is desirable so long as an ethno-cultural group is not oriented toward exploitation, denigration, persecution, or genocide of non-members, or even toward its own members. Putting that aside, they propose that participation in the political process is desirable to the extent that the flourishing of an ethno-cultural group requires public resources. Not all ethno-cultural groups get politically involved. The Amish, for example, have some level of self-governance in their own communities but they lack extensive participation in the political process.

Since a given ethno-cultural group may be part of a diversity of such groups in a territorial state, why not secede to form a new territorial state in which a the ethno-cultural group forms the majority of citizens? Also, since prosperity and wellbeing are best served through self-governance of an ethno-cultural group, secession is justifiable to achieve this self-governance. Some peoples, such as the Amish, would not consider this. The ethnic Russians in Crimea apparently would; in March 2014 in a Crimean referendum, they voted for secession from Ukraine.

Secession and Crimea

The decision to secede is serious since it is intended to be long term and permanent, as is the annexation of one state by another. So what might justify Crimea’s secession from Ukraine? A majority of ethnic Russians residing in Crimea apparently favored the secession and voted for it, though some would question the validity of the vote.

That vote was, in effect, a plebiscite, which, I suggest, is an approximation to the belief in classical social contract theory that government rests on consent of the governed. There are reasons to raise doubts about its validity in the Crimean case. For one, there were controversies over the percent of the Crimean population that actually voted, from 30% to 97%. The Russian occupation of Crimea during the vote was intimidating, partly because of the implied threat of violence. The vote did not involve all of Ukraine, but only the ethnic Russian-dominated Crimea peninsula. The choices on the ballot were in effect secession or annexation to the Russian Federation, neither of which involved remaining in the Ukrainian state. Also, the vote required a majority approval, but given the intended irreversible and permanent nature of such a decision, a supermajority might have made more sense.

Crimea's secession was more like a unilateral secession from Ukraine. Compare that to the proposed secession of Quebec from Canada where there was a constitutional democratic process by which attempts were made to establish the secession of French speaking Quebec from the remainder of English speaking Canada. The fact that there was such a process surely mitigated the dangers of a violent confrontation. In contrast, the destabilization of Ukraine that occurred as a result of the unilateral secession is evident in the present move by Russian separatists to claim territory and secede from eastern Ukraine. Unilateral secessions affect people who are not part of the decision to secede, often very adversely. That is why they need to be involved in such votes.

There are further questions about whether a valid plebiscite vote is sufficient to justify secession. One might hold that it provides only *prima facie* justification of secession. Other conditions need to be met, such as whether the minority populations in the newly formed state have rights against being exploited, harmed, or otherwise treated adversely. Also, whether the secession was from a territorial state that was seriously corrupt, engaged in unjust practices, or violated human rights needs to be considered. Most important, it may be that secession is out of an urgent need for an ethno-cultural group's self-defense. Indeed, the best argument for secession is that it is a move for self-defense against the violence of the state from which a territory secedes; such has been argued on behalf of the Kurds in Northern Iraq under the regime of Saddam Hussein. Finally, it is important that the result be a viable state in the sense that the newly formed state is capable of providing for the safety and wellbeing of its citizens. There is not much point to seceding if that amounts to jumping from the frying pan into the fire. So all of this suggests that the justification of secession is more complicated than taking a vote and seceding.

Nationalist Aspirations

Marglit's and Raz's proposal for a conditional right of self-governance of ethno-cultural groups needs further scrutiny, especially where it involves secession to form a new territorial state. To be sure, the prosperity and wellbeing of members of ethno-cultural groups is more likely to be enhanced by self-governance. But should this self-governance be in the form of sovereign authority over a territorial state?

It is not easy to join an ethno-cultural group if one is not already in it by birth and early upbringing; in most cases whether or not one belongs to an ethno-cultural group is entirely involuntary. Moreover, members of ethno-cultural groups belong to the in-group while those who are not members belong to the out-group. Hence, the existence of such groups carves up humanity, with each ethno-cultural group marked by its difference with outsiders. Put another way, a fundamental characteristic of ethno-cultural groups is their exclusivity. With exclusivity there is often a corresponding emphasis on a group's purity and difference from nonmember groups. Inter-marriage with members of other groups is discouraged or prohibited.

Margalit and Raz argue for the conditional right of self-determination of ethno-cultural groups, based on the belief that wellbeing and prosperity of the members of such groups are better served if they are self-governing. However, secession involves the additional step of seceding from a territorial state to form a new territorial state. Since a territorial state exercises sovereign and coercive power within its borders, in a newly formed state, a majority ethno-cultural group would have a monopoly coercive power. With a monopoly of coercive power coupled with exclusivity, there is little to put a check on uses of coercive power in ways that are adverse to the minority of individuals and groups that occupy the territory in question. Institutional checks and balances against that tendency are harder to come by in a new territorial state formed by secession for the purpose of having one ethno-cultural group dominate its operations.

The idea of all-encompassing groups or ethno-cultural groups is vague and general. In fact, when we consider specific ethno-cultural groups, we find that many such groups are also religious groups. However, according to Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, religions are inherently divisive because their nature is to be exclusive and they claim a moral superiority to nonmember individuals and groups that is even greater in proportion to the level of intensity of religious belief. Religions compete with other religions, and competition of cultural and moral belief-systems often reaches the level of violent confrontations. Perhaps most often, secession to form a new territorial state is a secession of a religious ethno-cultural group.

If a given religious ethno-cultural group secedes to form a new territorial state, that exclusivity and moral superiority can be a source of oppression of minorities within a state or of conflicts between states. To be sure, sometimes secession of religious-cultural groups to form a new territorial state may be desirable to avoid frequent violent confrontations, as in the separation of Pakistan from India, or as a matter of self-defense against brutal neighbors. However, An-Na'im suggests that the most desirable situation is to seek to achieve a synergy of religious, human rights, and secular pluralist "paradigms." In agreement with this and, given exclusivist potentialities for oppression and even violence towards nonmembers, I suggest that it is desirable that the model for forming new states not be exclusively for the self-governance of a single ethno-cultural group, but to combine with secular pluralism and human rights.

The human rights paradigm seems fundamental to the formation of any new state as a minimal requirement for the treatment of its citizens, and it is a fundamental to existing territorial states. Human rights applies to all individual

citizens, regardless of group affiliation. As suggested by An-Na'im, human rights are understood in a narrow sense by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in a broader sense as the concern, represented by civil rights movement, for justice and freedom. Human rights norms are sanctioned by the global community but also understood to be applied through the sovereign power of territorial states. An-Na'im says there are ideological and cultural differences about what is to count as specific human rights—whether they emphasize educational and economic rights or civil and political rights—but they can refocus on those features of religions that are consistent with them and religions motivate people to adhere to norms of human rights.

The secular-pluralist paradigm proposed here is different from that of Margalit and Raz. While Margalit and Raz are concerned with secession to form a new territorial state based on the self-governance of a single ethno-cultural group, the secular-pluralist emphasis envisions territorial states as housing and protecting multiple ethno-cultural groups, including diverse religious ethno-cultural groups. It envisions a public policy that makes pragmatic adjustments and peaceful coexistence of diverse groups within its territorial borders. The effect of this paradigm is that it mitigates the tendency of exclusivist groups to engage in violent conflicts; conflicts are addressed on a model of pragmatic problem solving. This, I suggest, is a much better paradigm of governance than the one by which ethno-cultural groups engage in secessionist activities to establish new territorial states over which one group exercises exclusive sovereign power.

I propose that it is better that the paradigms of secular pluralism and human rights exist within the borders of all territorial states. The reason is that where a given territorial state is governed by norms of secular pluralism and human rights, the much more complex interaction among diverse ethno-cultural groups within its borders involves a daily process of pragmatic mutual accommodation and adjustment of the interests of one group with those of another group, and respect for the rights of minority citizens. If a single ethno-cultural group dominates a territorial state, there is much less of a need for such accommodation and adjustment, or protection for minority group members on a day to day basis. There is a better chance of mitigating the propensities of exclusivity in a state having key institutions that exemplify minimal norms of secular pluralism and human rights. Territorial states formed exclusively on the basis of national aspirations of a single ethno-cultural group would tend to exacerbate the propensities of exclusivity to violence and conflict. Secession to form such states would foster that tendency. The model proposed here is a presumptive model, not always final. There are exceptions to this as indicated earlier. The need to defend one's group against unfriendly neighbors represents an exception. At certain points, the Kurds might have argued for secession in Northern Iraq. The French-Canadian population in Quebec would have much less of an argument of the necessity to form a separate territorial state for self-defense.

There is a broader significance to this. Emphasis on ethno-cultural groups tends to go with the idea that an individual is at home in his particular group, and that the resources and power of the territorial state are there to serve the

wellbeing of his group. The ideal of world citizenship stands in contrast to this. My proposal is to mitigate the pernicious tendencies of ethno-cultural group exclusivity through a pragmatic secular pluralism and a human rights paradigm, which involves the slow evolution of cultures of the world to be inclusive of those who would be “outsiders” at least on some levels. It envisions a world in which individuals would be at home anywhere and not at home only in a particular territorial state housing a particular ethno-cultural group. The ideal is cosmopolitan rather than the provincial.

Conclusion

This discussion underscores the difference between self-determination short of the sovereignty of a given territorial state, and the governance of a territorial state. There is no argument here against the self-governance on some level of ethno-cultural groups or religions. To a large extent such groups engage in some form of self-governance even where they do not exercise political sovereignty within territorial borders. However, with some exceptions, it is objectionable to form territorial states based on the majority rule of single ethno-cultural groups. It is better to have territorial states formed with a multiplicity of ethno-cultural groups adhering to a paradigm of secular pluralism. Even human rights norms will have a better chance of being effective in such pluralistic states. This would tend to mitigate the negative propensities of exclusivity of single ethno-cultural groups. Borders are important because they define the space within which the day to day life of citizens is carried on. Mutual pragmatic adjustment and accommodation between citizens representing different ethno-cultural groups within the borders of a territorial state has value in itself, especially when coupled with the paradigm of human rights. The latter is more likely to lead to a cosmopolitan ideal of people being at home anyplace in the world rather than just at home in their own limited ethno-cultural niche.

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Vietnam's Invasion of Cambodia: Humanitarianism or Unwanted Occupation?

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The wind whispers of fear and hate. The war has killed love. And those that confess to the Angka [the Khmer Rouge governing body] are punished, and no one dare ask where they go. Here, only the silent survive.

--Dith Pran, *The Killing Fields* (Film)

One may simply read Dith Pran's haunting words above to be reminded of the unspeakable horrors committed during the 1975-79 Khmer Rouge regime. On a more technical note, one can also ask, why did Vietnam invade Cambodia? Was it a humanitarian intervention or an unwanted occupation, with respect to human rights laws? Samantha Power suggests that it might be both: "Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia had a humanitarian consequence but was not motivated by humanitarian concerns" (Power 141). When Vietnam stormed into Cambodia in the late 1970s, it essentially saved the Cambodian people from further Khmer Rouge atrocities. Though it may have been unbeknownst to Vietnam at the time, it [Vietnam] actually stopped the massacre that was occurring. The question that remains, especially translated through Power's research, is whether the act itself was humanitarian, to aid Cambodia's people, or an intentional invasion, so as to provide an excuse for Vietnam to impose its ideals on another country and spread its own version of Communism (Power 141). It could have turned out to be both, in fact, and this question will be further explained.

The facts behind the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia challenge the possibility of an easy answer. Though Vietnam provided a way out for Cambodia, several consequences remained. Vietnam ended up staying around too long trying to set up a new government, much to the distaste of the Cambodian people. The general consensus was that something had to be done to stop the killings, and Vietnam provided at least some kind of an answer with its mass invasion of sorts. At least the atrocities were halted, but many were struggling with what would come next. What kind of future was held for them? Was Vietnam going to stay forever? (Power 149). Kassie Neou, survivor of KR regime atrocities, states:

My first response was raw. It was a simple, 'Phew, we survived.' My second thought, upon understanding that our land was occupied, was, 'Uh-oh.' Basically, the Vietnamese saved us from sure death, and they

deserved our thanks for that. But years later, we felt like saying, 'We already said thank you. So why are you still here?' (Power 149).

This is a powerful statement considering that it comes from someone who was tortured and imprisoned on five separate occasions by the KR and became the only survivor of his group. Neou was able to hang on long enough by telling fables and comforting his captors, which is why they sought to spare him, even though he would be considered an "intellectual" under their eyes and therefore the enemy. This is significant because someone facing such trauma would likely feel overjoyed at the thought of being rescued, but the rescuers apparently had their own agenda, affecting him enough to the point where he questioned their legitimacy also.

There is some basis for arguing that the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia provided a legitimate excuse for humanitarian intervention. There is no question that humanitarian aid was desperately needed in Cambodia, though few were willing to respond. America had already dealt with Vietnam in the long war that had recently ensued, and the US was unwilling to go to Southeast Asia again to risk further lives, even though genocide was occurring. The US was still deliberating on what to do about the KR regime, period. The KR had left no stone unturned as far as killing who they intended to kill (the educated, the upper class), and they were not going to stop unless something happened, which did in the form of Vietnam invading and occupying the country. However, Vietnam did provide some form of peace and did eventually give out food aid, though there was some controversy, and Vietnam did not intentionally mass slaughter Cambodians like the KR did during their occupation. The movement itself of Vietnamese troops into Cambodia was reason enough to be called a humanitarian mission. Author Michael Veuthey, in his article "Humanitarian Ethical and Legal Standards," describes the Khmer Rouge rule as "a genocidal communist regime responsible for the death of more than 1.5 million of its own people between 1975 and 1979..." (Veuthey 134).

Why was the occupation done? Was it meant to stop the Khmer Rouge atrocities? Vietnam provided an answer whereas the U.S. was still struggling with how to respond. Senator Georgia McGovern, a Democrat from South Dakota who gradually became a humanitarian advocate, said:

After all those years of predictions of dominos falling and Communist conspiracies...it was *Vietnam* that went in and stopped Pol Pot's slaughter. Whatever their motivation, the Vietnamese were the ones who supplied the military force to stop the genocide. They should have gotten the Nobel Peace Prize (Power 146).

Vietnam did indeed stop genocide, and though it was bitter rivals with the U.S. a few years before, at least Vietnam saved America the worry of being pressured to take action against the KR in Cambodia. Interestingly enough, international humanitarian law might be applied to the case of stopping the KR regime, though not to its fullest extent:

International humanitarian law is usually defined as the set of principles and rules restricting the use of violence in ethnic conflicts, both to spare the persons not (or no longer) directly engaged in hostilities (wounded, sick, and shipwrecked members of the armed forces, prisoners of war, and civilians), and to limit the use of methods and means of warfare that causes superfluous injury (or excessive suffering, as in the case of dumdum bullets or with gas warfare), or severe damage to the natural environment, or betrayal of an adversary's confidence in agreed-upon obligations ('perfidy') (Veuthey 117).

By actually taking action, Vietnam was exercising its rights as a nation both to spare the Cambodians from further bloodshed and to limit the brutal methods of warfare that the KR used on its own people. Vietnam stopped the military forces from becoming any more aggressive and saved Cambodian civilians essentially. A humanitarian intervention can be justified on these grounds, especially concerning the barbaric nature of the acts committed.

More than likely, legitimate grounds existed for humanitarianism to prevent suffering. One survivor recounts the following:

'When you are suffering like we suffered, you simply cannot imagine that nobody will come along to stop the pain,' he remembers. 'Everyday, you would wake up and tell yourself, 'somebody will come, something is going to happen.' 'If you stop hoping for rescue, you stop hoping. And hope is all that can keep you alive' (Power 141).

Horrible methods of torture were administered on prisoners, and some were eventually executed, but many were subject to punishment until they "confessed" to their crimes. There was untold suffering that seemed never to stop, and the KR regime intended on executing those they had targeted until they were all eliminated. Basically, some of the legitimacy for Vietnamese action can be taken here also: "The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited" (qtd. in Saint Petersburg Declaration of 1868, Article 22 of the Hague Regulations of 1907, Veuthey 118)...Also, Protocol I states that "In any armed conflict, the right of the Parties to the conflict to choose methods or means of warfare is not unlimited" (qtd. in Paragraph 1, Article 35, Protocol I of 1977, Veuthey 118). The KR had no right to cause unlimited suffering on Cambodia's people, and so Vietnam had some humanitarian grounds. The genocide seemingly spared almost no one, people starved to death, the KR forced others to work until collapsing, and there was no mercy towards women and children either, as one refugee, Seath K. Teng, only four years old when separated from her family, recalled later:

In the center of the meeting place was one woman who had both of her hands tied behind her. She was pregnant and her stomach bulged out. Before her stood a little boy who was about six years old and holding an ax. In his shrill voice he yelled for us to look at what he was going to do. He

said that if we didn't look, we would be the next to be killed. I guess we all looked, because the woman was the only one killed that day. The little boy was like a demon from hell. His eyes were red and he didn't look human at all. He used the back of his ax and slammed it hard on the poor woman's body until she dropped to the ground. He kept beating her until he was too tired to continue (Power 116).

Was the incentive to remove Pol Pot meant to be humanitarian at all? Prince Sihanouk, who was once a leader of the KR front and placed under house arrest once the Vietnamese took over, said: "It is a nightmare...The Vietnamese, they are like a man who has a very delicious piece of cake in his mouth—Cambodia—and all that man can do is swallow the cake" (Power 149). The Vietnamese could almost not turn down the thought of invading their neighbor, and they overtook the entire country in all respects, no matter for what reason. They wished to quash further slaughter by Pol Pot, especially over Vietnamese border disputes (which are further discussed), but they also could not tolerate such killings going on so close to Vietnam. The Vietnamese feared that the killings might reach them next door, and they had to react before everyone in Cambodia was dead, including the Vietnamese minorities there.

Why was the invasion/occupation a necessary task? Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations at the time, states:

I almost always think it's always wrong for a country to transgress the borders of another country, but in the case of Cambodia I'm not terribly upset...It is a country that has killed so many of its own people, I don't know if any American can have a clear opinion of it. It's such a terribly ambiguous moral situation (Power 146).

This is interesting, since the U.S. was willing to denounce Vietnamese action as a dangerous Communist regime attempting to spread its wings, but then again, some kind of action was needed for Cambodia to right itself again. Which was worse, an imposing foreign Communist occupier or a regime that promoted mass slaughter? The U.S. struggled with this decision. Rather than the US deciding what action to take, by this point in time, Vietnam had already invaded Cambodia. The less difficult challenge for America was to decide who to support, the old KR regime or the new Vietnamese-style government? Americans were opposed to Communism, but at the same time were intolerant of genocide. Either opinion seemed quite controversial, but the U.S. repeatedly lauded Vietnamese action for at least stopping the KR.

Besides Vietnam, no one else dared stop Pol Pot in the immediate future. Vietnam seemed to have had supporters in this respect, and though many in the UN disagreed with the invasion, "none contested the atrocities committed by Pol Pot. Indeed, all were quick to preface their support for maintaining recognition of the KR with disclaimers that they 'held no brief' for the Pol Pot regime," they "did not condone their human rights record," and "did not excuse their abominable crimes" (Power 151).

Also, “a state which engages in gross violations of the human rights proclaimed by the Universal Declaration and other relevant human rights instruments, violates the UN Charter obligations spelled out in Articles 55 and 56” (Buergenthal 126). This mass slaughter committed by the KR regime is evidence that something had to be done by someone. Again, as the U.S. did, the UN favored Vietnamese action, though not for imposing Communism, but for merely thwarting those in power. The KR did, after all, violate the UN Charter, and the situation called for some action. No one supported Pol Pot's human rights record, as was obvious.

The outside world's indifference created some problems; would Vietnam have acted had the rest of the world, including America, intervened? The following quote by Power brings this question to mind:

By 1978 the Khmer Rouge were feeling more vulnerable to the outside world. They had moved from scapegoating their own citizens to scapegoating their neighbors. The KR had begun trying to infiltrate and occupy southern Vietnam in 1977, and border skirmishes had intensified. In early December, Vietnam, fed-up with Pol Pot's attacks and backed by the Soviet Union, had sent some 60,000 troops just inside the Cambodian border" (Power 136).

The U.S. was less likely to travel to Vietnam, and no one wanted another Vietnam War; the U.S. still had to make a decision, but Vietnam took care of that for them. In fact, Kathryn Perkins suggests that war weariness and uncertainly related to our recent involvement in Vietnam were primary factors for American non-intervention:

The Cambodian genocide took place in a turbulent period in America's history of foreign politics and intervention. With the Watergate scandal and Vietnam protests, the air was filled with uncertainty and mistrust. Furthermore, the fear of making yet another mistake (as many had characterized the Vietnam War) loomed heavily over Americans. The combination of this uncertainty and fear immobilized Americans (Perkins 2013).

The U.S. denied that genocide took place and simply hoped it would stop. Perhaps the Vietnamese would not have attacked had they had fewer border skirmishes with Cambodia. The Cambodians started attacking Vietnam and even attempting to occupy that country to further KR power, which turned out to be a mistake. Vietnam eventually got tired of border skirmishes and invaded the country. Additionally, the invasion served the dual purpose of not only bringing the KR atrocities to a halt, but also bringing attention to Vietnam's own regime.

This was possibly an unwanted occupation, as Power explains:

Cambodians themselves were elated to be rid of the KR but opposed to the Vietnamese occupation. The Vietnamese had brought about a liberation

from hell, but they did not usher in the freedom for which Cambodians longed. Vietnam's claims to have invaded simply to stop atrocity and to defend its borders from Cambodian attacks were proven more hollow with the passage of time. Some 200,000 Vietnamese troops patrolled the Cambodian countryside, and Vietnamese advisers clogged the Cambodian governmental ministries" (Power 148).

Through humanitarian intervention, according to Hugo Grotius, 17th century, and other international legal scholars in early times, one may see using force as lawful "by one or more states to stop the maltreatment by a state of its own nationals when that conduct was so brutal and large-scale as to shock the conscience of the community of nations," "this doctrine was greatly misused in the past and frequently served as a pretext for the occupation or invasion of weaker countries" (Buergenthal 3). Unfortunately, "humanitarianism" was used and abused throughout history, including in the Vietnamese-Cambodia case. Someone had to stop the KR, but Vietnam used the invasion as a tool to linger and impose a distinctly Vietnamese ruling philosophy on Cambodia. Vietnam marched through the country, imposed its own branch of politics, and tried to change the face of Cambodia, much like a colonial power would do.

Vietnam used aggressive invasion tactics. Power points out that one of them included food distribution:

The Vietnamese-backed regime earned further criticism because of its mishandling of a potential famine. It initially dismissed as Western propaganda reports that Cambodians faced imminent starvation because of disruption of planting and poor cultivation. Then, when outside aid was clearly needed, the regime was more intent on using food as a political weapon than ensuring Cambodians were fed (Power 148).

Also, Article 54 of the Protocol outlaws "starvation of civilians as a method of warfare..." (qtd. in Buergenthal, referring to Geneva Conventions Protocol I, Article 54, 326). Using food as a negotiating tactic indeed is inhumane and tends to anger those people who need it, but it served in controlling those who are desperate. The Vietnamese were, in some ways, starting a whole new problem with some of their Communist methods, and though they did not outright kill people like the KR did, they disrupted the Cambodian daily life. Vietnam fully intended on performing this invasion, but it could only do so much if it were to gain UN legitimacy and woo the Western powers.

This invasion was perhaps an excuse to spread Vietnam's propaganda and impose a particularly Vietnamese form of communism. There had to be some justification, which they found: "Upon seizing the country, the Vietnamese found evidence of mass murder everywhere. They were sure this proof would strengthen the legitimacy of their intervention and their puppet rule" (Power 142). Vietnam had meant to invade, but the Vietnamese also desired to show the terror of the KR in its fullest force. They actually set up museums of photos, bones, and other propaganda to strengthen their cause and to blame Pol Pot, so that the Cambodian people would realize how horrible his atrocities were.

Rumors were intentionally spread that Pol Pot was responsible for everyone who died; it was also found that the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia was completely obliterated, and this was further grounds for Vietnam's use of force.

Why was the invasion's purpose likely driven by motivation to impress the West and bring attention to Hanoi? They wanted to booster their own regime: "Aware of the Khmer Rouge's isolation and unpopularity in the West, Hanoi thought it would earn praise if it overthrew Pol Pot. It also concluded that regardless of the outside world's opinion, it could not afford to allow continued KR encroachments into the Mekong Delta." (Power 142). The Vietnamese realized that many Western states frowned on the KR, so they took advantage of this animosity and felt that they could at least get attention by invading. They were tired of border skirmishes with Cambodia, who tried numerous times to occupy Vietnam from the South. They took note of this once and for all of course. Though they also knew of the U.S.'s fear of Communism, Vietnam determined that perhaps this could be one way that their type of government could be justified if they performed this act, and when in comparison with their own state, at least the KR would be considered far worse.

The more convincing case, on whether this was both an invasion and a humanitarian mission, raises an interesting debate. The following explanation by Power can be interpreted as to the contradictory nature of the events, on recognizing the new regime by the UN:

They first insisted that recognizing the Vietnamese-installed regime would mean condoning external intervention and licensing foreign invasions by big powers into small states, thus making the world 'a more dangerous place.' Yet they next claimed that maintaining recognition of the Pol Pot government would not mean condoning genocide or licensing dictators elsewhere to believe they could treat their citizens as abusively as they chose" (Power 151-52).

Here it is proven that the case could be stated for either, depending on one's perspective. States are usually not supposed to meddle in others' conflicts unless a specific reason exists: "In view, however, of certain unacceptable injustices and totalitarian acts carried out by dictatorial regimes, in 1991, UN Resolution 688 introduced the concept of "right to intervene" on humanitarian grounds" (Gunn 43). It is essentially "not illegal for the UN under Article 2(7) of the Charter, which bars intervention in matters essentially within a Member State's domestic jurisdiction, to take appropriate measures designed to compel that state not to engage in gross violations of human rights" (Buerghenthal 124). Vietnam did stop human rights atrocities with invasionary tactics, but it also raised the argument that it was a foreign power trying to take advantage of a weaker power to gain ground for its own legitimacy. Vietnam had rights under the UN Resolution to cross into Cambodia, and appropriate measures could be interpreted as occupying and doing whatever necessary, within reason, to stop atrocities. Vietnam was in sort of a gray area in international law, since it was not exactly illegal to do what was done to overthrow this government. Vietnam had grounds to do this, but invading completely to spread its propaganda was only part of the

case. Finally, perhaps Vietnam invaded to bring attention to Hanoi, but also to stop the regime and border disputes, while simultaneously serving as a humanitarian mission. Unintentionally, the event turned into a two-tiered action, one justified on humanitarian grounds but also on wanting to invade a neighbor to extend its power; the invasion turned into a humanitarian mission at the same time, essentially.

Has the case been properly stated for why this event happened, and what could have made it an invasion if not an occupation, and vice versa? Why did the invasion happen instead of non-action regarding Cambodia? For many Cambodians, “the occupation by the Vietnamese quickly came to feel like a ‘liberation’ similar to that of Poland by the Soviets after Nazi rule” (Power 149). The doctrine of humanitarian intervention supports “contemporary arguments about the rights of international organizations or groups of states to use force, if necessary, to put an end to massive violations of human rights” (Buergenthal 4). Probably because international humanitarian law existed, and the case for military intervention was allowed, did Vietnam feel obligated to intervene. There is a gray area, as stated, between military intervention and humanitarianism, and Vietnam took advantage of this murky area between both concepts to invade and stop the KR atrocities immediately:

Contemporary international humanitarian law is the moving balance between two dynamic forces: the requirements of humanity and military necessity. It is also the sum of tragic real-life experiences that need not be repeated: military wounded and shipwrecked—and the humanitarian personnel taking care of them—must be rescued and respected; prisoners of war must be humanely treated and released at the end of active hostilities; and civilians not be killed nor harmed” (Veuthey 118).

If Vietnam had no border conflicts with Cambodia particularly, this invasion would have been less likely to occur, though Vietnamese minorities in Cambodia were also being slaughtered; if no massacre had occurred, Vietnam would obviously have been less irritated with Cambodia.

There is some future promise towards more clearly identifying why such an invasion/humanitarian mission occurred here, and also why it could happen again. We find interesting parallels by the Soviets here to the Allied Liberation after WWII and there was no other choice but for the people to renounce their sovereignty:

UN delegates, mainly from the Soviet bloc, argued that the KR’s brutality was of such magnitude that they had forfeited their claim to sovereignty. These UN representatives contended that the new regime controlled Cambodia’s territory, represented the people’s will, and therefore earned the rank of legitimate sovereign. Some pointed to the Holocaust. The Grenada representative compared the Vietnamese liberators to the Allied liberators who administered Germany after defeating it (Power 151).

There is certainly potential that such actions could repeat themselves, and the Cambodian people felt it necessary to elevate a great leader to power, much like Germany, though they were unaware of the leader's intentions, and soon, a disaster broke out. Much like Poland when the Soviets invaded to liberate them from the Germans, the Vietnamese flooded Cambodia and saved the people, also using this opportunity as a platform to impose Vietnamese-style Communism, as one regime simply became another. However, Cambodia's people allowed the Vietnamese invasion to occur when atrocities became so bad that they pleaded for help, any kind of help, no matter the consequences. Cambodia got its answer, though not exactly what it asked for—it turned out to be a humanitarian mission because the Pol Pot massacres stopped, but it was also an unwanted occupation when Vietnam found ways to legitimize its own regime by blaming Pol Pot for slaughter and Vietnamese border skirmishes. Vietnam stayed around for awhile, disrupting life in Cambodia with a foreign invader's desire to solidify its power. However, Power's criticism of the Vietnamese is only partially justified in this sense, failing to also appreciate the fact that if something was not done, the entire Cambodian state would possibly have erupted into chaos indefinitely. No one else seemed to want to provide any emergency assistance, and Vietnam at least took the risk, whether it was wanted or not. The world was not saved from Communism, but the Cambodian people were, for the time being, saved from certain death.

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East, Ocean, West: Whaling, Cultural Symbolism, and Conflict

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Whaling has been a part of human activity for ages, but over the past two centuries it became a problem. By the late 1960s, as public consciousness about biodiversity loss increased, many nations decreased and even ended their whaling activities. Notoriously, some whaling groups refused to comply with these new standards. Countries representing opposing stances engaged in heated debates within the International Whaling Commission and on the high seas, the latter being the sites of the high profile consequences of the divergent and clashing attitudes towards whaling. It would be incorrect to state that whales are no longer endangered species, but considering the fact that most former whaling countries have refrained from said activity, not all species of whales are likely to remain on the brink of extinction indefinitely. Nonetheless, the few nations that continue to whale have been heavily criticized by the West. Consequently the causes of these tensions cannot simply be a product of concern for wildlife conservation. Rather, an increasingly significant aspect of the debate arises from different cultures and patterns of national behavior and the impediments these dynamics pose to international relationships. Some scholars argue that Westerner's feelings towards Japan's disregard for international norms are a point of contention and cite whaling as a particular manifestation of it. Others have suggested that the United States and Europe are jealous of Japan's economic success and simply "Japan-bash" via the whaling issue. The debate over whaling, no longer dominated by discourse concerning natural resource conservation and defense of endangered species, has come to exemplify the modern world's challenges of international cooperation and of surmounting cultural boundaries.

Scarcity in this case became a problem not because of the economic concerns for a resource running out or because rivalry was sparked, but rather because some nations' attitudes towards whaling changed and the issue shifted to what to do about the animals themselves. Elinor Ostrom explains that because these concerns are on a global scale, it is difficult to establish effective governance when people advocate for a single idealized solution (Ostrom 10). She continues by elaborating that"

"Designing a system in a top down fashion and imposing it...is not as successful as working with the users of a common pool resource over time to develop a system that is well matched to the ecological system as well as to the practices, norms, and long term economic welfare of the participants" (14).

Different parties have very different attitudes towards the whaling industry and have failed to address their concerns in a cooperative and tolerant manner as Ostrom has proposed. Over the past three decades a rift has opened and continued to widen between anti-whaling nations such as the United States and much of Western Europe, and pro-whaling nations such as Japan, Norway, the Soviet Union while it lasted, and various tribal groups. The United States and Europe have taken the lead in formulating and attempting to implement anti-whaling policies and regulations across the globe, without pursuing an effective dialogue with the opposing nations, much to the chagrin of the latter. This has become the primary focus of the whaling debate in modern times.

The International Whaling Commission is heavily influenced by the United States and its Western European members. Robert Mandel detailed how in 1970 the United States Secretary of the Interior placed eight whale species on the endangered list. He continued by citing a 1971 New York Times article which demonstrated how the State Department became concerned that this action might upset trade relations with Japan and threaten “the vigorous role of United States leadership within the IWC” (Mandel, 107). Mandel and the journalist he quotes seem to feel that the United States appropriated the IWC as a tool of political and cultural influence around the globe. In this sense the IWC could be comparable to the World Bank, as a means of applying pseudo-imperialism in a post-colonial age. While somewhat speculative, it might be claimed that if the United States and Western Europe hold prominent roles in the IWC, then it is a natural consequence that their agendas will bear a heavier influence than less significant member nations.

Strong arguments have been made that Americans and Europeans are pushing their ideologies into the discourse. In his insightful article “English Dominance in Whaling Debates,” Jurichi Takahashi points out several examples of changes in official IWC terminology. These changes are reflective of English vocabulary, which carry cultural weight and as a result have political consequences. For example, he asserts that the introduction of the term “commercial” whaling in 1972 stigmatized the action by associating it with money and profit, which have negative moral implications in the West (Takahashi 239). He continues by chronicling how over the years “killing” became the term to describe commercial whaling, in contrast to “taking” by “aboriginal” whalers (245). Throughout his article, Takahashi points out many subtle shifts of this nature. He portrays this scene as if it is a conspiracy; the US and Europe are using the English language as a tool to intentionally make minute changes to the way the issue is addressed and handled so as to have things go entirely their way and silence dissenting voices. However this is not necessarily the case. Takahashi himself states that “‘Aboriginal’ is specific to the English historical and cultural experience; it is a fuzzy category for Japanese self identification” (251). One might conclude then that the US and Europe are not forcing their cultural experience onto the international whaling community, but rather the situation is a byproduct of using a culturally specific language of subtlety such as English.

Whether by way of the IWC discourse or shifts in popular sentiment, there does seem to have been a divergence in peoples’ attitudes towards commercial

versus aboriginal whaling. Japan tends to be represented as a commercially driven nation, whose whaling is industrially and capitally motivated. On the flip side, native whaling is more generally accepted because it is tied to a culture's way of life. However, Japan has a long history of whaling which is undoubtedly culturally and aesthetically significant. On page 154 of "Japan, the West, and the Whaling Issue," Catalinac & Chan challenge this disparity too. They question

Which indigenous cultures deserve to be 'preserved', while others have to be 'civilized'? Why is a 'modern' country such as Japan supposed to be beyond the pull of primitive cultures, while other 'modern' countries are allowed to sustain and nurture them?

In this sense, Japan is being denied its cultural heritage by being disallowed to whale at its discretion. However the United States as an entire nation does not whale at the full capacity of its industry. Rather, only small Eskimo groups who are a part of the United States do so. The Japanese seem to desire full scale whaling on a national level in order to adhere to their cultural heritage. Perhaps this conflict is caused by the fact that Japan is more ethnically homogenous than the United States.

These culturally motivated debates have exacerbated tensions between the West and Japan. Dai Tanno and Toshihide Hamazaki wrote a scathing article presenting Japan as the victim of the United States' ethnocentrism and cultural imperialism. They assert that at the sole expense of Japan, American cultural feelings towards whales predominate across the globe. They conducted a survey of a group of American college students and from that data drew many and wide conclusions. The authors themselves admit that the demographic probably does not accurately demonstrate the sentiment of the entire country, but they do not hesitate to make all inclusive assumptions nonetheless. For example they explain a concept called "whale totemism," wherein whales occupy a unique symbolic place in the animal kingdom (Tanno & Hamazaki 81). Anders Block has made similar assertions, discussing "animal hierarchies" and the "whale as fish" discourse (Block 58). In these arguments, critics of whale totemism suggest that whales have been anthropomorphized and thus are particularly valued and revered. This may partly be a consequence of recent studies regarding the complexity of whale languages and what has been deemed "culture." Thus, they feel there is a tendency among Westerners to think of whales as closer to humanity than some other animals and therefore deserving of more respectful treatment.

Anthropomorphism of whales can include simple or complex mental associations. For example, the shape of dolphins' beaks makes them look like they are always smiling. Naturally, people assume they are happy and friendly; experts have warned against this, as dolphins are wild animals and this human error has led to injury. Nonetheless people impart a human characteristic and its associated emotional baggage onto the animal. On other occasions these associations occur on a more substantial level. Scientifically speaking, "whale songs" are in fact complex and varying communication systems; some people view them as conversations. Many whales have exhibited behavior to which

humans feel they can relate, including playing, motherly affection, and warm greetings after long spans of time apart. These traits have endeared whales to Westerners and contributed to their totemism, or high perceived place in the animal kingdom. A noteworthy point is that there are animals that in a technical sense are higher ranking in the kingdom. As primates are genetically related to humans, they have social systems and behavioral traits to which we can relate too. However they do not seem to be symbols of conservation and animal rights in the same manner as whales. Again, though, most of these sentiments apply to Westerners. If people in Japan make some of these symbolic associations, it does not seem to affect the national sentiment or agenda in the same way.

Just because the Japanese do not seem to make these culturally motivated symbolic associations with whales, it does not mean they do not do it at all. In his groundbreaking television series *Cosmos: A Personal Voyage*, Carl Sagan metaphorically explained natural and artificial selection using as an example a crab species off the Japanese coasts (Sagan 1980). He described how the patterns on the underside of this crab resembled, to the eyes of Japanese fishermen, the face of a samurai warrior. Consequently, for hundreds of years fishermen would throw the crabs back into the sea because they felt that the spirit of the samurai resided within. Within the context of *Cosmos*, this is significant because crabs with the genetic traits to facilitate these patterns were more likely to survive and reproduce, resulting in artificial selection. Within the context of the discussion at hand, the crabs represent an instance of Japanese culture, history, and values affecting their relationship with an animal on a national level. As a result, this crab was endeared to the people and for centuries has been deemed worthy of preservation. Having different cultural backgrounds, this is not something Westerners would be likely to feel strongly about if they caught some of the very same crabs.

While there might be some truth to Tanno & Hamazaki's statements, they make other accusations that are somewhat unfair. They accuse the United States of cultural imperialism, forcing its ideas onto the traditions of another country. This is somewhat extreme a statement. Bearing in mind Takahashi's history, the predominance of American attitudes towards whales in the global community may more simply be a byproduct of the general global influence of the United States and Western Europe. Furthermore, considering Tanno & Hamazaki's methodology, it is a massive stretch to come to such a conclusion based on a survey of what college students think about whales. The authors take this a step further, citing what they believe to be an ethnocentrism of the anti-whaling stance; they suggest people of this mindset view their own attitudes against whaling as superior to the attitudes of whaling groups (Tanno & Hamazaki 85). Again, there is no basis for this conclusion based on the evidence they present. In a response to Tanno & Hamazaki, Jennifer Bailey and Brad McKay pose the question: "Is the Japanese interpretation of the anti whaling campaign motivated by Japan bashing or an example of America bashing?" (Bailey & McKay 157) In this sense, the arguments are flipped as Bailey and McKay suggest that there is just as much intolerance and stubbornness on the part of the Japanese as they perceive there to be on the part of the United States. When Tanno & Hamazaki declare that "Americans don't want Japan to whale even though the United States

does not compete for whales as a valued resource on the international markets, hence Americans are anti Japanese” (Tanno & Hamazaki 87), Bailey & McKay respond that the former authors do not consider that this could be because Americans object to thinking of whales as economic resources. (Bailey & McKay 155). This could be an instance, then, of the Japanese misunderstanding the American thoughts on whales and attitudes towards Japanese whaling. While the debate is underlined by a concern over the protection of whales, this series of examples demonstrates that the focus is more highly centered around cultural ideologies. Americans and Japanese do not fully understand the other’s stance and are both guilty of “he said, she said” arguments and finger pointing.

Symbolism is a means by which anti-whaling parties have articulated and fought for their stance. The active interventions by organizations such as Greenpeace has garnered much international attention. There are ample examples of Greenpeace applying its symbolic weaponry to other whaling nations or ethnic groups, resulting in tensions. They have stood their ground against the Soviet Union and then the Russian Federation, Norway, and other Scandinavian ethnic groups including the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands. The locals there have practiced a whale drive for centuries, a process of herding them into a cove and proceeding to kill many of them for food, but Greenpeace came under the impression that in the last century the tradition became motivated by cultural identity values such as masculinity and heroism (Bulbeck & Bowdler 56). Therefore, they argued that this was an unnecessary tradition because there was no longer a necessity for it and killing whales to demonstrate said values was not a sufficient justification. However, Greenpeace made assumptions about the Faroe natives’ relationships to whales based on their own cultural values and standards. They failed to delve deep enough into the complex rituals involved in this hunt and consequently overlooked important features. Upon closer investigation, the accusers found that the drive remained reflective of subsistence economics and clearly was administered in a sustainable fashion (59). The debate did result in new regulations regarding the manners in which the whales are killed, so as to be more efficient and humane. This is simply a side note, though. Greenpeace’s culturally Western-motivated attitudes towards whales led them to engage in conflict with the Faroe Islanders, who had very different understandings of what roles whales play in their lives. Both sides seem to have misunderstood what was actually happening and how the other felt. It might be unfair to suggest that Greenpeace was attempting to force its cultural notions on the Faroes, especially knowing the outcome of the debate and that a compromise was reached. However, one can see how the Japanese perspective might parallel this set of events to what they perceive to be their own experience in relation to Westerners. On the other hand, though, this event also clearly demonstrates that Western antagonism towards whaling is not specifically targeted towards the Japanese.

Japanese whalers have applied the same criticism to Greenpeace as they have to the IWC and the American agenda therein. Accusing Greenpeace of cultural imperialism, they have suggested that the activists sub-nationally intervene in another state’s traditional way of life, disregarding questions of political legitimacy (Mandel 112). There are several points of interest in this

sentiment. First, the fact that it is a “sub-national” intervention is telling because, although a substantial number of Americans might be supportive of their activity, Greenpeace is not sponsored by the United States government; it acts on its own accord. Furthermore, this being the case, its style of small scale active disruption does not affect economic relations between the countries¹⁷. As a result there is no threat to the larger scale political relationship between Japan and the United States, or the integrity of the Japanese economy itself. Therefore, concerns regarding the intervention must not be directly related to economic or political tensions. Rather, they are cultural. As previously discussed, the symbolism of whales and the nature-society relationship for Americans is different than for the Japanese. Anders Block makes a case for a distinction between “conservationists” and “preservationists”, suggesting that the former “highlight the instrumental value of nature and animals, as defined by principles of sustainable utilization...[while] preservationists highlight the protection of individual animals as holders of intrinsic values and rights” (Block 44). It is unlikely that the Japanese, having different cultural constructions entirely, would recognize these distinctions. This could be a reason why they feel targeted as a people, as they do not understand the Western stance and the subtleties therein. However, given this dichotomy, it seems that Greenpeace acted as conservationists with regard to the Faroes. When it was determined that the whale drive was being practiced sustainably, they backed off. Conversely, they seem to act as preservationists in opposition to Japanese whaling, citing the value of the animals themselves as a deterrent from hunting them entirely.

The Japanese perspective also contains nuanced aspects which are not readily graspable to Westerners. Karen Oslund argues that whaling has different meanings for business executives in Tokyo than it has for coastal villagers (Oslund 80). She states that “For the former, it may symbolically represent their nation’s sovereignty by resistance to the standards imposed by other nations, but is unlikely to be a major economic concern. To the latter, it is a matter of maintaining an independent local economy...” (ibid). The first concern is the more familiar one, regarding Japanese national identity and independence in the face of coercive global forces. The latter, however, speaks to the interests of the voiceless underrepresented people who simply seek to eke out a living. The anti-whaling campaigners seem to either overlook them, or homogenize all Japanese into one group.

In recent decades Japan has employed the rhetoric of “scientific whaling” in defense of their practices. Westerners tend to criticize this as a thin cover for the reality of their commercial whaling industry. But are Westerners misunderstanding and making cultural misconceptions? A product of scientific whaling research is Japan’s argument that not all whale species are endangered. Consequently Japan should be allowed to hunt those that can reproduce quickly enough or have high enough populations so that the process is sustainable. For example, minke whales are not on the endangered list; Japan has made cases to hunt them, while backing off hunts of blue, fin, bowhead, right, and humpback whales. Furthermore, IWC Japanese delegation interpreter Shigeiko Misaki

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

argues that IWC policies and Western sentiments regarding whaling disregard interactions with other marine species (Misaki, sec. 4). He explains that in Iceland, for example, whales are often thought of as problem causers because they eat many types of fish on which the Icelandic economy relies for exportation purposes. He goes on to say that similar conditions abound in Japan, where minke whales, which are protected by the moratorium, eat tons of a small animal related to krill (sec. 4). This assertion raises a new argument, implying that the Japanese want to whale for the purposes of population control in defense of the availability of other marine resources. Whether this is the case or not, it is unlikely that Westerners would make such associations because they do not view whales themselves as marine resources.

Where is scientific whaling and the international consensus on whaling in general headed? It would seem that the West and its outlook are winning. A *New York Times* article from April 1, 2014, details how the United Nations court ordered a complete ban on Japan's Antarctic whale hunt. The author of the article quoted Peter Tomka, the judge who issued the order, in saying that "Japan's 'scientific output to date appears limited'...Japan's whaling hunt was based on politics and logistics, rather than science" (Tabuchi & Simons, par. 2). Despite the conclusions at which Misaki arrived, Tomaka is under the impression that the scientific whaling is not truly being conducted in the name of science, but rather he ascribes to the Western conceptualization that it is an excuse for Japan to continue its whaling as it sees fit. Some people are still concerned with the looseness of this ruling. Nanami Kurasawa, the leader of a Tokyo marine conservation group, stated in the article that the Japanese government could resume its whaling but under a different name (par. 5). Furthermore while the ruling means that Japan is banned from its activity in the Southern Ocean, it retains its rights to smaller scale whaling in parts of the Pacific and off the coasts. The online journal *Treehugger* posted a small article shortly after the UN ruling to voice its opinion that the ban was not comprehensive enough. The author detailed that Japan's hunting quota was reduced by 45%, from 380 to 210 whales, but nothing short of a 100% reduction, or complete ban worldwide, would suffice (Richard, par. 2). To hammer its point home, the article concludes with a pair of short videos featuring footage of humpback whales gracefully swimming about in crystal blue sunlit seas. The videos are backgrounded by soft acoustic guitar and include imagery of a mother making gentle physical contact with her calf and a pod reunion. The Western sentiments earlier elucidated are highly palpable in this short, stirring piece.

After millennia of whaling, the last century has presented a radical shift in the discourse. The countercultural revolution of the 1960s shifted the outlooks of the people in many Western countries with regard to the place of whales in the animal kingdom and what the human relationship to them ought to be. Altruistic and conservation-motivated sentiments led activist organizations and subsequently national governments to bring their whaling activity to a halt entirely, in the name of preserving the species. However, as the 60s movement was for the most part specific to a Western context, many nations did not ascribe to the new sentiments. Countries such as Norway, Japan, and the Soviet Union continued to whale, much to the chagrin of those such as the United States, Great

Britain, and Australia. This has led, especially over the last three decades following the IWC moratorium on commercial whaling, to an ever intensifying East-West debate on the issue. The restrained activity by so many countries has helped pull many whales back from the brink of extinction. While many are still endangered, the situation is not as severe as before. Given the current relatively low intensity of whaling worldwide, it is likely as close to a sustainable practice as it has been for centuries. However, the debate is still very intense and the anti-whaling representatives and nations continue to push for their opponents to refrain entirely. Therefore, some other factors must be at work. The pro and anti whaling arenas are respectively represented by very different cultures, each with their own symbolic values, practices, and ways of viewing the environment and their relationship to it. Neither side has delved sufficiently enough into the workings of the other so as to better understand the motivations for their opposing viewpoints. Rather, the West and East, particularly the United States and Japan, having made misconceptions about each other and failed to open up a productive dialogue, have engaged in an exchange of criticisms of each other's culture and character. The endurance of the whaling debate represents not just the questions of biodiversity conservation but the struggles in the globalized economy to produce effective international dialogue and cooperation, particularly with regard to environmental issues, while reaching across cultural boundaries.

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**Cross Identity and Metaphysics of Sensuality of a Young
Polish-Ukrainian Intellectual of the Early XX Century:
Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz**

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In 1917 more than a million of Poles lived in Ukraine and Belorussia, two countries that were part of the Russian Empire. The presence of so many Poles was due to the fact that some Ukrainian regions (Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev region, etc.) were previously part of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. With the Partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772–1795) conducted by Russia, Prussia and Austria, a large part of present Ukraine became a province of the Russian Empire.

Many Poles of Ukraine were members of the more affluent Ukrainian social classes, since the Tsarist regime had maintained - even after the Partitions - the dominant economic role that the Poles had, to keep order in new provinces and to better exploit the Ukrainian agricultural production. In 1904 the Poles possessed 46% of the land of the West-central Ukraine (Dnieper Right Bank) and 54% of its industrial production (especially sugar); land ownership was concentrated in large estates owned by a few magnate families. Between the magnates and the remainder of the Polish population there were large economic and social differences. But a psychological affinity was evident for all the Poles of the Kresy (Border, as in Poland were named the Ukrainian lands inhabited by the Poles). We must in fact consider that almost all the Ukrainian Poles could boast of a title of nobility, and they all were the descendants of ancient colonizers.

After the Russian Revolution and World War I, a large number of Poles left Ukraine (one million throughout the former Tsarist Empire) and fled to the new Polish state; consequently, the number of Poles remaining in Dnieper Ukraine decreased by more than one-third, from 685,000 in 1909 to 410,000 in 1926. Among the Polish emigrants there were many landowners and all the nationalists (the members of the National Democratic Party), who felt, above all, citizens of the reborn Polish state. Another group of emigrants, that left Ukraine to settle in Poland, was formed by urban low or middle-classes, intellectuals or professionals, who despite being romantically linked to the Ukrainian land, had no concrete reasons for staying in Ukraine but hoped to have a better life in Poland; one of them was the young writer Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, who in 1917 was 23 years old.

Like many others Ukrainian Poles, Iwaszkiewicz was not particularly restrained in an independent or Bolshevik Ukraine; in both cases, the fate of the Poles did not seem to be bright: the Ukrainian patriots did not like the Poles, as

old colonizer, while the Poles came to be classified as “enemy nation” in the Stalinist regime¹⁸. Iwaszkiewicz justified his choice to abandon Ukraine and leave for Warsaw in October 1918 (aided by August Iwański jr, a relative of his rich and aristocratic) as follows: “Many signs, between sky and earth, announced me that I hadn’t more reasons to stay in Kiev (...); without sorrow I left Ukraine that was dead or dying”. Anyway, it wasn’t an easy departure and the souvenir of Ukraine, which was still their homeland, longing gripped all the rest of their lives. In fact, Iwaszkiewicz adds, “in those new places I felt tight, compared to the wide plains of my childhood” (*Księżka moich wspomnień* 157).

Iwaszkiewicz’s training there was in the high schools of the region of Yelysavethrad (a south-western Ukrainian city a few hundred kilometers from Kiev, renamed Kirovograd by Stalin in 1939) and then at the Conservatory and the University of Kiev. His father participated in the failed uprising that Poles tried in 1863 against the Russian Tsarist power; at the time when Jarosław was born, his father had a modest job as an accountant in a sugar factory owned by a Polish magnate. Although the social status of his family was so very different, Jarosław knew the Polish aristocracy’s world very well: his mother had been received as a child and raised in the home of the Baron Taube, her distant relative. Taube’s grandson, Karol Szymanowski, also a noble and older than Jarosław, would become the most influential personality in the training of the young writer. In the noble Polish families of Ukraine Jarosław also worked as a tutor. The distance between the magnates and the rest of the Polish community of Ukraine never wavered, a gap not only social but also psychological, as Iwaszkiewicz resolutely affirmed himself: “It was not possible to compare the two worlds as this caste was separated by a deep chiasm from the world to which I belonged” (*Księżka* 121). But the traits of the aristocratic world remained in young Jarosław, with a strong love for beauty and aloof behavior, which later earned him some accusations of snobbery.

In the first pages of his main work, the epic novel in three volumes - published in the Fifties - *Sława i Chwała* [*Glory and Vainglory*], Iwaszkiewicz depicted one of the last moments of the youth and refined aristocratic life he shared with Szymanowski’s family and with other Polish aristocratic families in which he worked as a tutor: in a seaside villa, Paulina Szyller and her son, the composer Edgar (character inspired by Karol Szymanowski) hosted in the days of July 1914 Ewelina Royska, wife of a landowner from Podolia, her young son Józio with his tutor Kazimierz Spychała; the young singer Elięta Szyller just returned from Vienna. After she freshened up, and before going to sleep, Elięta was invited to sing:

“With the first note, sung in a low voice, a smile in which mingled joy and embarrassment settled on the lips of Elięta. The first E flat seemed to be produced from the bow of a cello and Edgar gave his sister a look of admiration, almost surprised. Lady Royska and Lady Szyller were at the height of bliss. Spychała felt that something unspeakable was happening and lowered his head. (...) Without making a sound, so that no one - except

¹⁸ Morris.

Royska - noticed it, Józio and his friend entered when Edgar was playing the first few bars and sat in the available seats. (...) When, on the gentle final chord of I B flat major, played with sweetness from the sharp fingers of Edgar, the soft voice of Eli□beta ceased, there was silence. No one dared to utter a word. One heard the tingling, outside, it was the bell of the last tram to Odessa. The singer took the initiative to put an end to the silence by a reproach to his brother on his use of the pedal. Only then the spell broke. Mrs. Szyller ran to kiss the cheek of her daughter, without making a compliment, invited her to go to bed. - You must be so tired..." (S□awa i Chwa□□ 18-19).

This quote should be seen as a realistic and essentially autobiographical description (as much of the book) of what was happening in the lives of young Jaros□aw and his artist friends in Ukraine, before the Great War changed the course of history and of their existences.

Iwazskiewicz was oriented by Szymanowski towards refined literary experiments, rich of exoticisms, symbolisms and attractions to Nietzsche's Dionysian. In 1915, encouraged by the composer, Jaros□aw wrote his first novel, *Uciezka do Bagdadu (Escape to Baghdad)*, which aroused the enthusiasm of Szymanowski, who wanted to draw from it an opera libretto. In ***Glory and Vainglory***, Edgar (i.e. Karol Szymanowski) and Kazimierz Spycha□a (who is, in part, an *alter ego* of Iwazskiewicz himself) talked about "people that exercise power over others" on the beach in Odessa:

"- For now, Józio is still completely submissive to your charm, added Edgar. Sometimes we laugh, my mother and I, in hearing him unconsciously imitate your way of speaking, even your Galicianisms... (...) Edgar stood slightly leaning on one elbow and looked at the big, smooth and green waves. He seemed to be talking to himself. - It is certainly a great pleasure to dominate a human being and to ascertain the extent to which he depends on us. They are the first pleasures of power. Beauty is what you see in it ... He thinks what you think, feels what you feel... It must be painful to lose such power. The heat had stunned Kazimierz, but he stood up with willpower and took off his jacket and shirt. Undressed, Kazimierz asked in a frowning tone: - When you say this, do you intend to speak about me and Józio? Torn from their thoughts, Edgar thought for a second before answering. - About you? Józio? No, I was talking in general. (...) - I thought most of all, Edgar said while he followed his ideas, I was thinking of people that exercise power over others. How do you acquire this power? In what way do you impose your own personality to another? It is something that I struggle to understand" (S□awa i Chwa□□ 13-14).

The theme of the influence on the mind of a young man of some experiences that guided his sensitivity was at the centre of the *incipit* of ***Glory and Vainglory*** and always remained alive in Iwazskiewicz.

The fall of Tsarism brought with it a plebeian and peasant revolution in Ukraine, which in 1917 shocked the world of Polish estates, with soldiers and

peasants attacking many aristocratic houses and killing or forcing to flee the owners; this *jacquerie* generated in Iwaszkiewicz a great aesthetic regret:

“In the autumn of 1917 the destruction of the centres of Polish culture in Ukraine began. The news poured in from all sides: the Tymoszkówka property, belonging to the Szymanowski; Ryśawka, that of Iwański; Hajworon, that of Rzewuski, fell into the hands of the destroyers. The piano of Szymanowski was thrown into the bottom of a pond, the portrait of Balzac, at Rzewuski, burned; and the collection of paintings of Iwański seized in the small Museum of Human; our aunt Masia’s house was demolished, and there were fallen trees in the park and all the area on which the Czernysze residence rose was reduced to a plowed field” (*Księżka* 150-151).

While not nationalist, Iwaszkiewicz then enlisted in the III Polish Corps in Ukraine, one of the military formations created in December 1917 by the Poles in the former Tsarist Empire, that consisted of two or three thousand men; they participated in the defense of Kiev during the first Bolshevik offensive against the independent Ukrainian Republic who in the meantime was proclaimed by the Ukrainian patriots, with even the temporary support of the Poles. The III Polish Corps tried to protect the estates of the Poles in the vast Ukrainian countryside, then clashes with Ukrainian anarchist bands and was eventually disarmed by the Austrians in June 1918. In his first novel, *Hilary, syn buchaltera* [*Hilary, the son of an accountant*], Iwaszkiewicz spoke of his participation in the activities of the III Polish Corps:

“I had already told my memories of the past spring with the Third Army Corps, our march from Niemirowo to Uśadowki, our skirmishes in that warm early March, with a strong wind from the south. I had talked about all that unspeakable beauty, by which I was fascinated forever, I had recorded with tenderness, in my diary, that military campaign, decorated with violets, poetic stanzas, loyal friends and strong dialogues. Of my stories, he had kept a picture made of sun, heat, leafless oaks along roadsides and rhythmic strokes of cannon” (*Hilary fils de comptable* 137-138).

The experience in the III Polish Corps was resumed with more autobiographical and historical details (with a description of its tragic aspects) in *Glory and Vainglory: Józio* - the young character of the novel’s first part, who represent one of the Iwaszkiewicz’s noble students - enlisted, telling his mother “when you used to read Sienkiewicz to me, it seemed unthinkable that the past that he described would come back one day, absolutely unthinkable! But now, they want to form a Polish cavalry in Vynnytsa, as in Sienkiewicz” (*Sława i Chwała* 123). Henryk Sienkiewicz was the famous Polish writer, born in 1846 and who received the Nobel Prize in 1905, that wrote the *Trilogy*, namely three historical novels very famous in Poland and set in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before it was dismembered, therefore before that Poland lost its

independence (regained in 1918). *Glory and Vainglory* also described a clash between the Poles and a band of Ukrainians, the disarmament of the Corps by the Austrians, the contacts in Kiev with one of the organizers of the POW - Polska organizacja Wojskowa [Polish Military Organization], i.e. the painter Henryk Józewski (in the novel he was given the name of Henryk Antoniewski), who would become the Polish governor of the part of Volhynia that was in 1921 assigned to Poland with the Treaty of Riga¹⁹; then the recruitment into a new Polish Corps under General Haller and the clash at Kaniv on May 1918 with the Germans, who had occupied Ukraine after the surrender of Russia and had ordered the dissolution of the Polish Corps.

Consequently, in June of 1918 Jarosław went to Yelysavethrad, where the Szymanowski family stayed after having abandoned Tymoszkówka (their property in the countryside); there the composer asked him to write the libretto of an opera (*King Roger*) set in Sicily: "Staying in the same room, all night we were talking about topics that interested us. At last, he told me of Sicily, of all that he had seen there and what he had read in many books about Italian culture" (*Księżka* 157). After a stay in Kiev, during which Iwaszkiewicz began to work on the subject of the libretto, the two young men saw each other again in September in Odessa, in Marianna Davidov's villa where the Szymanowski's moved.

"Here, on the shores of the Black Sea, our drama was crystallized. [...] The weather was gorgeous, the sky was cloudless and we spent the whole morning on the beach and in the water. In the afternoon we sat on the high bank of the sea and we discussed our works or read my most recent work which I had brought to Odessa" (*Spotkania z Szymanowskim* 61).

After several changes, *King Roger* was completed in 1924.

Following the escape of many young Poles and intellectual friends from Ukraine, Jarosław obtained the documents necessary to move to Poland. The fate of Kiev and Ukraine was uncertain and the city had already tragically changed hands some times since February 1917; that autumn 1918 it was still occupied by the Germans and governed by the Ukrainian general Skoropads'kyj, who had established an autonomous Ukrainian state. The first occupation of the capital by the Bolsheviks, at the end of 1917, had resulted in random executions and the application of the "Red Terror", while in the countryside there were the cited violent peasant's *jacqueries*. The approach of the German defeat announced even more fearsome times, in which Ukraine would become for another three years a battleground between the Bolsheviks, the Tsarist White Army, the bands of peasants, the anarchists, the Ukrainian independentists led by Petljura and the Polish Army.

On 14 October 1918, Jarosław arrived in Warsaw. The escape from the tragedy gave way to an existential drama that fed on an identitarian uneasiness, but never tarnished the refined sensibility and the European horizons that characterized the cultural personality of Iwaszkiewicz. Warsaw was destined to

¹⁹ For a biography of Józewski see Snyder.

be, as Iwaszkiewicz knew, the place of his future life: “Why have I not already learned oh, my City, to hug you with all the strength of my heart, to give you everything that my lungs contain so I do not alienate now, sobbing and getting lost in your narrow and chaotic streets?” (*Hilare fils de comptable* 75). However, Iwaszkiewicz had quickly found his full standing in the establishment of the new Polish nation: he was one of the protagonists of the new school of poetry, that of “Skamander”, which had successfully shaken the Polish literary life. Fascination for the young Jarosław was evidenced by the words of the then eighteen year old Irena Krzywicka (the writer who became famous for her feminist battles), who attended the first performance of the Skamander poets in the Pikador Café of Warsaw, on 29 November 1918: “Iwaszkiewicz was huge, slender, of rare beauty, with his dreamy eyes and his fleshy and sensual slanted mouth, his indolent grace” (Jedlicka, Toporowski 173). About thirty years later, this atmosphere was evoked, with a mixture of satire and nostalgia, by the caption of a cartoon which appeared in 1947 in the literary magazine *Odrodzenie*: “Perverse Iwaszkiewicz, passionate Wierzyński, unkempt, daydreaming Lechón, elegant Tuwín with his birthmark, oh, how the figures of these rising stars of our literature impressed ladies young and old” (Shore 276). In 1922 Jarosław married Anna Lilpop, the daughter of a well-known and wealthy industrialist. Anna was aware of Iwaszkiewicz’s bisexuality. In 1923 Iwaszkiewicz was employed as secretary of the President of the Sejm (the Polish Parliament), and had diplomatic tasks in Copenhagen and Brussels. Despite this, Ukraine was always on his mind.

Iwaszkiewicz saw Ukraine through the eyes of a Pole, as his “small country” rich in humanity, natural beauty and history, but failed to give it a complete national and cultural identity. According to Ukrainian critics, in *Glory and Vainglory* “The writer shows the disappearance of the world of Polish Kresy and Polish nobility in Ukraine in a way that looks more like a natural disaster, but not as the result of a disastrous history” (Sukhomlynov, *Polsko-ukrainske* 173-174). But this was only partly true: the two figures of landowners of Podolia that appear in *Glory and Vainglory*, the elderly Royski and Myszyński, were presented as an expression of a social class in decline, aged and inept. Royski was constantly struggling with his delusions of improbable and bankrupt agronomic innovations, while the old Myszyński lived without affection for his son Janusz and devoted his time, while the world was being engulfed by war and revolution, only to cutting out notes for his old player piano. Moreover, as we saw, in his memoirs Iwaszkiewicz himself was quite frank about social relations among Ukrainian Poles and about the anachronistic closure in itself of the high aristocracy. Remembering Ukraine in his new life in Warsaw, Jarosław had for Kiev a sense of distance and inaccessibility:

“Kiev, city of pain, a city devastated by the Tartars, ravaged by its own children, a city in great pain. The twilights and the bells of its golden domes were my most precious memories. Purple lavender gardens, blue lines of water and sand, the silver domes of St. Andrew’s, bluish woods, for me you all have the same colors and the same moist scent. Often, when I return in the evening, tired of this city (...), I see the red palaces, terraces,

the roads clinging to the hills, (...) the trees in the bright April, the blue-domed monasteries, the escarpments of the convents' parks, all covered with broom of gold, and over the grey waters, the wooden palisades, the boys on the road, white summer clouds, and I feel the piercing whistles of the night trains (...). City infinitely sweet, city of my youth, I prefer to see you like in a dream, in Warsaw ... If I really were to see you today, you would appear to me completely different. It was better that I left you, for me you will always be the fairy story of water, green bushes and night moss" (*Hilare fils de comptable* 154-155).

Volhynia was the cradle, the hidden chest, of the ancient Polish world to the destruction of which Iwaszkiewicz was a witness; as a boy he had total contact with that region, physical and spiritual, as the story of a holiday on the estate of Smolivka, owned by Jurij Mik□ucho-Mak□aj, a friend from Kiev (also the son of an insurgent of 1863):

"Smolivka was an estate in a forest and there wasn't the usual mansion (...). Nearby there was a small village of Polish Catholic *szlachta* [petty nobility]. This unique corner of the world was a miraculous oasis in the forest, which had guarded the language and customs of the old world, as in the stories of Orzeszkowa. (...) The surroundings of Smolivky were very beautiful. We swam in ponds and rivers, in the evening we walked with girls or went for mushrooms (...). And how can we forget the overnight stay at the Jewish inn, which is located on the road between Kiev and Zhytomir, our journey to the capital of Volhynia, the walks along the Teteriv shore on the paths on which Kraszewski and Apollo Korzeniowski [i.e. the father of Joseph Conrad] had walked?" (*Ksi□□ka* 76-77).

In 1925 Iwaszkiewicz published *Ksi□□yc wschodzi* [*The moon rises*] which is, he himself admitted in his memoirs, his "beloved" work, a short novel that has been already defined existentialist and that is set in Volhynia²⁰. The literary reconstruction of that world and its environments fed itself on the descriptions of mansions, of rural labor (very thorough and full of emotions) and with continued references to the majesty of the natural environment and Ukrainian steppe:

"The carriage went slowly, as if walking, on an incredibly wide road, continuing straight and crossing the streets of the town. The houses, the red glasses for the sun, hiding behind the gardens. Later, the light pink bricked mill, wrapped in a fog made of flour and dusk, while the Ros river roared with its stones under the water, then a couple of houses and a stop, wider road, and everywhere the smell of ripe corn. Antoni sat next to his aunt, quiet - rather, thoughtful, reverent. Yet he hadn't cut ties with reality. Looked: on the left there was a smooth beet field; along the neat rows in a soft rosy light, ran the strips of their green leaves; behind the

²⁰ On *The moon rises* and the Volhynia, see O. Suchomlynov, "Topichnist".

beets one could see the white sea of the rye and a clear eastern horizon. Nearer, on the road, ran the elongated shadow of the carriage, which grew longer and longer, finally jumping the ditch, full of tall grass and dusty, and running away trembling on the field. On the right, behind his aunt's black hat, the same endless plain, but reddened by the fire of the western sunset; each stem of dark wheat was glowing because of the red glow and was shining. Although it was evening, the night wind was still weak and every ear stood motionless on the field and still there wasn't the smell of steppe that Antoni knew well. When he closed his eyes, the smell completely gripped him and created for him the illusion of inexistent memories. It seemed to him that he was not raised in the city, not in a narrow street, but, in fact, in a villa like those where his father walked in summer clothes, of white linen. And where, once out of the garden, impregnated with the smell of tobacco and wild violets, every night, every blue night, he breathed that air of the steppe and that smell of ripe rye" (*Księżyc wschodzi* 72).

Even the flavors came back to bite the memory of the writer exiled from his native land; the young protagonist of *The moon rises*, which had the "strange" habit of not drinking, was forced to taste for the first time *horilka* (i.e. the Ukrainian vodka), along with good ravioli or Ukrainian *varenyky*: "with cheese, prepared as in Ukraine, large and tasty as if they hadn't been cooked in a clay oven, but roasted with the summer sun of the harvest" (*Księżyc wschodzi* 40).

History had torn this idyll. Antoni, the novel's protagonist, was aware of his Polishness as well as the inevitable decline of the Polish world of Ukraine: "So what? - Antoni thought - What else have we got to lose? Everywhere is full of our trail and wherever they sink like a stone in a swamp" (*Księżyc wschodzi* 73-74).

The tone of these inner thoughts of Antoni-Jarosław was very bitter, but realistic. Iwaszkiewicz was a realist throughout his life, for example by recognizing in 1945 the Polish communist regime and accepting to carry out a public role as President of the Association of Writers and then as a Member of the Parliament. Some of his Skamander friends, who had instead chosen the path of exile after the creation of a Stalinist regime in Poland, fiercely criticized his attitude; however, his humanity and his tact avoided that they would finally break up with him for good or would attack him publicly. In his own way, Aleksander Wat (a leftist writer, but anti-Stalinist) protected Iwaszkiewicz in a private conversation made abroad in 1956 with Mieczysław Grydzewski (the former editor of Skamander) that heavily accused Iwaszkiewicz. Wat said: "Iwaszkiewicz has always been (...) an elitist poet. And we need to understand that when the government changed, he continued to have good relations with the elite. The new one" (Wat 136-137). However, Grydzewski did not break up with Iwaszkiewicz and from his London exile always maintained correspondence with him.

To his Ukrainian native village of Kalnyk, Iwaszkiewicz in 1931 dedicated this poem:

"I would like to see the spreading waters and rolling plain and the sky again, and not think that this whole world was stolen from me. I would like

to have a long time to be able to wake up in the night not to write prose or poems, but to watch the silvery dew mist between the lawn and in the reeds. Look at the bottom of the green waters my face obscured by the years. Vain torture of dreams of glory! How it is past - and so little remained" (*Powrót do Europy* 86).

These are words that reveal a real concrete nostalgia, also characterized by simplicity. A simplicity, however, that we must add to the aristocracy that characterized Iwaszkiewicz's complex, and sometimes inscrutable, personality. The anachronism and the disorientation of Iwaszkiewicz in his new life in Warsaw, that there never really ended and that he took with him for almost his entire life, was in fact judged by his contemporaries and critics of aristocratic mold and then with a hint of artifice. What questioned, even in the last years of his life, how much there was in Iwaszkiewicz duplicity, on the one hand so much in tune with nature and the mystery, and on the other hand capable of being a diplomat, poet laureate, conciliatory man with power²¹.

However, the duplicity is only an effect: Bergson said that disorder is the order that we do not perceive. Iwaszkiewicz's duplicity must have appeared to those who were imbued with the Brechtian paradigm of the intellectual and unilaterally committed writer, a model that was probably totally unrelated to Iwaszkiewicz, who instead had a Goethian, most decadent and aesthetic, view of art and of the writer, as capable of grasping the root of the vital flow of existence. Iwaszkiewicz was a "metaphysician of sensibility", as said Czesław Miłosz (9).

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²¹ See Shore 336.

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Examination of the Connections of the “Great Migration” to the Creation of the Black Panther Party and Electoral Politics: A Preliminary Study

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The Warmth of Other Suns by Isabel Wilkerson chronicles the Great Migration of the African American community from the South to the North and from the South to the West from 1915 to 1970. It analyzes the life experiences of individuals and families seeking a “better life,” and those who played a major role in the transformation of America’s political and social landscape.

Wilkerson notes: “The first black mayors in each of the major receiving cities of the North and the West were not longtime northern native blacks but participants or sons of the Great Migration” (186). She also highlights the mobilizing efforts of the Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders during the 1960s and 1970s, as indicators of the political evolutions (the metaphorical “border crossings”) employed to achieve political change and influence public policy in the United States. She notes in her work:

A toddler named Huey Newton was spirited from Monroe, Louisiana to Oakland, California with his sharecropper parents in 1943. His father had barely escaped a lynching in Louisiana for talking back to his white overseers. Huey Newton would become perhaps the most militant of the disillusioned offspring of the Great Migration. He founded the Black Panther Party in 1966 and reveled in discomfiting the white establishment with his black beret, rifle, and black power rhetoric (529).

Other BPP party members also hailed from the Deep South where their political consciousness was shaped by oppression and poverty. An editorial from the BPP’s publication revealed:

When the Black Panther Party announced we would become involved in the electoral process, we knew that the many ills which afflict Black and poor people in this country could not be totally eradicated through electoral politics. However, we realized that, still, many positive gains could be achieved by Black and poor people utilizing our collective vote for those political candidates who truly represent our interests (*The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 2).

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was the primary target of political repression for the better part of its existence as a political organization. Political repression has been defined as government action which grossly discriminates against individuals who want to change the existing political order (Grady-Willis; Goldstein). Newton and Seale spent the better part of their lives in political and legal turmoil.

Among the most notable of the trials was that of Huey Newton for killing a policeman in 1967, which resulted in three mistrials, the last in 1971. Bobby Seale, one of the "Chicago Eight" was arrested for protesting at the Democratic National Convention of 1968. He was convicted of contempt of court charges and was gagged in the courtroom. Another tragic incident that supported this view was the killing in a raid by Chicago police of Illinois party leader Fred Hampton and another Panther, Mark Clark in 1969. The review of this incident revealed that the two Panthers had been murdered in their beds without provocation. The results of these trials were taken by many observers as confirmation of their suspicions that the Black Panthers were being subjected to extreme police harassment.

However, researchers (Dyson; Grady-Willis; Seale) also acknowledge the tenets of the party that effected political change in urban areas. They introduced free medical clinics and a free breakfast program for school children that was later adopted by the school system in California. They also galvanized black voters to participate in electoral politics. BPP members were self-acclaimed radicals in their mission and made significant contributions to the models for grass-roots community organizing in urban communities and to the election of the country's first African American elected public officials.

Social movements in this country have created grass-roots power by taking mutual action to achieve social change. This paper is an exploratory qualitative analysis of the political change facilitated by the Black Panther Party in select American cities. It addresses the relationship of the Black Panther Party to the election of black mayors in urban centers: Oakland, California; Chicago, Illinois and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The research will examine how the world views of the sons and daughters of the Great Migration helped shape an electoral power base for African Americans in these urban centers.

This study is guided by the following questions: How did the BPP help local communities address their needs? How was the BPP's agenda for action communicated to electoral candidates? What were the strategies for social change i.e., social protest, media advocacy, and political education?

Theoretical Perspective

The literature reflects the following assumptions about theories of social change:

- Power bases can be shifted through actions and events.
- Organizing efforts should reflect the wishes of people directly affected by the problem.
- Organizing requires building the capacity of those affected by the problem to address it.

- Efforts should focus on changing institutions and policies, not on changing individuals.
- Advocacy efforts are focused on working with the many, not with the few.
- Activists facilitate the efforts of a collective to achieve social change.
- Strategies include training/capacity-building, community mobilizing, awareness building, action research, policy analysis, media advocacy, social protest, and whistleblowing.

Method

This study uses a qualitative method in order to provide in-depth information pertaining to the members of the BPP Party and their viewpoints on the election of black mayoral candidates in the interest of future theory-building. This method includes a textual analysis in order to provide a well-rounded source of information for study.

Four primary sources were interviewed to gather information concerning the life experiences of BPP members and the culture of the party. The interview questions and textual analysis seek to investigate community-capacity building, party activism and media advocacy as elements for considering the strategies employed to elect some of the nation's first elected officials. The operational definitions are:

- Community capacity-building: the combined influence of a community's commitment, resources and skills that can be deployed to build on community strengths and address community problems.
- Activism/Activists: the people who fought for civil rights in order to achieve equality and political participation.
- Media Advocacy: the ability of community members to be heard and to apply pressure strategically, particularly in their access of new media, to change their environments.

The interview questions were: What were some of the events sponsored by the Party that created electoral power? How did members of the community articulate their needs to the party? How did the Party help the community address their needs directly? Did these needs become a part of the political agenda of mayoral candidates? How was the Party's agenda for action communicated to electoral candidates? Did the party target a critical mass of individuals? What were the strategies for social change for example, social protest, media advocacy, political education?

Results

Activists facilitate the efforts of a collective to achieve social change

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense emerged during the Civil Rights Movement. It was founded in Oakland, CA, in October 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

Huey Percy Newton was born in Oak Grove, Louisiana, February 17, 1942. He was named after the very popular Louisiana politician Huey P. Long. The Panther symbol had been used by a voting rights organization in Lowndes County, Alabama. Seale was a native of Dallas, Texas.

Billy X. Jennings, archivist and historian of The Black Panther Party based in Sacramento, California, was interviewed regarding The Great Migration and the leadership of the BPP. Jennings reported that the majority of the Party's leadership was from the South. Several party members were from Louisiana and Texas. Party Co-Founder Bobby Seale was from Texas. "Big Man" Elbert Howard was from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Little Bobby Hutton the first Panther murdered by the police was from Pot Liquor, Arkansas. Eldridge Cleaver was born in Wabbaseka, Arkansas. Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, BPP revered leader and political prisoner, served 27 years in prison for a crime that he did not commit was from Morgan City, Louisiana. Geronimo spent more years in prison than any other BPP member.

Congresswoman Barbara Lee (13th District, CA) is also a product of her association with the social change strategies of the BPP. Congresswoman Lee was elected to Congress in 1998 to the 9th District whom she served until 2013. Subsequently, she represented the 13th District due to congressional redistricting. Congresswoman Lee was also Southern born in El Paso, TX. She attended high school in California. Her political engagement began with her association with the BPP Community Learning Center when she was attending college. She also worked on Bobby Seale's mayoral campaign. Congressman Lee, a Master's Level Social Worker (MSW from University of California, Berkeley) worked for Congressman Ron Dellums and became his Chief of Staff before beginning her political career. Jennings was clear to indicate Lee as a demonstration of the BPP's strategic electoral success (Lee; Jennings).

Congressman Bobby Lee Rush has served as the US Representative for Illinois 1st Congressional since 1993. Congressman Bobby Lee Rush was the co-founder of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP in 1968. Congressman Rush defeated President Obama in 2000 in an election for the 1st District. "Rush's life story is truly an American story. He was born in Albany, Georgia on November 23, 1946. It was a time of terror and random violence against African-Americans living in the south. Eight months after Rush's birth, historians report that a white mob tied two black couples to a tree and killed them in a hail of gunfire. It happened in a rural Georgia county north of Rush's birthplace. The brutal murders, known as The Moore's Ford Bridge Case, led President Harry Truman to push for sweeping civil rights changes and the desegregation of the military. It was the last documented mass lynching in the United States. The nation was on the cusp of change" (Jennings; Rush)

Capacity-Building and Media Advocacy

Oakland was described as "44% black, a center of bigotry and racism" . The leadership of the BPP felt that the black community was not protected by the police, so consequently their initial thrust was advocating *self-defense* for the black community on the grounds of the Second Amendment to the United States

Constitution. The organization initially formed to protect local communities from police brutality and racism. It embraced Marxist ideology including the *Red Book* teachings of Mao Tse-tung. The California BPP had a successful landslide electoral campaign in 1972 and 1973 for management of a Model Cities Program in Berkeley. The Party actively registered between 40,000 and 100,000 people to vote in this community-based election. According to the newspaper:

Comrades Ericka Huggins, Herman Smith [now known as Sultan Ahmad who resides in Philadelphia], William Roberts and Audrea Jones were elected. There were nine seats to fill and the BPP ran six candidates. The structure of the Board was based on having one representative from each target area who would vote for channeling of funds that would address the needs of the target area (*The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* 1972).

Huggins held a press conference announcing her and the other party members' candidacy in the BCDC (Berkeley Community Development Council) elections. This is her press statement:

My name is Ericka Huggins. I am a member of the BPP. During the 24 years of my life I have witnessed the oppression of poor and oppressed people; and in the most recent years, I have found it hard to ignore the unending harassment, poverty and racism Black and poor people of this country have had to face. I have been a personal witness to this, having spent 2 years in prison only to have the unfounded charges dismissed after standing trial.

Ericka and her husband John were active in the establishment of the LA Chapter of the BPP. They met at the campus of The Lincoln University, PA in 1965 before going to California in 1968. John Huggins was murdered in January 1969 by a rival nationalistic organization (Brown; Adams).

William Brown recalls during his interview that "in May of 1973, Party leader Bobby Seale ran for Mayor of Oakland and Elaine Brown (a Philadelphia Girls High School graduate) ran on the *Survival Ticket*". Brown said Philadelphia Black Panther Herman Smith [Sultan Ahmad] played a leading role in this election campaign.

Jennings says in his interview that the BPP transformed the face of Oakland: "This is clearly measurable by the election of Mayor Lionel Wilson, Oakland's first Black Mayor in 1977. When Chairman Bobby ran for Mayor in 1973, he came in second."

The election had such impact that the opposing candidate decided not to run again. The leadership of the BPP bolstered the community to fight for change. The impact on politics began when Lionel Wilson, the first Black Mayor of Oakland, served three terms. There was a huge momentum. A broad coalition including the BPP, minorities, liberal Democrats, celebrities such as Jane Fonda, Governor Brown, and Reggie Jackson broke the barriers. Additionally Wilson was

the first candidate for Mayor to win election without the support of the Oakland Tribune. Others were elected including John George.

As a mode of political education and media advocacy, the party published *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*. The publication was a means to disseminate information about party strategies and party activities that spread their agenda to communities across the nation.

Jennings posits *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service* was published from 1967 to 1980. During the period from 1968 to 1970 the paper was number one in distribution in the black community, beating *Muhammad Speaks* and *Ebony* magazine. He contends that during the days of party growth they sold 350,000 papers weekly. The paper was priced at a quarter and supported the party offices. Individuals in need who sold the paper kept a dime. *The Black Panther Paper Intercommunal News Service* is still valuable –commanding not less than \$50 on EBay. There were fifty-one party chapters in thirty cities across America selling papers, as well as college campuses around the county.

The BPP also successfully mobilized significant political support in the trials of Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, and other Panther defendants in New Haven, Connecticut, and the New York 21” (Grady-Willis).

King claims in spite of the assaults, the BPP was able to serve a leadership role in the movement to elect a Black mayor in Chicago. She credits a diverse Rainbow Coalition including the Young Lords (Latinos), progressive whites and other ethnic minorities with helping to elect Chicago’s first African American Mayor Harold Washington in 1983. Reverend Walter L. Slim Coleman was an active leader in the coalition and the BPP. During that time, the Chicago BPP experienced some of the most vicious onslaughts of police murder and intimidation. The murder of Panther Deputy Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on December 4th, 1968 was a horrendous attack.

Philadelphia’s first African American Mayor was also Southern born. W. Wilson Goode was born in North Carolina. His parents were sharecroppers and lived in severe poverty. He moved to Philadelphia in 1954. He was the first in his family to attend college. Goode participated in community organizing and grass roots activities prior to becoming the first Black Managing Director for Philadelphia (Goode; Paolantonio; Ransome).

The campaign to elect Wilson Goode was filled with tremendous energy, expectations and hope. Many progressive and social change strategists played leading roles in the campaign. Sultan Ahmad was an active leader in this election process. His experience in Bobby Seale’s mayoral campaign prepared him for a key role in Goode’s election.

Ahmad was appointed to direct one of the Mayor’s Community Information Offices after the election. After his tenure in Philadelphia city government, he remained active administering a social service organization, the Sultan Jihad Ahmad Community Foundation in North Philadelphia which provided after-school programming and advocacy for youth. Ahmad and his wife Harriet founded this organization in 1993 following the senseless murder of their 15 year old son in 1992 (Sultan Jihad Ahmad Community Foundation).

Countryman describes Goode’s campaign strategy as decisive:

Targeting black churches and civic groups in the city's liberal Center City and northwest neighborhoods, the Goode campaign generated a spirit that reminded many of the movements of the 1960s. In the May 1983 Democratic primary, Goode won a surprisingly easy victory over Rizzo by 60,000 votes. He received 98% of the black vote and nearly 22% of the white vote. With Rizzo's endorsement (Rizzo remained a party leader), Goode won the November general election by 123,000 votes (324).

Goode's tenure as mayor was seriously marred by the 1985 MOVE debacle and budget deficits. However, the black community rallied around Goode and he was reelected in 1987. Goode shared messages of spiritual healing and change in pulpits throughout Philadelphia and the nation. He is the founder of AMACHI an important mentoring organization for the children of prisoners.

Conclusion

This study explores the Black Panther Party's facilitation of community capacity-building, community leadership and media advocacy during the era of electing the first African American officeholders since the Reconstruction Period (1865-1876). The study assumes, based upon Wilkerson's work, that the great African American migration empowered growing minority populations in the urban centers of Oakland, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Although the BPP is framed as too militant to do so, it transformed its political agenda into electoral capital for disenfranchised communities across the nation. This study has value in that the BPP leadership and the strategies employed managed to contribute to the victories of African American elected officials across the country.

This finding fuels other research questions and a need for more systematic analyses about how the Party's activities accomplished the kind of coalition-building and media advocacy that resulted in significant political involvement by African Americans across the United States.

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Border Crossing, Hidden in Plain Sight: From Urban Community to Urban Campus

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Annie Dee Powe Hyman's border crossings are situated at the confluence of race, class, and gender oppression that served to stifle economic and political participation for black people in apartheid America. These convergent socializing factors operated to psychologically and socially construct and sharpen Hyman's survival instincts while simultaneously enhancing her ways of knowing, in ways unimaginable to Frederick Douglass who argued in his 1883 address to the National Convention of Colored Men in Louisville, Kentucky that people of African descent were sternly met on the color line, or to W.E.B. DuBois, who in 1903, in *The Souls of Black Folks* wrote that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line. Both of these great African American intellectuals were correct, as far as their epistemic knowledge could take them.

There are things known to women that are unavailable to men. Hyman's border crossings is a story of achievement by an unsung African American heroine. As borderlands, the areas adjacent to a political border, are deceptive kaleidoscopic conceptualizations pregnant with opportunity and possibility: the opportunity to understand collective action and the possibility to generate struggle, and to create and recreate identities. Geographical, psychic, cultural and social borders separated Temple from Annie Hyman and the surrounding North Central Philadelphia community in which the University was situated.

This article is the continuation of a project based on my completed dissertation, *Pan-African Studies Community Education Program: The Institutionalization of a Community Education Program* (2013). To conduct the study, I employed Social Movement Theories to trace the trajectory of Hyman's Community Education Program from the community to the university. My objective here is to briefly describe *Pan-African Studies Community Education Program* (PASCEP), discuss Annie Hyman's life, illuminating and clarifying issues regarding her multilayered identity. To this end, I will situate Hyman within the context of two frameworks: Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) borderlands theory, the Black Womanist perspective (Collins, 2000), and the struggle for civil rights (Morris 1884).

Hyman is situated in the context of Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) borderlands theory, because Annie Hyman was a border woman. Sonia Sanchez (Interview, 2009) noted that the terrain Hyman traversed was "turbulent waters." Hyman crossed geographic, psychic, social as well as cultural borders in her unyielding effort to provide educational opportunities to her people. Therefore, Anzaldúa's

conceptualizations of Borderlands and Border Crossings provides the *Mise-en-scène* for Hyman's journey.

The dominant culture in America has a multicolored narrative for alterity – the others, the nonwhite: they are lazy, weak, worthless, welfare queens, immoral, drug lords, naturally inferior, and the underserving poor, who live in neighborhoods overwhelmed by pawnshops, liquor stores, check cashing outlets, absentee slumlords, illegal gun sales, crack houses, and street prostitution. What Hyman acknowledge, understood, and accepted is that these characterizations are racialized social constructions expressly created by the dominant culture for psychic rewards, and economic gain, and social privilege (Better 25).

The second framework I use to illuminate Hyman's work begins with the Womanist politics of activists such as Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary Jane McLeod Bethune and concludes with a discussion of leadership styles employed by black women in the struggle for civil rights. Black woman leaders in Bethune's time had something to prove, and echoed Sojourner Truth's elucidation of the hypocritical pretense between white and black, and men and women in American society. Truth rouses the 1851 Women's Convention audience in Akron, Ohio by letting them know that as a woman, she had "borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when she cried out with her mother's grief, none but Jesus heard her cry! "And, ain't I a woman?" she said (Collins 14). Finally, Hyman is positioned as an ingenious civil rights worker who functioned in a large network of bridge leaders and movement participants providing womanist leadership within the greater Philadelphia community. Hyman's *Border Crossings* began back in Africatown, Alabama in 1933, and accelerated with her arrival in Philadelphia in 1953. Hyman's Homegoing was June 2010.

Borderlands

Let us briefly examine Hyman's geographical, psychic, social and cultural border crossings which occurred during her formative years. It is stated in Section 9 of Article I of The *United States Constitution* that the importation of "such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit," meaning slaves, would be permitted until 1808. Nevertheless, in 1860, one hundred and ten African children, teens and young adults were illegally brought from the Bight of Benin to Mobile, Alabama. Under the cover of darkness, the last recorded group of Africans were brought ashore to Mobile, Alabama. The slave ship *Clotilda* was sent to the *Bight of Benin* by Mobile, Alabama business man Timothy Meaher, on a bet that he could successfully "bring a ship full of niggers right into Mobile Bay" without detection (Diouf 3). Timothy Meaher won the bet. Their story is told in by Sylviane Anna Diouf (2007) in *Dreams of Africa in Alabama* which recounts their capture and dreadful voyage, and describes their experience of slavery and freedom after Emancipation, alongside African-American born men and women.

After Emancipation, the group of Africans reunited from various plantations and established their own settlement known as Africa Town. Cudjo Lewis, the last known survivor of the *Clotilda* died in 1935, two years after

Hyman's birth. However, Africa Town is still the home of the descendants of the men and women who dreamed of Africa in Alabama. As Mobile, Alabama developed and its city limits expanded, Africa Town was incorporated as a section of Prichard, a Mobile County neighborhood. The residents of Africa Town established the Mobile County Training School in 1947, and intentionally, Mary Jane McLeod Bethune had a Girls Club at the Mobile County Training School, and Hyman was a student at the school and a member of the Girls Club. In response to a vicious attack on the character of African-American women by a Southern journalist, combined with the spread of disfranchisement, lynching, and segregation, and the desire to "uplift" the race, black women organized a national club movement that led to the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in Washington, D.C. in 1896. Bethune was the 8th president of the National Association of Colored Women, the Founder of Bethune-Cookman University as well as founder of the National Council of Negro Women in New York in 1935. While Annie Dee Powe was in attendance at the Mobile County Training School, Mary McLeod Bethune paid a visit to her Girls Club at the Mobile County Training School.

The impressions made on young Annie Dee Hyman, the psychic *Border Crossings* during these formative years at the Mobile County Training School become obvious in her later work. Later in life, Hyman received the Dorothy Height Award from the National Council of Negro Women for her exemplary community work from the organization founded by her exemplar, Bethune. Annie Dee Powe, one of ten children, was born in Prichard, Alabama in 1933 during the *Great Depression*, and as mentioned, just two years after the death of Cudjo Lewis, the last survivor of the Clotilda. Mr. and Mrs. A. Powe provided Annie and her siblings a secure home and a loving family life where Annie developed a reverence for God and a quest to serve humanity. As a girl, she washed clothes for Whites who could afford it, and was called nigger when she went to pick up and deliver the laundry (Interview, 2007, Hyman). However, Annie's mother told her to stay focused on the job at hand and that she was as good as anyone on earth. Hyman was working to earn cash for the household while attending Chickasaw Terrace Elementary School in Prichard, Alabama, formerly Africatown, Alabama. In 1947, Annie Dee Powe entered Mobile County Training School and graduated in 1952.

You can imagine a teenage girl of African descent in apartheid America, meeting the great Mary Jane McLeod Bethune in 1948 while attending a school founded, and constructed by the residents of Africa Town, Alabama. And then, going off to Tuskegee Institute at the behest of her Sunday school teacher, to meet and talk to George Washington Carver. What was it like for her to cross the geographical, psychic, and cultural borders known as Tuskegee Institute? What ideas about racism were etched upon her impressionable mind when she learned about the 9 Scottsboro Boys who had falsely been accused of rape in 1931? What educational ideas must have been indelibly marked on Hyman's psyche during her formative years? Especially in the context of internal colonialism, visible and invisible borders, the interlocking matrix of race, class and gender oppression within the tripartite system of domination. What kind of ideas do you think Hyman developed about education during her formative years in Africatown,

Alabama? I believe the experiences of Hyman's childhood and adolescence enabled her to identify, manipulate, and often avoid those interlocking factors of race, class and gender in apartheid America, designed to magnify her powerlessness.

Moreover, Ms. Hyman was a devoutly religious charmer. She would give a beautiful dignified smile to whomever she would meet. Hyman was groomed and poised for leadership in the black community. Her leadership was forged in the furnace of race, class and gender oppression in apartheid America. Hyman's perspective on community leadership is best thought of as Bridge Leadership (Belinda Robnett, 1997) and from a Black Womanist standpoint (King and Ferguson, 2001, 2011). As community organizers and mobilizers, many Black women developed modes of behavior captured by the concept of Bridge Leaders. Community Organizers go door to door, community mobilizers lead rallies. Hyman was a Community Organizers.

In 1969, Ms. Hyman began her studies at Temple University, and received a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work in 1976. While attending Temple University, Hyman met, and became friends with, Sonia Sanchez, Dr. Thaddeus Mathis, Dr. Rita Smith and Harrison Ridley Jr., and many other supportive professors and administrators on the campus. The Community Education Program that Hyman founded in 1972 consisted of classes taught in public schools, private homes, community schools, churches and recreation centers. University faculty volunteered their time to teach classes off campus in the neighborhoods. In the summer of 1974, Hyman made her now legendary 30-day trip to Ghana, Africa with 38 Temple University students. It was on the trip to Ghana that Hyman visualized the education program that would become PASCEP.

In 1979, Ms. Hyman obtained the support of Dr. Odeyo Ayaga, who was then Chairman of the Pan-African Studies Department, to seek Temple University's sponsorship for her Community Education Program to become an outreach for the Department and the University. Currently, 40 years hence, PASCEP is ensconced in the Entertainment and Community Education Center at 1509 Cecil B. Moore Avenue providing low-cost, non-credit, continuing education services for Life Long Learners. Annie Delores Powe Hyman, a 1976 Temple University graduate sought to bring the community to the University and create a new university-community partnership. And, she did accomplish her mission.

Faculty of the Pan-African Studies Department and other faculty continued to volunteer time to teach courses for PASCEP: Dr. Rita Smith, Dr. Audrey Pitman, Dr. Tran Van Dinh, Professor Sonia Sanchez, Professor Jacqueline Mungai, Dr. Wilbert Roget, Dr. C. T. Keto, Dr. Barbara Hampton, Harrison Ridley, Jr. and Dr. Thaddeus Mathis, among others. Today, the vast majority of PASCEP's courses are taught by volunteers from the community.

The Black Womanist Framework and the Struggle for Civil Rights

Hyman's notion of community self-help is no better exemplified than in the PASCEP's tradition of excellence, service and the practice of self-help. Hyman's *Border Crossings* are evident in her mediation of the interlocking matrix of race, class and gender oppression (Collins 227). Moreover, those oppressive forces

were continuously experienced within what Aldon Morris (1984) refers to as the American tripartite system of racial domination in economics, politics and segregation.

Yet, in order to begin to understand Annie Hyman's leadership in the Delaware Valley, we must look to scholar-activist like, Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964 /106) and institution builders such as Mary Jane McLeod Bethune (1875-1955 /75), two exemplary black women who believed, like Sojourner Truth, in the absolute need to extol the virtues of black women. Moreover, they believe in "lifting as they climbed." Like Cooper and Bethune, Hyman believed that higher moral standards and education were keys to racial advancement. In 1892, in *A Voice From The South*, Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964) wrote these poignant and compelling words: "only the Black Woman can say when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me" (Cooper 31), Bethune, as president of the National Association of Colored Women signed her correspondence, "Yours in Lifting as We Climb." These were Hyman's heroines. Hyman, a devoutly religious Christian, cofounder of several churches in Philadelphia, was reputed to have never uttered a negative phrase about her adversaries. But more especially, Hyman was often overheard just stating the phrase, "Lifting as We Climb" in casual conversation. Additionally, when children and grandchildren of the enslaved begin to think in terms of gaining equality in an oppressive environment, Border Crossing in a psychic sense was at hand.

Essentially, the Black church has been the main source of leadership for the Black liberation social movement (Morris 278). However, most leadership roles for women were in secondary leadership positions. Nevertheless, an essential position was the role of the bridge leader interacting among movement participants, and between and within networks in the exercise of leadership, mobilizing, and organizing skills. Civil Rights activist Ella Baker developed the distinction between *organizing and mobilizing* (Payne 897). For Baker, organizing, the deep-seated commitment to organization for the long haul differed considerably from mobilizing. Born in 1903 in Norfolk, Virginia to emancipated parents, Baker taught that mobilizing was an activity that garnered appropriate publicity at public rallies, and through lobbying activities and demonstrations.

Organizing, however, was a continuous door-to-door activity that allowed movement participants to "empower themselves to continued action on behalf of organization goals (Payne 897). Baker believed that leading people to freedom was a contradiction in terms. Freedom required that a group be able to analyze their own social position –become conscious for itself – and understand their collective ability to do something about it without relying on leaders. Ella Baker's life as a social movement leader illuminates most aspects and facets of liberation social movement leadership theory, and Hyman's unassuming organizing activities quietly fits the Bridge Leader framework.

Successful leaders in social movements act as inspirational strategic decision-makers organizing others to participate within a matrix of domination (Collins 2000). Collins links black women's oppression and activism in a

dialectical relationship. Where there is oppression, black women will find the need for activism. One important reason for Hyman's success is that she required neither a position out front, nor one in the center. Hyman, like Ella Baker, led from behind, and saw herself as a bridge leader across the sharpening divisions of class and gender in the Black community, and between black and white Philadelphians.

After Graduation in 1953 from Mobile County Training School, Hyman moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to live with her aunt. In Philadelphia, while working as a beautician and seamstress, Annie Dee Powe at the age of 19, met her future husband Russell Hyman, a young worldly conservative Black Muslim. His Brother Harold Hyman was a bodyguard for Malcolm X while he was in Philadelphia. After meeting several times at the perennial Marcus Garvey House, still located at 1609 Cecil B. Moore Avenue, where they frequently listened to lectures from Malcolm X, Russell asked Ms. Hyman for a date. In time, Annie Hyman began serving her famous fried fish and chicken, and her celebrated pound cake to Malcolm, and Harold, and Russell. Eventually, Russell asked Annie Dee for a date. Later, Annie and Russell married, and from their union, they had three lovely daughters, Aleah, Ramona, and Madeia. Hyman was in the audience during many of the lectures, and participated in discussions held at the Marcus Garvey House in the 1960s and 1970s.

Annie Dee and Russell were determined to provide their daughters with many of the things they believed they had missed as children of the *Great Depression*. Annie began to organize camping trips, excursions to museums, the zoo and the Academy of Music for her daughters and other children in her North Philadelphia community. Like their parents, the girls, raised to appreciate the value of education, enjoyed civic participation and hard work. During those days, Hyman followed the footsteps of her exemplar, Mary McLeod Bethune; Annie was prepared for her larger role of border crossing on the global stage in service to humanity.

Black Womanist Politics

In 1968, Ms. Hyman began working for John Greenleaf Whittier School, at 27th and Clearfield Streets as the School Community Coordinator. As a Bridge Leader-Coordinator conducting her own oral history research, Ms. Hyman documented approximately 30 home visits per week for approximately 1100 homes per year as she visited thousands of parents in Philadelphia's 4th School District. During the period as a School Community Coordinator, Ms. Hyman became life-long friends with District Four Superintendent Dr. Janette Brewer, and Dr. Ruth Wright Hayre, the Superintendent of District Four prior to Brewer's appointment, and the first woman to serve as President of the Philadelphia School Board for two terms in 1991 and 1992. Dr. Hayre also established the Dr. Ruth Wright-Hayre Scholarship Fund for inner city youngsters. Around the same time, Ms. Hyman also began working for North City Congress. North City Congress (NCC) located at 1438 N. Broad Street in Philadelphia. North City Congress is a multi-service organization serving older adults (60+ years), caregivers, and the local community in North and North Central Philadelphia.

In 1972, Hyman also spent six weeks in Prichard, Alabama, working in Jay Cooper's mayoral campaign, bringing about change in the town where she grew up. Her reward was to see her father vote for the first time in his life; a psychic, social, cultural *Border Crossing* of metamorphic proportions for both father and daughter. In 1972, Algernon Johnson Cooper was elected the first Black mayor of Prichard, Alabama, a city of some 50,000 citizens; he was the first African American to defeat a white incumbent in the state of Alabama.

However, it was on the 1974 trip to Ghana that Hyman visualized the *Pan African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP)*. Remember, in 1972, she had started the *Community Education Program*. In 1976, Hyman designed the format and set up the first classes in John Greenleaf Whittier School. Subsequently, other community sites were added utilizing volunteer faculty from the then Pan-African Studies Department where Dr. Odeyo Ayaga was Chair. At those early sites, Dr. Tran Van Dinh taught *Common Sense Politics* and Dr. Rita Smith taught the *Black Child*. In 1979, after written correspondence and personal conferences with Dr. Odeyo Ayaga and Dr. George Wheeler, department Chairman at the time, and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences respectively, the university accepted Hyman's Community Education Program as an outreach program for Pan-African Studies. Professor Jaki Mungai, a Pan-African Studies faculty member, performed admirably as PASCEP's Coordinator. Since that time, Temple's campus has been the site of all PASCEP classes.

Ms. Hyman's love for humanity, her intellectual curiosity, and her propensity for *Border Crossing* has taken her around the world. In 1987, Ms. Hyman accompanied Dr. Morgan Kibble, along with students from the Larchwood Seventh-Day Adventist School, to Europe. In 1995, Hyman traveled to Egypt, Ghana and then to China to attend the Fourth World Conference on Women. In 1998, Annie toured the Ghanaian mission school with her cherished friend Queen Nana Akoffo (AKA Geraldine Johnson), in the Akyem Hemang region of Ghana, West Africa.

On Monday July 21, 2003 in Bekwai, Ghana, with nine *Pan African Studies Community Education Program* members in attendance, Annie Dee Hyman was officially enstooled as Nkosuohene, Queen Mother of Development responsible for the expansion and improvement of the town of Bekwai. Her royal name is Nana Konadu Yiadom III. Hyman's close friend, Dr. William Ankobea, a New York physician originally from Bekwai was enstooled as Nkosuohemaa.

Conclusion

Hyman's border crossing began in Africatown, Alabama, and provided her with a paradigm for social change. She became an early participant because of the education she received from her family, schools and the church. Her life's work to serve, to lift as she climbed, culminated in bringing her community education program from the streets of North Central Philadelphia to Temple University's campus where it would become known as Pan African Studies Community Education Program. Annie Dee Hyman returned home from Africa in 1975 with a dream. She dared to dream of initiating a Community Education Program (CEP) in her North Philadelphia neighborhood. However, more

especially, Annie Hyman dared to bring her Community Education Program onto Temple University's campus.

Bridge leadership explains the undervalued leadership space that availed border crossing to black women in the civil rights movement. Because they had to lead from the back or act as conduits, bridge leaders were out of sight. I believe that Hyman's personality gave her the capacity to work the system. While others were rushing, Hyman took her time border crossing. Hyman had charisma, that southern charm. While others were angry, Hyman was calm. When others were pushy, Hyman was willing to find common ground in the Borderlands. Hyman enjoyed leading from the back. She understood the geography of her Borderlands, knew where she wanted to go, and enjoyed letting others help her with Border Crossings in the Borderlands.

The legacy of Hyman's social movement activity continues to impact current activities, especially at Temple University and in the Churches she helped to establish. Members of the Delaware Valley community continue to cross borders because of Hyman's work in the Borderlands. Finally, if the American Civil Rights movement was fundamental in the reconstruction of social movement theory as Morris (1984) argues in *The Origin of the Civil Rights Movement*, I strongly suggest that the Border Crossings of Annie Dee Hyman and her Community Education Program, from the streets of North Philadelphia to its institutionalization on the campus of Temple University, fundamentally changes how we utilize Anzaldúa's perspective on Borderlands and border crossings across ethnicities as well as enhances our understanding of Womanist leadership standpoint and gives a new perspective on how civic activism may deepen university-community relationships.

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The Educational Benefits of Commissioning and Premiering Vocal Repertoire at the Undergraduate Level: A Case Study of Students at Youngstown State University and Shorter College

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Scholar & Opera Singer

There are certain standards within the traditional training of young musicians, often fitting within the mold of performing the works of certain composers in a particular order, avoiding difficult or contemporary music until their technique is solid, and for singers, only singing within a particular Fach, or voice type. As a musician and music educator, I strive to consistently challenge not only my own limitations, but also preconceived notions of borders that exist within the industry. Of course, growth and development are individualized, but it is the role of the instructor to have the students demonstrate the ability to break through these borders and promote their individuality in their chosen instruments. It is because of these limitations, expectations, and borders that I decided to create a new kind of assignment, which propelled creativity, individual responsibility, and artistry, regardless of technical level.

In 2006-2007, I was in the final year of my doctorate at the University of Michigan. I decided that my final dissertation recital project would be to commission and premiere new works based on the poetry of my great-great-great uncle, Native American Muscogee poet, Alex Posey. I premiered the works in April of 2007, to a wonderful reception. The composers were all students from various universities, including University of Michigan, Bowling Green State University, Ball State University, and University of Cincinnati, among others. After the premiere, I sent a press release to the *Muscogee Nation News*, which attracted the attention of two museums: Merkel Area Museum in Merkel, Texas and the National Museum of the American Indian at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Both museums acquired the world premiere recording, as well as the sheet music for archival purposes. The Smithsonian added me to their list of Classical Native Artists and Musicians (Kunkle). Because of this high level of recognition, as well as the collaborative efforts and skills that I learned from the project, I decided to have my students commission works once I began teaching at the collegiate level.

After graduating from the University of Michigan, I had three adjunct teaching positions during my first year of teaching. Those positions were at Terra State Community College, Wright State University, and Youngstown State University. I began to teach at all of them, never having taught in the university

studio setting previously. The only institution of the three where I taught a studio class was Youngstown State University. My students were very dedicated and driven, and shortly after beginning my teaching there, I realized that I might be able to have them stretch their expectations and each commission a song to be performed in a recital setting. It was highly encouraged by the department that we would have studio recitals, and this assignment seemed to be a creative way to accomplish this goal, along with giving the students an interesting, hands-on, collaborative learning opportunity.

At Youngstown State, I taught numerous female students and one male student. To fulfill the length of a normal recital, I paired students to sing standard duets and trios, as well as their commissioned works. There were numerous issues to be faced before the students could perform these world premiere pieces. Some of these issues included finding a composer, finding a text that appealed to both the student and the composer, and dealing with any copyright issues of their chosen text. Additionally, the students had to navigate the difficulties of learning music that was being created especially for them, instead of something that was not only already available in sheet music, but also, in our modern world, available to hear on YouTube or other recordings. In my personal commissioning experience, the collaborative aspects of working with the composers have been among the most rewarding moments. I asked the students to give me feedback for this presentation, with five years of retrospect upon which to draw. Two of them were available and willing to participate, and their words are as follows:

Marisa Bunney was a Youngstown State University freshman majoring in musical theatre in 2007. She is currently a journalist in Miami, Florida.

For me, singing is more than an art; it's the expulsion of emotion from your body, traveling into the world on waves of sound. Your voice is one of few things that cannot be bound by shackles and walls. It's the most organic form of music that exists. As a subscriber to this school of thought, the opportunity to commission a piece of music was my yellow brick road. I worked with a very talented composer to set one of my favorite poems to music, Maya Angelou's "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings." As a musician, one of the most exhilarating experiences is creating a piece of your own. Though the words were not mine, the music was very much a part of me. Sarah, my composer, worked with me to understand and appreciate exactly what the piece should feel like. We discussed major versus minor keys, samples of music, how the music would complement the lyrics, how I interpret the poem, how I should sing it, everything from A to Z. Looking back, I wish I'd have reveled in the moment a little more. It's an experience that changed my perception of myself as a musician and what it takes to make a song come alive (Bunney).

Bethany Bollinger Piscitella was a Youngstown State University junior music education major in 2007. Recently, she finished her music education masters degree at Youngstown State University.

This project fascinated me extremely. I never expected to have one of my co-workers and a friend from my former university (write for me). The piece my co-worker wrote really tested my range. He had never composed for a vocalist before and everything that he wrote was from the standpoint of someone who played trumpet his whole life. At first, I felt the piece was close to impossible to sing because of the extreme meter changes and the difficult key. But, because it was my piece, I could decide how it should be sung, with help from the composer. I was very pleased with the outcome, and I don't think I would have done anything differently. The poem was very dark and was represented justly with the music (Piscitella).

After the completion of this recital, there was an overwhelming positive response from all of the students, as well as the music department. The idea of being able to create a new piece of music, while giving input to the composers, was a novel and exciting idea to the undergraduate students. It stretched their expectations of themselves, as well as helped them to develop into more mature musicians and students, in general. On an additional positive note, grades in applied voice began to rise after this experience and exposure. The positive reinforcement that resulted from the assignment (both from other students and teachers) led the students to have higher expectations of themselves in the studio, as well as helped them to learn music much more quickly than in the past.

At the end of the year, I was offered a full time position at Shorter College in Georgia. As I transitioned from the north to the south, I also transitioned from a part-time adjunct instructor to that of a full-time visiting assistant professor. I taught a voice studio of sixteen students and a diction course during my first year at Shorter. Shorter, unlike Youngstown State, was an undergraduate-only music program. The focus was different, with more emphasis on competition and more performance opportunities for the undergraduate student than at Youngstown State. I decided it was worth the effort to encourage the students to try the commission project once again. I had a studio primarily consisting of freshmen, so the concept of commissioning a work was very different to most of them, although again, an exciting proposition, if somewhat daunting at times. A few more students were able to give feedback, as well as some student composers (also undergraduates), who were serving as both collaborative pianist and composer to the students. The first two singers decided to commission two songs, with different degrees of success.

Chelsea Cross Burney was a freshman Music Education Major at Shorter College in 2008. She now serves as Centennial High School Director of Choral Activities at Fulton County Public Schools in Roswell, Georgia.

For the project I had the opportunity to work with two different composers, each of their own style (one more contemporary and the other more classical). I chose for both pieces to be sacred and really let the composers have free reign. And it was great to see how different people work with you in this artistic creation. Jennifer Foster composed "I'll Still Believe" for me, a contemporary Christian piece. The process of working with her was very collaborative, and she even wrote a piano part that I

could play so that I could sing and play simultaneously. In comparison, working with Mike Daniel was very different. He composed "A Song of Ascents", a more classical sacred piece based off of Psalms 120-121. Unlike Ms. Foster, Mr. Daniel composed more to his style and his inspiration. Even though working with the two was very different, I thoroughly enjoyed the process. Working with Mr. Daniel was much more formal than with Ms. Foster. He was very consistent and thorough in his composition. You can sense his trumpet background in his composition. Working with Jennifer was a lot more relaxed and we went back and forth more, showing me chord progressions, various piano options, including me in the entire process.

I enjoyed the process with both composers. Although it was very different with the two, I think it enabled me to see how different people work, learn, and grow. The process helped me in my growth as a music educator and I feel like I now have the experience that I could share with my students (Burney).

Sarah Dunham was a Freshman Voice Performance Major in 2008. She is now as masters student in voice performance at Texas Christian University, as well as a budding composer.

For me, unfortunately, I didn't appreciate the assignment in the moment. I was a freshman; I had absolutely no idea what I was doing. Luckily, my composers did. One of my composers was an old high school friend, then a senior music education major at Brenau University. Since she was down in Gainesville (GA) and I was up in Rome (GA), my partnership with her was merely a question of "I like these poems, would you like to compose something for me" rather than anything deeper. She composed a wonderful little piece to Emily Dickinson's "If you were coming in the fall" that was perfect for a beginner like me.

My partnership with Thomas Williams, on the other hand, was much longer and deeper. (We eventually became good friends—he played for both my junior and senior recitals, and we are still in contact today.) I approached him on recommendation by a professor, and he showed me some of his other compositions, which I enjoyed. I had found several poems in the library at Shorter, and we decided on a Romilda Rendel translation of a Giosue Carducci poem, "Nevicata," or "Snowfall." Thomas and I were both interested in the more arcane types of music, like *Sprechstimme* and atonality, and when he suggested that he include some of that in the piece, I agreed. (It wasn't a complete capitulation on my part: I did want the piece to be somewhat beautiful, and I didn't want anyone to laugh while I performed it.)

Some of his early drafts were a bit too modern for my freshman tastes, and for his composition skills; the only bit of slight *Sprechstimme* we ended up including was a text-painting slide on the last line on the word "down" from a high C to the quasi-recit ending. The piece actually turned out to be quite tonal, despite ourselves. I appreciate now the

patterns and themes he included, while then I automatically responded to them (the shimmering downward clash of triplets representing the hectic flight of birds, the piano dropping away at the final line repeating the “silence” and despair and desolation of the text, etc.)

It was only after I performed the work that I discovered the poem was originally in Italian, and that there were other translations. (A freshmen’s folly.) The translation by Emily A. Tribe is inferior to Rendel’s, in my view. As a translator myself (of German), I know there is a fine line one must tread: to preserve the poet’s original intent or to translate literally? While Tribe’s translation is more literal, Rendel’s translation does not take away the mystery of the original language without adding any cumbersome poetic airs (as some translators tend to do). I don’t think I would have chosen the poem had I come across Tribe’s translation first. Whether I would have chosen the poem if I’d come across the original Italian is a very interesting question, and not one I can answer. With the benefit of language study and experience, I can see now the desperation and sibilance that Carducci included (and that Rendel imitated); but who can say whether I would have recognized that as a freshman.

As I’ve said, at the time I didn’t fully appreciate the experience, although it must have stuck with me more than I thought, because I am now a composer. I don’t think it was the only catalyst, as many of my other friends who participated in the project are not composers at all, but I do believe that the long conversations Thomas and I had benefited both “Snowfall” then and my current compositions (Dunham).

Eric Graise was a freshman Voice Performance Major at Shorter College in 2008. He is currently a student at West Georgia University, as well as a freelance actor and music director.

I really enjoyed the commission assignment. I will admit that at first I was extremely nervous. It took me longer than the others to find a composer and I had no idea where to begin. Once I found someone, Bradley, it basically took off from there. I chose the lyrics - a poem by Robert Browning entitled “Porphyria’s Lover”. We began by my sitting with Bradley and describing what I would like from the piece. I mentioned to Bradley that I wanted the piece to have a sense of duality to mimic the character’s struggle between sanity and insanity. I showed him a few pieces that I enjoyed and wanted the same power those pieces provided (one was “Being Alive” from *Company*). We decided on a piece that dabbled in both classical and musical theatre. I also wanted something that had a wide range and showed of both the higher and lower part of my range. After a couple of weeks Bradley had the piece finished and it sounded great. Bradley did a great job of expressing the character’s movements between sanity and insanity through the accompaniment. The only thing I would change is that I wish I would have been more hands on with the vocal line of the piece. I believe since Bradley is a piano heavy

pianist and doesn't deal with vocalist on a regular, the vocal line left a few things to be desired. I also wish I would have learned the piece better. It was such a long, intense piece that I choked a bit on learning some of it and we had to do some cuts. But all in all, I really enjoyed the assignment and wouldn't have minded doing it another year (Graise).

The final two statements are from then undergraduate student composers who worked with Ms. Dunham and Mr. Graise, respectively.

Thomas Williams was a junior Piano Performance Major at Shorter College in 2008. He is currently a masters student in collaborative piano at Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers University.

It was the first time I had ever composed a vocal work with a specific singer in mind. Although I did what I could at the time to get to know the voice for which I was writing, I wasn't very well versed in what makes good and singable vocal writing. (I had a lot to learn about this, and I think now I would be better prepared in this regard - not because I have done a great deal more vocal writing, but because I have had a great deal more experience with vocal music as a collaborative pianist and took a couple of semesters of voice lessons in order to learn more about the voice - which would have been good knowledge to have had). The experience of collaborating in a performance of my own work was...well, it was a first experience as well. In that regard, I suppose it was a little more successful for me (Williams).

Bradley Harris was a junior Piano Performance Major at Shorter College in 2008. Currently he is a masters student in composition at the University of Cincinnati College - Conservatory of Music.

The commissioning project that I participated in while an undergraduate student at Shorter College was a great learning experience for me as a composer. I have always been composing every since I can remember. I would often play my own compositions on various recitals as a child and throughout high school. Until Dr. Kunkle had given me the opportunity, I was never commissioned to write music for anyone. My project was to write a song for a baritone using the text of his choice. The text that was chosen was from Robert Browning's "Porphyria's Lover." I was very excited to write for someone and to know that the piece would be performed on a recital. The process of composing for this singer was very interesting and different for me, considering that I have never written a song in my life. I found it easy to come up with the notes and the mood of the piece because as far as I was concerned, the piece was already written. The text gave me form, drama, mood, and ideas for timber. All I had to do was to comprehend the poem, translate it into my own style, and to write the music idiomatically so that when the piece was ready for rehearsal there would be little to no confusion when it came to performing it. While composing the piece, I learned many valuable lessons, one in which really

changed my ideas about composing. As musicians and composers, we are constantly changing how we go about expressing ourselves through music, but we should never change who we are as artists, not in a closed-minded way but rather an authentic and honest way. I will admit that when I wrote this piece, I was not being completely honest with the music. I was not following my aesthetics as a composer and thus led to a bad composition. The performer was great and I could not have asked for a better and more passionate singer at that time, it was just a bad composition. I am aware that even our aesthetics change sometimes and sometimes compromising is necessary. But changing who I was as a composer at the time was, in my opinion, a conscious mistake that was caused by my inexperience of learning how to compromise and work around different ideas that might of been preventing me to be myself as a composer. I am very thankful for that experience and know that I am a better composer because of it. I know that the journey of finding myself as a composer will never be over and I should constantly be thinking and working on ways to expand my knowledge of different aesthetics. This experience has given me more wisdom for my journey as a composer and for that I am grateful. Dr. Kunkle gave me such a wonderful opportunity and I will always acknowledge this experience as one of many great factors that has molded me into the composer I am today. Composing is about the journey and the many different experiences that follow. At least that's what it's about for me (Harris).

Shorter students gleaned much the same experience and worth from this assignment as did their Youngstown State counterparts. The largest challenge for the freshmen at Shorter was that many of them did not know composers going into the assignment. At an all undergraduate institution, it was more difficult to find willing and talented composers who could work with them at their level. In an institution such as Youngstown State, where there are both undergraduate and graduate programs, finding a composer, especially one in a composition program, seemed to be much easier for the students.

Many of the students ended up going to friends, relatives, and mentors for help in acquiring a composer with whom to work. Also of interest is that Youngstown State students tended to have more difficulty finding poetry that spoke to them as artists, especially within the realm of non-copyrighted material. (Most students chose to not have to contact a living poet to acquire copyright approval). Shorter students tended to choose religious poetry and Bible verses over other types of poetry, which was unsurprising, given the school's Baptist affiliation.

Both schools expect a modicum of theory background, as well as functional music reading and keyboard skills upon acceptance into the music program. Proceeding with freshmen for this type of assignment might be more difficult initially than with upperclassmen. However, in retrospect, it seems that most students were able to benefit and grow as musicians through the assignment, regardless of age and level in school. Since it is an individualized assignment, the vocal instructor can be as involved as he or she would like. I chose to help

students with the music in lessons, much in the same way that I would for standard repertoire. However, being able to incorporate the living composer into the lessons made for collaboration between the student and composer in the vocal studio, which was helpful to many students in having a successful premiere of the composition.

My goal as a music educator with this assignment was to help students to realize their potential beyond the standard art song repertoire that is traditionally assigned to this age group. I wanted them to learn to collaborate with others on creation, as well as to grow as musical artists. From my perspective, even if the composition itself was not overly exciting or well-written, it provided an opportunity to approach music from a different angle. It gave very young musicians a chance to be hands-on in the creative process, often inspiring them to think outside of traditional ideals when approaching more standard repertoire, but also to create their own opportunities. Each student had his or her own experience with commissioning and premiering their works. Of course, some were more successful than others in the performances. However, from the feedback I have received, overall, it was a worthwhile endeavor and one that could be repeated in the future to continue to inspire new approaches to vocal repertoire and innovative thinking in the young musician. Breaking new ground and challenging borders in music is often a daunting task for many young students. In the context of a studio setting, students can get support from the private instructor, as well as their peers, as they approach new ideas in their commissioned works, while continuing to strive to improve as artist and scholars.

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Fantasy, Feminism, Islamism, and Sexuality in the Literature of El Saadawi, Rifaat, al-Shaykh, and Mernissi

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Arab women writers have used their literature as a platform for penning the untold and often tabooed experiences of Arab women through the merging of various articulations of feminism, Islamism, fantasy, and sexuality. These feminist writers have created female characters that question and resist the normative mechanisms of cultural, religious, and gender identity in their Arab and Muslim communities. The female identities portrayed in the literary works of Muslim Arab women writers seem influenced by Western humanistic values though they never fully subscribe to them. The female characters' desire to rebel is vanquished by their fear of social stigma and of the consequences of challenging patriarchal supremacy, which is expressed by these writers by merging both secular and Islamic modes of feminism.

Undoubtedly, the legitimate articulations of "feminism" have mostly been bound to the Western construction of womanhood with its liberalism and secularism that depart greatly from the Middle Eastern articulations of feminism and womanhood. This has led, according to Jasmin Zine, to the de-legitimizing of any "[other] mode of being female" or any other form of feminism in the discourses of non-Western feminism (Zine 167). The Middle Eastern feminist critique of Western feminism lies in its reproduction of colonial discourses with its imperialistic stances on Muslim women by objectifying their bodies, usurping their voices, and casting them as oppressed and regressive, while showcasing their redemption only through the copying of Western norms and values of womanhood. The Western feminist imaginative constructions of the Muslim woman as in need of liberation by casting off the veil and the adoption of Western secular notions is nothing short of a paternal model of imperialist feminism that denies Muslim women's agency and political maturity as subjects (Zine 168) who are capable of defining and articulating their own legitimate mode of feminism within the sign systems they already inhabit. Hence, it becomes counterintuitive to assume that the mode of feminism that emerges in the discourses of Muslim women should be closely aligned to the feminist discourses of Western women; rather, one finds that Muslim women's feminist discourses tend to be highly individuated and shaped by these women's highly gendered lived communal and personal experiences; thus their modes of feminism are home grown and "are not borrowed, derivative, or 'second hand'" (Badran 13).

In the Middle East, the two dominant feminist paradigms are "secular" and "Islamic" feminism. The former is traced to the late nineteenth century and the latter to the late twentieth century. While secular feminism draws on "multiple discourses including secular nationalist, Islamic modernist,

humanitarian/human rights, and democratic” discourses, Islamic feminism draws on the Quran (the Islamic holy book) as the crux of its religiously grounded discourse (Badran 6). On one hand, secular feminist discourses call for the liberation of women and merge both secular nationalism and Islamic modernism, promote gender reform, and move away from the gender-conservative Islamist narrative offering a progressive anti-sexist Islamist discourse (Badran 9-11). On the other hand, Islamic feminist discourses call for the return of women to a “purer’ and ‘more authentic’ domestic life away from the public scene” (9), locate its feminism within the parameters of Islamic thought, and advocate a new understanding of gender justice and reform in Islam (Zine 176), thus sharing with secular feminists their advocacy for Islamic modernism, reform, and the reconstruction of gender roles within Islam (Badran13). At its core, the Islamic feminist discourse affirms the equality of women and men and grounds its interpretations in new readings of the Quran (14). On one hand, Islamic feminists view secular feminists as colluders with Western ideological discourses. Muslim secular feminists, on the other hand, accuse Islamic feminists of espousing patriarchal theocracy by not disavowing—what they see as—the indoctrination of women’s subordination in Islam. Muslim secular feminists also question the possibility of using religion as a site of discursive and epistemological resistance to construct antiracist and antisexist visions of womanhood, and they criticize the “hypocrisy of religious institutions” for their racist, sexist, and classist orientations (Zine 172-3).

Despite the often antithetical stances of Islamic and secular feminist trends, Muslim feminists have merged both trends in their literary works by exploring the potential of either or both to achieve women’s liberation, as is evident in the literary works of Nawal El Saadawi, Alifa Rifaat, Hanan al-Shaykh, and Fatma Mernissi. Hence, this paper will explore the intersections of fantasy, feminism, Islamism, and sexuality in the construction of a coherent female identity that resists and deconstructs the cultural narratives of conformity in the following literary works: “She has no Place in Paradise” by El Saadawi, “My World of the Unknown” by Rifaat, *The Story of Zahra* by al-Shaykh, and *Dreams Of Trespass: Tales Of A Harem Girlhood* by Mernissi. In these works, the female characters subvert male domination and resituate the transformation of the female body “into a desiring force that rejects its subjugation to a narrative of erasure” (Fayad 148). These works further showcase the intersections of Islamic and secular feminism with the elements of fantasy and sexuality by foregrounding the struggle between the female characters and oppressive patriarchal traditions over the control of their female bodies. Hence, in these Arab women’s writings, feminist discourses emerge as “a self-reflexive mode of analysis, aimed at articulating the critique of power in discourse with the affirmation of alternative forms of subjectivity” (Braidotti 120). Inadvertently, by affirming their gendered self-representation, the body becomes a site of resistance whether through fantasy, sexuality, mutilation, or suppression, erecting “sites...for the construction of alternative visions” (Cooke 29) for women’s liberated discourses and identities.

In “She has No Place in Paradise” by Nawal El Saadawi, an Egyptian feminist writer, journalist, sociologist, and psychiatrist, we see that the central

character Zeinab has unequivocally complied with the fundamentals of patriarchy and has chosen to accept her invisibility espousing the hijab as an integral element of her identity. El Saadawi writes, “Never in her life had she taken the black shawl off her head nor the white scarf tied under the shawl” (640). In the story, a woman’s subjectivity is defined solely in terms of her roles in relation to men to the detriment of her individuality. In a traditional patriarchal society, her first role is that of a daughter and sister who has to comply with her father’s and brother’s commands. After she marries, her role becomes that of an obedient wife whose duty is to be subservient to her husband while silently tolerating abuse. Finally, after her husband’s death, the socially-sanctioned role she is coerced to play is that of a mother and a widow. Any attempt on Zeinab’s part to question any of these roles is inhibited by her fear of societal reprisal or with her mother’s scolding and assertions that the woman’s role is confined within the above categories, and any departure from them will lead to societal reprisal or eternal damnation. Even after her husband’s death, Zeinab is forced to comply with the role of the widow till her death because of her mother’s questioning: “What does a woman want in this world after she has become a mother and her husband dies?” (640). Zeinab’s fear of violating social norms and complacent conformity become her dominant characteristics, the driving factor behind most of her actions and the cause of most of her misery.

In “She has No Place in Paradise,” the intersection of Islamic and secular feminism with the fantasy of Paradise initially presents the Islamic feminist belief that gender equality and justice might be achieved through a feminist interpretation of Islamic texts rather than a patriarchal one. This hope is later shattered and replaced with the secular feminist rejection of the stronghold of patriarchy over the interpretations of Islam and the refusal to espouse the subservient role held by women in these male-centered interpretations. Throughout the story, we see Zeinab torn between a reality marred by the physical and symbolic violence of patriarchy, including her disempowerment, invisibility, and emotional deprivation and the fantasy of Paradise, an Islamic heavenly hereafter promised to believers in the Quran, in which she foresees an end to all her misery. The fantasy of Paradise—an alternative heavenly reality—promises her the realization of an empowered subjectivity and an equality that she longs for but is unable realize in her disempowering reality. In her fantasy, Zeinab is granted all the rights as a human being that she has been deprived of throughout her life: she and her husband are finally equal, and for once they hold hands; she is no longer beaten up by her husband or her father and she finds the love she longs for. In her fantasy, Zeinab finds an escape from her morbid reality and finds hope for a better tomorrow in God’s heaven as she comforts herself through transcendence of all forms of female subjugation, humiliation, and invisibility.

Through the Islamic symbols and motifs that are threaded throughout the story “She Has No Place in Paradise,” El Saadawi foregrounds her critique of the stronghold of patriarchy over traditional Islamist thought. The conversation between the two angels, after Zeinab dies, reiterates mainstream traditional Islamic discourse that puts immense restrictions on the female body and shows the superficiality of these restrictions as they mostly center on the forced physical

and ideological containment of the female subject and showcase the hypocrisy of religious rhetoric that aims at oppressing the female gender while putting no such commands on men. Apparent here is El Saadawi's critique of the extreme claims Islamism makes to justify the ideological and physical subjugation of the female body, of which no part should show except the face, and her rejection of the patriarchal reading of the Quran and the oppressive social norms masked as God's commands that favor the male gender.

The strong element of Islamism in Zeinab's fantasy collides with the feminist secular rejection of Paradise as an illusion and an unworthy alternative for a reality marred by abuse, subjugation, and collusion on the part of a silent and obedient female subject-turned-object who has never fully acquired a sense of her subjectivity. Once Zeinab reaches Paradise, she realizes that her fantasy of Paradise was fictitious and deceptive as she discovers that the patriarchal interpretation of Paradise in Islam favors men and represents another form of female subjugation rather than heavenly justice and equality. El Saadawi writes, "In the middle she saw a wide bed, on top of it her husband, sitting like a bridegroom. On his right, was a woman. On his left, another woman. Both of them wore transparent robes revealing skin as white as honey, her eyes filled with light, like the eyes of *houris*" (642). Zeinab realizes the falsehood behind the fantasy of Paradise and rejects it altogether, saying "There's no place in Paradise for a black woman" (642) as she closes the door to heaven and returns to earth. Zeinab's rejection of the fantasy and her decision to go back to reality marks her maturation and her realization of a more empowered female subjectivity that decides to free itself of the shackles of an unjust and oppressive socially and religiously sanctioned patriarchy.

The intersection of fantasy with suppressed and denounced sexuality is equally evident in "She has No Place in Paradise." El Saadawi unveils and critiques the hypocrisy and double standards in Muslim society which rejects, suppresses, and punishes female sexuality, on one hand, and rewards and accepts male sexuality, on the other. As a young unwed woman, Zeinab's unrequited romance with her neighbor and her meager sexual fantasies are suppressed in the form of a dream in which she can hold hands with Hassanain and sit with him in the shade. Despite the asexual nature of her fantasy, she is later made to feel guilty by her mother who tells her that she will be punished for her fantasies by eternally being denied paradise. We also are made to see Zeinab's husband's erasure of her sexuality while affirming his: "If she made a sound or sighed he would kick her again. If she did not sign or make a sound, she would get a third kick, then a fourth until she did" (640). Even at the end of the story, when Zeinab dies and goes to paradise, she comes to view her husband's sexual fantasies with the *houris* and realizes she has no place in a man's world or in a man's paradise.

In "She Has No Place in Paradise," El Saadawi peels away the double standards of mainstream Islamic rhetoric and exposes the restrictions placed on women's material and physical being; yet, no such restrictions are placed on men to achieve Paradise where men seem to achieve it by default simply by being men. El Saadawi sees in the dream of paradise a fantasy that women in Muslim societies, whose rights have been abused and violated, often hold on to in order to make their lives tolerable. However, the story's ending shows that paradise's

promise is a mere fantasy and that the only means for women to achieve a closer version of paradise is to fight for their rights and reject abuse and inequality; the ending also shows El Saadawi's questioning Islamic feminists' ability to challenge the stronghold of patriarchy and present non-sexist interpretations of Islamic texts. This tinge of secular feminism is apparent at the end of the story when Zeinab closes the door to paradise and returns to earth saying there is no place in paradise for her. In her choice to return to earth, Zeinab is choosing to rewrite her story and dismantle the dominant cultural and Islamic narrative that she had been uncritically regurgitating for all of her life; in this act, a coherent, empowered feminist identity emerges that resists and deconstructs the cultural narratives of conformity in her society, in this way constructing an alternative vision for her and other women's liberated discourses and identities.

In Egyptian writer and Islamic feminist, Aliffa Rifaat's "My World of the Unknown," the intersection of the elements of secular and Islamic feminism with fantasy is evident as the female narrator tries to escape her life's monotony and loveless marriage through the fantasy of a love affair with a djinn—a supernatural corporeal being referenced in Islamic texts—which appears to her in the form of a snake and later shifts into the shape of a woman. Rifaat's use of Islamic and secular feminism becomes evident in the two central female characters, the narrator and the powerful djinn, each of whom expresses her own feminist persona. Whereas the former character is skeptical about the role of religion to offer female emancipation, the latter finds in religion her own freedom and empowerment. The narrator is self-assertive, confident, and for the better part of the story is skeptical of the power of this supernatural world, its inhabitants and their ability to connect with our world. At first, she jokingly dismisses the presence of these corporeal beings in the house, saying "As for the story about the djinn and spirits, just leave them to us—we're more spirited than them" (1133). She later dismisses the religious cleric's Islamic-bound interpretation of her encounter with the snake: "I don't believe a word of it,' I said stupefied. 'This is nonsense. I know that the djinn are creatures that actually exist, but they are not in touch with our world'" (1136). The narrator espouses more of a secular view of the world in which spirituality and religion do not play a central role, which contrasts sharply with the character of the female djinn who espouses Islamic feminist thought, defines her identity by resorting to religious references, such as when she declares "By God, do you not believe in His ability to create worlds and living beings?" (1139), and demonstrates a strong element of Islamic thought and belief. Despite her spirituality, the female djinn defines her sexuality as naturally sanctioned and approved by God, as she states, "we shall recite together some verses from the Qu'ran" (1139) before initiating her pact with the narrator affirming that "...only the eye of God alone will see us. He alone will know what we are about and He will watch over us" (1138), thus finding validation for her sexuality within Islamic discourse. The namelessness of the female characters—the narrator and the djinn, the earthly monarch—becomes the means that unfetters them from the shackles of patriarchy, as "names symbolize labels that put people into slots, impose limits upon their creative possibilities, and stand for collective-based enunciations of conformism, linearity, and regimentation"

(Guèye 164) and that provides the framework for the construction of their feminist identities.

The two central female characters: the djinn and the narrator, belong to two different worlds. One is the world of the djinn, the invisible “monarchs” of the earth, a world infused with sexuality, spirituality, godliness, and Islamic belief and in which the female djinn is the ruler and guard of her subjects. The other world is the material world in which the female subject is a housewife who relies on her husband for sustenance and in which her physical being and her sexual desires and fantasies are restrained and constricted by religion and patriarchy. The brief and secret meeting of the minds and the bodies between the djinn and narrator offers temporary hope for the salvation and freedom of the female subject from the constraints placed upon her by her patriarchal society and becomes a temporary remedy for her suppressed subjectivity—which is defined only in relation to men, that is as a wife and mother and nothing more. The two female identities diverge onto two separate paths, each representing its own branch of feminist thought, each yearning for what the other holds and yet remaining incapable of finding fulfillment on its own.

The element of fantasy and the supernatural offers a space in which the narrator temporarily achieves freedom and realizes a more empowered subjectivity and sexuality. In Rifaat’s “My World of the Unknown,” the narrator tries to escape the boredom and lovelessness of her married life by creating an alternative supernatural female character and universe onto which she projects the qualities she longs to have, including her secret fantasies and hopes for women’s emancipation, empowerment, independence, and sexual freedom and fulfillment. The narrator’s love affair with the powerful female djinn emboldens her and opens to her new routes for self-expression and self-affirmation. The narrator’s fantasy of a powerful bond between her world and the supernatural world allows her to acquire supernatural powers that help her defy the limitations of her physical being, to which she is bound by the symbolic and material power of patriarchy and that help her find an escape from her frustrations and her suppressed desires and sexual fantasies into a mysterious world where these desires are no longer taboos but are permitted and encouraged by God. However, the narrator’s fantasy, like any other fantasy, has to come to an end. After her husband kills one of the snakes, the pact between the narrator and the djinn is broken and she is commanded to leave the house. Once the narrator departs from her alternative reality, she fails to assert her new-found sexual freedom and helplessly returns to her previous suppressed, mundane life, relegated to live in memory and hoping that one day her lover will call again.

The intersection of fantasy with the element of subversive sexuality is evident in the narrator’s relationship with the djinn. The first time the narrator encounters the snake [the earthly form of that djinn] she is terrified and stupefied by fear. Yet, that fear turns into intoxication, elation, and excitement by the “beauty of the snake” (1135) as the narrator becomes fully captivated by the snake, describing it, “like a bashful virgin being lavished with compliments, it tried to conceal its pride in its beauty, having made certain of captivating its lover” (1136). The narrator’s suppressed sexuality in her unexciting, lackluster marriage drives her to create the fantasy of an alternative superhuman sexuality

which she consummates with a hyper-sexual supernatural female being. The djinn's sexuality is overtly stated in its whisper, "I am love, O enchantress...Come, let me sleep with you as I have slept with beautiful women and have given them bliss" (1138). The narrator has long adhered to the cultural expectations of her society by suppressing her sexual fantasies; yet, she is invited by the djinn's overt sexuality to reconnect with her sexual side and explore it without shame, as the djinn asks, "And is sex anything but food for the body and an interaction in union and love? Is it not this that makes human beings happy?" (1139). In explaining her newfound sexuality, the narrator says, "There was no doubt but that the secret of my passion for her, my preoccupation with her, was due to the excitement that had aroused, through intense fear, desire within myself; an excitement that was sufficiently strong to drive the blood hotly in bursts that made my heart beat wildly" (1137). In this excerpt, the narrator is not without fear of the ramifications of that love, the fear of the shameful discovery of that affair and the possible public disgrace that might ensue. She is aware that in her traditionally patriarchal society any sexual deviation on the part of the female subject can be met not only with shame but also the accusation of mental illness and public shunning. The narrator is further terrified at the idea that the djinn is a woman and not a man who desires to sexually satiate her. The narrator expresses this fear when she declares, "I am frightened I shall feel that I am tumbling down into a bottomless pit and being destroyed" (140). The narrator is conscious of the restrictions placed on women's sexuality in her traditional Muslim society—leading to her immense terror at the unyielding power of her subversive sexuality and its ramifications.

Furthermore, through the multiple references to God, the djinn, the Quran, and the sheikh's attempts to firmly ground his interpretation of the snake's appearance within the Islamic tradition, Rifaat situates the story within an Islamic frame of reference. Rifaat utilizes these Islamic symbols to present the sexual encounter with the djinn as a holy communion between the suppressed female character of the narrator and the hyper sexual supernatural being that has embraced and relished in its sexuality. Rifaat, accordingly, presents an alternative version of Islamic feminism in which sexuality is not seen as contradictory to spirituality.

Rifaat's use of the elements of Islamic and secular feminism combined with Islamism, fantasy, and sexuality draws a picture of the boxed reality in which Muslim women live as they are faced with conditions of physical, sexual, ideological, and spiritual confinement within the limits allowed to them by patriarchy. In the story, the character of the female djinn emerges as a coherent, empowered feminist identity that espouses and uses Islamist feminist thought to resist and deconstruct the cultural narratives of conformity in Muslim societies, rationalizing and advocating sexuality, even placing it within a religious framework, and hence constructing an alternative vision for women's liberated discourses and identities. During her encounters with the djinn, the narrator reluctantly abandons her secular worldview and briefly embraces her lover's Islamist feminist worldview. The breakup at the end between the narrator and the djinn shows the failure of both Islamic and secular feminist trends to function separately and establish actual escape routes for Muslim women from the

stronghold of oppressive patriarchy that suppresses female subjectivity and forbids women's sexuality, laying out the need for alternative modes of feminism that merge both secular and Islamic orientations.

In Hanan al-Shaykh's novel, *The Story of Zahra*, we find the intersection of secular feminism with Islamism. The female characters in the novel espouse a secular Islamic feminist identity—that merges both secularism and Islamism, where the fear of patriarchy's backlash leads the female characters to espouse a superfluous element of Islamism as a shield against oppressive and violent patriarchy. The writer is able to peel through the layers of hypocrisy and sexism in Muslim societies and expose the violence imposed on the female body not only by male power but also by the female subject herself, illustrating the constricting power of social and religious conservatism on female subjectivity as it stifles its realization and transforms the female into an object policed and constructed by the patriarchal gaze. Throughout the novel, the liberation of the body appears through models of oppression, repression, and mutilation. Hence, Hanan al-Shaykh presents a critique of Islamic feminism, illustrating that all the women who seek salvation in and replicate the discourses that subjugate them, even if these are religious discourses, will not find the means of their liberation but instead the extension of the colonization of their bodies and subjectivities. al-Shaykh is also critiquing secular feminism as it guarantees the destruction of the female physical being at the hands of an unforgiving and violent patriarchy, hence constituting liberal and secular feminism as suicidal. The supposed answer to guarantee the survival of the female as subject/object enables the continuation of her colonization and her deference to patriarchy or her annihilation, leaving little to no hope for female salvation or freedom.

The Story of Zahra, set partly in Damascus, Beirut, and Africa, poignantly illustrates the oppressiveness and violence of patriarchy, gender discrimination, the confinement of women's bodies in "cells of selfless cultural performances" legitimated by sexist religious discourse (Guèye 164), and female subjugation within an Arab and Muslim setting. *The Story of Zahra* is infused with Islamic motifs and symbols. The multiple references to Allah, the holy shrine of Kaaba, the Quran, the Prophet, Sitt Zyanab (the daughter of the Prophet), the reference to the *Qarin* (the djin) underscore the Islamic context within which the story is set.

In *The Story of Zahra*, fantasy and sexuality intertwine. Zahra's fantasies about her Qarina (the kinship spirit or djinn) reappear throughout the story and become a window into her tortured psyche; in her fantasized encounters with her Qarina, she wonders whether she is there to torture her, invade her body in her sleep, or try to get her attention with strange cries, noises, and knocks as she is awake. Zahra's fantasies about her Qarina signal her longing to escape from her suppressed sexuality and scarred past into a supernatural world in which healing and miracles can happen and in which she can establish a strong bond with a non-human entity that will not betray or manipulate her as she has been in all her relationships with people. The intersection of sexuality and fantasy is also evident in Zahra's different acts of self-mutilation and sexuality, which become symptomatic of the deployment of the female body as the site of the failed resistance against the oppressive practices it acquires in the process of gendering,

most of which in turn assert the inferiority of the female and the superiority of the male. In fact, the violence upon the self exercised by Zahra and her mother, at times, becomes indistinguishable from the violence involved in male control of femininity; integral to the fantasy of decolonizing and desexualizing the body from male pleasure and consumption, this violence makes the female object the subject of its own mutilation (Guèye 164) as it replicates the mental and physical scars left by patriarchy. The contradiction between Zahra's and her mother's desire for self-assertion and their self-inflicted violence—by tearing their hair, beating their chest, and cutting through their flesh with their nails until they bleed—becomes the product of the conflict between their individual dream of freedom and equality and the constrictions of society, which finds an output in their exercise of self-mutilation and unsanctioned sexuality but generates no tangible achievement of female emancipation.

Growing up, Zahra's subjectivity has solely been defined in relation to men, fostering her internalization of the sense of inferiority and the inadequacy of her gender and grounding a sense of self-hatred that manifests itself throughout the novel in her acts of self-mutilation and subversive sexuality. In fact, the violence she wields on her body becomes her means of resisting the reduction of women's bodies as "objects to be controlled, maintained, and prodded along" (Burns-Ardolino 42). In scarring her body, Zahra is able to mirror the scarring of her inner psyche as she sees her body as deserving mutilation and torture. Using her fingers and nails to scavenge her face for pimples, she works her way through them until they bleed and her face is covered with red and brown scabs. This becomes the daily ritual that she lives for. Zahra's act of self-mutilation also becomes an act of defiance of the cultural norms and standards of beauty in her society as she chooses to willfully mutilate her face and to find both pleasure and torment in it. Zahra's face is effectually no longer a part of her self but is rather a reflection of her society's ills, and in her aggression on her skin she is "indirectly repudiating all the unrealistic and procrustean molds in which commodified women are forced to fit" (Knowles 15). Zahra's frustration that her body can never be her own, since it is rather her father's or her husband's, makes her choose to own hers in the most subversive of ways: through mutilation, she regains consciousness and power over the temple of the body. In her resistance to the silencing of women in her society, she paradoxically finds in the silent acts of bodily mutilation a means to resist her own silencing, for it is as though the scars on her face, palms, and wrist become mouthpieces that articulate her freedom from the grip of the restrictions placed on women in her traditional Islamic society. In the process, she is transformed into a subject and is no longer simply an object of the patriarchal gaze.

The deployment of subversive sexuality is evident in the character of Zahra's mother, who, despite the physical danger she faces, continues to embark on her sexual escapades, finding in sexual affirmation the sense of freedom she longs for and the control she craves over her body. However, a sense of powerlessness and fear in the face of patriarchal violence makes the mother seek the shelter and protection of her daughter as they form an unspoken pact to keep the mother's affairs secret. Zahra takes on the responsibility to "shield her" mother—like "the navel is to the orange" (al-Shaykh 8)—from the immense threat

her sexuality places on her physical being and from the beatings she suffers from at the hands of Zahra's father. However, the mother's subversive sexual acts come to an end after the mother goes to the holy pilgrimage. Thus, Zahra's mother finds self-affirmation by espousing Islamism and conforming to society's prescribed role for a Muslim woman as a wife, a worrying and concerned mother, and devout Muslim.

The element of subversive sexuality is further evident in Zahra's relationship with Malek—a married man—which opens to her opportunities for rebellion against her father's strong grip over her and against her society's regulation of women's bodies. She chooses to defy the norm and engage in an affair that leaves her with two abortions and one operation to restore her virginity that is later botched during one of her sexual encounters with Malek. Yet Zahra does not find pleasure in her sexual encounters with Malek or later on with her husband Majed, as she describes herself as “motionless,” “expressionless,” “dead” and filled with “disgust,” “contempt,” and “fury.” And what she calls “my hating [of] what happens between a man and a woman” (al-Shaykh 202) signals her self-hate, as she views her alienated body as shameful. For her, sexuality becomes another means of self-mutilation, self-inflicted torture and abuse. Zahra finds her sexuality disgusting and contemptuous; even after she gets married she despises her husband and herself and finds in marriage and sex a form of bondage that she desires to escape and she expresses hate and anger at the notion of having to share her body with another. Zahra's subversive sexuality is further expressed in the multiple references to her mental illness and institutionalization which indicate her sexual and social deviance as she refuses to adhere to the social norms and gender codes enforced in her Muslim society. Zahra overcomes the shame of the female body in her relationship with the sniper with whom she willingly shares her body, and the doors of sexual pleasure and discovery open to her, though this, in the end, leads to her destruction.

In *The Story of Zahra*, Zahra lives the ultimate fantasy as she sees in her new found sexuality a means to escape and to heal her wounds as well as those of her nation, which is suffering under the grip of a bloody sectarian war (Shihada). Her fantasy at the end proves ineffectual and her dreams impossible. Zahra can never live a “normal” life according to her society's standards; she has always been an outcast and has lived out of her society's norms for too long to finally conform or be accepted by her society. Her death marks the end of the process of her victimization by a society in which she constantly feels unwanted, unloved, and discriminated against for nothing other than being born a woman and being unable to reconcile a yearning for freedom with society's tight grip and policing of women's bodies and sexuality. The novel lays out al-Shaykh's criticism of the double standards of a society that places its honor between a woman's thighs, violently polices women's virginity, and enforces sexual purity on the female body, while making no such claims on men, whose virginity is never enforced nor expected. It is in society's hypocrisy and violence against the female subject-turned-object that women are conditioned to view their bodies and their sexuality as a source of shame and find bondage in their femininity. Just like Zahra hides as a prisoner in the bathroom, the female is no less a prisoner in her own body, hiding in it, and from it, unable to escape either the delimiting condition of her

physical being or the scrutinizing gaze of patriarchy and religion as they police that existence. The ending of the story offers no hope for the female to escape the conditions of disempowerment and subjugation in her society; Zahra's only escape becomes death.

Fatima Mernissi, a Moroccan sociologist and a secular feminist herself, in her memoir *Dreams of Trespass*, grapples with the meaning of the frontier and how it works as her younger self is faced with the reality that there are "two kinds of creatures walking on Allah's earth, the powerful on one side, and the powerless on the other" (Mernissi 242). The story weaves its way through the different kinds of frontiers women face as they are confined within the physical and ideological boundaries of the harem and it shows the young Mernissi trying to come to grip with the powerlessness of women who are imprisoned on the other side of the wall and unable to escape from the reality of the harem and its restrictions on women's freedom and future. Though the frontier is an invisible line, it is present "in the mind of the powerful" (3) and is enforced to ensure the subjugation of the weak. In the story, the harem contains the women of the household, including the wives, the divorced and widowed aunts and relatives, and their children, who totally rely on men for their sustenance and welfare; the women are mostly left to be illiterate and if they are taught anything, they are asked to memorize Quranic verses. Inside the harem, the physical and ideological walls set strict limitations on women's physical existence. The gate of the house is also regulated by Ahmed, the door-keeper, who with his "throne-like sofa" controls the frontiers separating women in the harem from the freedom to roam the streets.

Mernissi uses her female characters as mouthpieces to convey the extent of discrimination Muslim women face in their societies. Just like the Jews were forced, in Nazi Germany, to wear the yellow Star of David to make them easily identifiable, Muslim men, according to Mernissi's anti-harem female characters, force Muslim women to wear a veil, so "they could be spotted immediately" (94). Mernissi openly criticizes patriarchy and the veil as another method of imposing false consciousness on women and of fortifying the notion that women's bodies are *aura* or sinful; these notions of inferiority foster in the female subject a sense of objectification, disempowerment, and place a sense of shame on the female body, which becomes a cultural and patriarchal practice that controls and subordinates women. Here, Mernissi is critical of how Muslim women's bodies continue to be regulated and disciplined by oppressive social doctrines that make their bodies subservient to the patriarchal social structure within which they live. She is further critical of how the cultural constructions of biological differences between men and women continue to enforce male superiority.

In the memoir, we find the intersection of elements of Islamic and secular feminism, as Mernissi lays out her critique of patriarchy and the oppressiveness of dominant religious and cultural discourses in suppressing women's rights and freedoms in Muslim societies. The hope for female liberation and solidarity is expressed at some times by affirming an anti-patriarchal and anti-sexist Islamist discourse and at others by resorting to the secular affirmation of women's rights to shed the veil and have the freedom to walk outside the walls of the harem. This intersection establishes the framework within which women fight against gender

inequality and find routes to trespass the frontiers within which their femininity is enclosed. In *Dreams of Trespass*, we see Muslim Arab women, some in the upper strata of society, anchoring their feminist discourse within the discourse of religious reform and Islamic modernist discourse (Badran 8). The women of the anti-harem camp reaffirm women's rights to equality and freedom. In utilizing Islamic feminist modernist discourse, Mernissi's mother says, "Allah made us all equal" (Mernissi 19) and rejects male claims of superiority as nonsense and as totally "anti-Muslim." In addition, Yasmina, Mernissi's maternal grandmother, affirms human equality on religious grounds, saying "Are we Muslims or not? If we are, everyone is equal. Allah said so. His prophet preached the same" (26). Though men and pro-harem women use patriarchal-driven readings of Islamic texts to enforce women's confinement to the harem and its oppressive rules, the anti-harem women see inequality and male superiority as illogical and anti-Islamic since they go against God's and the Prophet's words, and they reject the favoring of sons over daughters on religious grounds. The utilization of secular thought is evident in Yasmina's criticism of the invisible rules and customs governing their Muslim society, as she sees them targeted against women (62). This critique does not absolve patriarchal-driven religious teachings that enforce the hiding of a woman's body and face, which Mernissi's mother rejects vehemently, saying that it does not solve any of society's problems, but rather victimizes the woman (100). These female characters also generate a secular feminist discourse that critiques being held back from having access to the benefits of modernity, in marked contrast to their male counterparts who reap in the benefits of liberalism and nationalist thought; the women point out how the men get access to European education and get to wear European clothes, as evident with Mernissi's male cousins, while women are forced to wear the traditional attire that restricts their movement and are denied the same access to education.

In the memoir, the intersection of Islamic and secular feminism and subdued sexuality is evident in the rejection of polygamy as a cultural and Islamic-sanctioned practice which Mernissi equates with slavery. Yasmina's lament that she has to wait to "hug and snuggle" with her husband for eight days, because she shares him with eight co-wives, is an example of the use of subdued female sexuality in the memoir, where the expression of female sexuality or sexual desire is tabooed and unsanctioned by the society and patriarchy. Yasmina's words highlight the extent to which women's sexuality is curbed and unsanctioned in traditional Muslim society, while men's sexuality is optimized and catered to at the cost of women's rights for monogamy and equal sexual gratification in marriage. Mernissi uses her cousin Chama's reference to the Abbasid Caliphs who had thousands of jaryas, or slave girls, each of whom had to wait years before she could share the bed with the Caliph (44) in order to express her critique of a tyrannical male sexuality that condones slavery and polygamy by defending them as an Islamic practice while denying women's rights to monogamy and to religious and family laws that would ensure that men, just like women, adhere to monogamy.

The intersection of the element of Islamic and secular feminism with fantasy is evident throughout Mernissi's work. The element of fantasy is

highlighted with the references to the children's fear of the djinnis whom they believe lurk in the dark and await to jump on them; here the fantasy highlights the children's fear of the unknown and the supernatural which becomes part of what defines the boundaries of the harem. The element of fantasy is additionally evident in the women's fantasies about escaping the boundaries of the harem, through alternative routes, such as the radio, storytelling, and plays, all of which give women the illusion of escape and "limited" freedom. Aunt Habiba's story of a woman who grows invisible wings and can fly from the harem's courtyard whenever she wants to; the symbolic dance of women in the Mernissi harem who tuck their caftans and spread their arms wide as if they are about to fly; and young Fatima Mernisi's belief that she will one day grow invisible wings herself, just like her cousin Chama told her, all express the fantasy of female freedom and equality, despite its apparent impossibility, as the women, in the story, do not grow wings; still, through their dreams they are able to sustain the hope and belief in a better future. The elaborate plays Chama organizes on the terrace also become one of the women's escape routes to a fantasy world where they have control over their physical space even if only temporarily, where frontiers disappear and where women can roam freely in a world without veils or harems. In these stories and plays, women search for the "magic [that] flourishes when you spell out that dream and make the frontiers vanish" (114). In Fez, on these summer nights, there are no limits to hope as women dream of becoming magicians and rendering the frontiers useless; through their words and their embroidery, they stitch birds with enormous wings, articulating women's fantasy "of flight and escape" (153). It is in the dream of flight that some of these women find meaning for their lives and hope for the future.

In the memoir, the young Mernissi states her anxiety over her inability to physically situate "the geometric lines organizing" her powerlessness and that of other women (3) as she comes to see that these lines are not only physical ones, represented in the walls and the gates of the harem and the dress code and head cover, but also mental lines that scar women's psyches and impose upon them the sense of biological inferiority, forcing them to mentally submit to the restrictions placed on them by society, religion, culture, and the men who control their lives and livelihood. In the memoir, the walls of the harem, the gate, marriage, child bearing and child rearing symbolize women's bodies and how they are controlled, used, and abused by patriarchy through the codification of men's ownership of the female body. Hope for female liberation and solidarity is expressed, by the central female characters, at certain times by affirming an anti-patriarchal and anti-sexist Islamist discourse and at other times by resorting to the secularist or nationalist discourse in order to articulate dreams of freedom and equality, as women find ways to resist the conditions of disempowerment and the colonization of the female body which is by no means less violent than the colonization of the land.

The formation of feminist critical discourses that improve women's conditions and free them from the stronghold of patriarchy has long motivated the critical engagement of Muslim women writers, whose discourses often clash with their Muslim cultures. For these women, "writing stands at the intersection of gender and religion, literary agency, and social restrictions" (Guèye 160),

where the tension between the “experience of the body as subject and the experience of the body as object unfolds in a disjunctive, self-oppressive...format locked in a dead-end male-female binarism” (Guèye 170) that itself ends up failing to provide the female subject/object with the tools for achieving her liberation. As Judith Butler points out, the weaknesses and contradictions in the discursive resistance of the oppressed becomes such that they employ “the strategy of the oppressor instead of offering a different set of terms” (13), an outcome that ends up replicating the totalizing conditions of their disempowerment and extending their subjugation. Undoubtedly, the in-between space these women writers occupy—between identification and dis-identification with the web of cultural performances that define womanhood—allows for the production of a counter-hegemonic discourse that can become an instrument of cultural awareness and political change, but is it necessarily so? It is undeniable that some of these Muslim feminist discourses often construct Muslim women through sensationalized accounts of their victimization and oppression in “search for the disreputable” (Lazreg 10) that feeds the imaginings of the West (Zine 170) rather than promoting women’s freedom from the oppressive grip of patriarchy or providing means for achieving gender equality. The notion that these Muslim feminist writers can achieve social and political change through their writing is farfetched so long as they and their discourses remain constricted by the totalizing structure of patriarchy, like the female characters they create, even as they search for liberation through their characters’ articulations of femininity. Whether they are able to realistically achieve it remains the question.

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**“You Devil!”: The Governess as Gothic Outsider in Henry James’
The Turn of the Screw.**

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The ambiguous nature of Henry James’ *The Turn of the Screw* (1898) demands that any reading one undertakes of the novella be an investigative one. Nothing in the narrative, as countless critics have contended, is as it seems, and there are no definitive answers to the mysteries of the text. Few, however, would argue that the narrative revolves around the figure of the governess, who defines herself in binary opposition to the ‘ghosts’ of Quint and Miss Jessel, whom she categorises as “the others, the outsiders” (James 75). Yet not even this statement can, or should, be taken at face value: as this paper will argue, it is potentially the governess, *not* the ghosts, who inhabits the transgressive, threatening position of outsider. Utilising Derrida’s rule of invagination as a theoretical foundation, I will propose that it is the governess’ exteriority itself that haunts both Bly and the narrative, and that James’ textual and figurative insertion of that which is outside *inside* creates a void into which the governess draws equally-excluded spectral counterparts as a means of justifying and stabilizing her *own* presence. To conclude, I will argue towards this invaginating process resulting in a psychic and textual break that fundamentally disrupts the narrative, thus engendering the Gothicized instability that characterizes the novella.

Tsvetan Todorov posits that the Gothic is situated at the point of tension, or uncertainty, between natural and supernatural explanations of subjective experience, manifesting as “an ambiguous perception shared by the reader and one of the characters” (46). Whether the reader subscribes to the ‘natural’ (the governess is a sexually repressed hysteric) or ‘supernatural’ (the ghosts are a real and corrupting threat to the children) reading of James’ text, the author undoubtedly utilizes Gothic traditions by locating the story, ambiguously, between the two possibilities. Furthermore, James positions the governess as a persuasively gothicized heroine. As Ronald Shleifer points out, the Gothic protagonist traditionally “find himself in an utterly strange world [...] which, when it responds to the self at all, responds to those aspects of the self which are most hidden” (299). The governess’ alignment with this thesis is patent: on arriving at Bly, she notes that the “scene had a greatness that made it a different affair from my own scant home” (15), and the stately house appears to be “a castle of romance [...] out of storybooks and fairy-tales” (18); not only this, it appeals to her—and she responds to it—in unexpected ways: “it was a trap [...] to my imagination, my delicacy, perhaps to my vanity; to whatever, in me, was most excitable” (25). Indeed, “excitable”, in the context of Victorian cultural taboos surrounding the female body, can surely be read here as ‘hidden.’

Having located the novella within the Gothic tradition, however, there is a further critical lens that can be applied to James' governess. In an essay on Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817), Michael Sadleir draws a gendered distinction between two Gothic perspectives. The (feminized) first, epitomized by the work of Ann Radcliffe, is "in mentality essentially English [and] romantic" (14). This sub-genre, which Kate Ellis later terms 'insider' Gothic, should, on the face of it, apply to *The Turn of the Screw* (57): the novella's protagonist is female, quintessentially English, and prone to romantic notions, both about her new situation and her absent master, by whom she was "carried away in London" (17). The narrative is also intrinsically 'inside' in terms of 'interiority'. The governess' tale is told, and her new world described, entirely from her own perspective, and is itself set *within* a (disrupted) frame narrative. And yet the alternative (masculinised) Gothic perspective, when applied to the governess, is ultimately more revealing: as historical contextualization will infer, of all of the figures that populate the novella none is more 'exterior' than the governess herself.

The nineteenth-century governess was historically positioned as a problematically liminal figure, exemplifying contemporary anxieties surrounding the permeability of social and sexual borders. In Elizabeth Sewell's *Principles of Education* (1865) the governess is described as "not a relation, not a guest, not a mistress, not a servant—but something made up of it all", whose circumstances rendered her "artificial [...] ambiguous [and] unnatural" (240). This liminality centred, critically, on the governess' inherent outsider status. As T. J. Lustig poses, she was often "a foreigner within the familiar, [...] not quite belong[ing] either above or below stairs, either with the adults or the children, either amongst men or with other women" (151). In James' novella the governess' fulcrum position—her occupation of a tensile point between two binaries—is played out from the onset of her story, which she "remember[s] [...] as a succession of flights and drops, a little see-saw of the right throbs and wrong." (14). This "see-saw" sense of vacillation is manifested consistently throughout the text in others' reaction to the governess, the narrative's physical setting, and the governess' own emotional landscape. Upon first meeting the governess, the housekeeper Mrs Grose is ostensibly "so glad to see [her]" that she is, conversely, restrained and "on her guard about showing it too much" (15). Bly itself oscillates between two extremes of sensory experience when, as the governess is first "visited" by Quint's apparition, the "cawing" rooks and "sounds of evening drop [...]" into an "intense hush" (27). More significantly, the governess herself veers between over-exuberant intimacy with her charges Flora and Miles, who "let [her] kiss [them], simply taking it with indulgent good humour" (90), and moral revulsion, proclaiming that "the imagination of all evil had been opened up to [them]" (92).

In terms of the definition provided by Victor Turner in *The Forest of Symbols* (1967), this liminality locates the governess as a dangerous, disordered entity because what is "unclear and contradictory tends to be regarded as [...] unclean" (97). Unclean in a nineteenth-century context, and most certainly in that of *The Turn of the Screw*, signifies a threatening, subversive sexuality. For the Victorian household, the governess' ambiguous, outsider position meant that she potentially represented not the desired bastion against immorality and class erosion that her role as educator and disciplinarian implied, but the conduit

though which working-class habits, including unfettered desire and sensuality, would infiltrate the middle-class home (Poovey 197). Sadleir describes the insider gothicists, or “Radcliffeans”, as “persons who sit about a blazing fire of a stormy night”, the epitome of domesticity (14). As discussed above, the governess’ liminal position naturally excludes her from the domestic enclave, but she is also—textually *and* figuratively—excluded from the frame narrative’s storytelling circle that gathers “round the fire [...] on Christmas eve” (7), and to whom Douglas recounts her narrative. As such, she is discursively defined by James’ text as an ‘outsider’: exiled from domestic society, she occupies what Sadler describes as the gothic outsider’s inherently “demonic” position:

Into the firelit refuge of the Radcliffean novelist the [outsider] would fain intrude [...] shrieking perhaps, as would befit a demon of the storm; then, when he had struck the company to silent fear, he would [...] vanish again into the howling darkness (14).

Here, if we allow for the ambiguous nature of James’ text, we find a damning template for his heroine. In the final scene it is the governess who becomes the “demon” at the centre of an oscillating emotional “storm” of her own creation: “I felt a sick swim at the drop of my victory and all the return of my battle, so that the wildness of my veritable leap only served as a great betrayal” (121). It is potentially the governess, *not* Quint, whom Miles addresses as “you devil!” (121). Then, once Miles has expired either through terror or suffocation, she literally “vanish[es]” into the silence that marks the close of the novella. The frame narrative is not completed, nor do we learn what becomes of her. No longer “alone with the quiet day” (121), the governess is consigned to the “howling darkness” of textual absence.

According to Ellis, a thematic motif that runs through outsider Gothic texts is not only the hero-villain’s exclusion from the domestic order, but his ensuing search for a counterpart, someone with whom to share [...] the pain of his exiled state” (149). The interpretative implications of this have the potential to dramatically shape our reading of the novella. Whether they are psychosexual figments of her imagination, as proposed by Wilson, or an actual, evil force, as proposed by Krook, it is certainly viable that Miss Jessel and Quint appear at Bly to *meet the needs of the governess*, not because they are drawn to the children. Throughout the novella James negates any possibility of determining if Mrs Grose or the children can actually see the ghosts; indeed, that Mrs Grose’s “eyes [are] hopelessly sealed” against them is compounded when she tells the governess, to whom “the hideous plain presence” of Miss Jessel appears “undimmed and undaunted”, that “[s]he isn’t there, little lady [...] and you never see nothing, my sweet!” (100). As Thomas Bontly argues, the inference is that they are haunting (literally or subconsciously) the governess alone: “They are *her* ghosts, seen only by her, meaningful only to her, and hostile only to her—at least in so far as the events of the tale give us direct and concrete evidence” (729). Contextualized thus, the ghosts of Quint and Miss Jessel arguably function as the “counterparts” for whom the governess has been “searching” to share her exiled state.

If it is indeed the governess as outsider who either attracts or manifests the ghosts, she therefore enacts a process of drawing that which is Other, that which is Outside—like herself—inside both Bly as a social/physical structure *and* her narrative. In doing so, she employs a system of inclusion that is reminiscent of the theory of textual ‘invagination’ that Jacques Derrida applies to the laws of genre, a process that enacts a limitless substitution of outside for inside resulting in a structure *en abyme*. Invagination, Derrida poses, constitutes “the inward folding of *la gaine* [sheath/girdle], the inverted reapplication of the outer edge to the inside of a form where the outside then opens a pocket” (‘Living On’ 78). In undergoing this transition, all boundaries drawn between inside and outside are inevitably breached and fissured, “form[ing] [...] an internal pocket larger than the whole” and rendering the definition of borderlines impossible (Derrida ‘The Law of Genre’, 59). In these terms, the governess’ potential as a destabilizing outside force is “unarrestable [and] inenarrable,” a particularly relevant notion in the context of her inability to narrate her subjective experience coherently (Derrida ‘Law’, 70). Not only does it require the best of the governess’ ability, or “art”, to articulate her story retrospectively, her very description of this process of transcription is syntactically confused, as demonstrated by one particularly disorienting statement: “[t]his, at all events, was for the time: a time so full that, as I recall the way it went, it reminds me of all the art I now need to make it distinct” (24). Furthermore, throughout the period of time in which the events at Bly are unfolding, she is unable to physically ‘narrate’ them by either speaking candidly to the children or writing to their uncle. Indeed, in the instance of Miles’ mysterious expulsion when narrative is necessarily required to reach a resolution, she offers silence, absence, “Nothing”:

“What will you say, then?” [Mrs Grose] immediately added.
“In answer to the letter?” I had made up my mind. “Nothing.”
“And to his uncle?”
I was incisive. “Nothing.”
“And to the boy himself?”
I was wonderful. “Nothing.” (24)

This “Nothing” effectively symbolizes the space, the pocket, in which the outside forces that the governess invaginates into Bly and the narrative reside, and this breach is realised in what Thomas Couisenau proposes is the “originary event” of the novella: the transgression of the boundary, or “inner edge,” that separates the living and the dead (61). The “inverted,” inward turn that the governess engenders thus begins when she first encounters Quint in Bly’s gardens, and is couched in terms that register her outsider status as a threatening sexual force. Having fantasised about the pleasure of “giving pleasure [...] to the person to whose pressure [she] had responded” (25)—the children’s uncle—and imagining that he “would appear there at the turn of a path and would stand before [her] and smile and approve” (26), the governess is confronted by a male figure atop one of Bly’s towers. Both Freudian and pre-Freudian readings of the text attribute this “vision” (26) to the governess’ unarticulated desire for and fear of sexual congress with her master, an apparition who, “because he is an object of

dread [...] is no sooner evoked than he becomes the raw material of heroism” (Goddard 11). Whether this is the case or it is, in fact, the ghost of Quint that stands upon the tower, it is nonetheless the *governess* who is the causal force behind his appearance. It is the governess who either hallucinates or is haunted by him, and the governess who transcribes him into the text which Douglas narrates to the fireside auditors. *This* is the pivotal, invaginating role she plays as outsider, and, as if to reinforce her agency, in later encounters the ghosts prove to be her mirror image—figures that are not only her equally excluded companions, but actual extensions of herself.

When the governess encounters Miss Jessel in her own room, the rigid boundaries between inside and outside, boundaries which determine identity and authority, are completely destabilized in what David McWhirter calls the “madness of invagination” (138). Immediately preceding the encounter, the governess collapses on the staircase before recalling “with a revulsion [...] that it was exactly where [she] had seen the spectre of the most horrible of women” (82-3) a month before. Not only does the governess blur the boundaries between Miss Jessel and herself by occupying the same space, she also describes *herself* as ‘governess’ in the terms of Victorian discourse: “horrible”, arguably, is just one semantic step away from Elizabeth Sewell’s descriptor of “unnatural”. When Miss Jessel appears, she seems to the governess “at the first blush” to be “some housemaid who [...] had applied herself to the considerable effort of a letter to her sweetheart” (83). Here, then, is the template of a scene which we are later denied, in which the governess—not truly a maid and not truly of the ‘house’—writes the expository letter to *her* (unrequited) sweetheart, the children’s uncle, that remains unsent. Indeed, what the governess perceives as the vision’s “unutterable woe” mirrors her own inability to textually ‘utter’ her own feelings of “detachment” (83) from Bly’s community. Jessel’s apparent “weariness” and “melancholy” describes the governess’ own disillusionment with her outsider position in Bly: were she an *insider*, the arrival of her master would be a solution “she desired to bring on”; instead, however, it represents “ugliness and pain” (81). It is her complete alignment with the woman she perceives to be outsider, therefore, that engenders the governess’ “extraordinary chill of feeling that it was [she] who was the intruder” (83). Whether she is an apparition or a figment of her subconscious, the figure of Miss Jessel operates both as the governess’ counterpart and a reflection of her true, outsider nature.

The process of invagination is further facilitated by *The Turn of the Screw*’s framing narrative which, Shoshana Felman contends, operates as “a kind of exteriority which permeates the very heart of the story’s interiority, an internal cleft separating the story’s content from itself” (123). By enclosing the fireside narrator and auditors inside the narrative space, James pulls the story’s outside *inside*; and by passing the narrative through what Felman calls an “echoing chain of multiple, repetitive narrative voices”, James pulls the story’s interior—its content—*outside of itself* (123). It is this structural invagination, combined with the “un-arrestable” internal cleft that the governess as outsider creates at Bly, that results in the final rupture of psychic and textual limits that forms the novella’s close. Here, the dividing boundaries of inside/outside are completely negated, and with devastating results.

Just as Miles is about to “confess” the “too bad” utterances that caused his expulsion from school, the governess sees “against the glass, as if to blight his confession and stay his answer, the hideous author of [their] woe—the white face of damnation” (120). Just as the governess perceives herself as Miles’ “judge and executioner”, so the apparition—whom she never actually names, but refers to as “my visitant” (emphasis mine)—appears in judgement of her undefined final “act” (120). Ultimately, the figures of “Peter Quint”, “Miss Jessel”, and the governess’ “I” lose all distinction. Miles, his eyes “sealed”, asks “is she *here*? [...] It’s *he*?”, and his “strange ‘she’ stagger[s]” the governess because it is *she* who is the “stranger”, the outsider (120-1). The names of Jessel and Quint reverberate chaotically, boundlessly throughout the passage, and the governess feels their “wide, overwhelming presence [...] fill the room” (121). This “overwhelming presence” signifies the expanding internal cleft which psychically and physically ruptures Miles, whose “little heart, dispossessed, stop[s]” (121). The frame narrative, too, is completely disrupted, unable to complete its enclosure of the novella’s limitless exteriority, and it is the story itself which is ultimately “hurled over an abyss” (121), the internalised void of an invaginated textual structure *en abyme*.

By both facilitating and representing an invagination that pulls that which is outside of and damaging to Bly inside its social and physical structure, the governess’ outsider status thus operates as the spectral presence that haunts James’ narrative. Her desire for an exiled counterpart may be met by the figures of Quint and Jessel, but, ultimately, these operate as reflections and extensions of her own Otherness. In her role as outsider, therefore, the governess functions within the novella as an inherently destabilizing figure who ruptures the boundaries dividing inside/outside, thus negating the possibility of conclusive narrative signification and meaning; a negation which, in a final turn of the screw, produces the ambiguity that characterizes the text.

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ABSTRACTS

DANA R. FLINT, *Secession and Borders of Territorial States*

After defining the notion of territorial borders, the article underscores the difference between self-determination short of the sovereignty of a given territorial state, and the governance of a territorial state. It considers the proposal of Margalit and Raz that the wellbeing and security of ethno-cultural groups provides good reason for such groups to become self-governing territorial states through secession or other changes in borders of existing states. There is no argument against the self-determination of ethno-cultural groups or religions. To a large extent such groups engage in some form of self-determination even where they do not exercise political sovereignty within territorial borders. The Amish do that though they do not have much to do with the state and national governments that protect them. But within these territorial borders, the paradigms of pluralism and human rights need to be actually operative to mitigate the exclusivity that religion—and ethno-cultural groups—can generate. Secessions based on merely nationalist aspirations are not a good idea. The existence of borders is highly significant for this reason since borders mark the boundary within which the day to day interactions within the institutional paradigms of secular pluralism and human rights mitigates the problems of exclusivism.

FRANK FULLER and STEPHEN MCCULLOUGH, *Vietnam's Invasion of Cambodia: Humanitarianism or Unwanted Occupation?*

Why did Vietnam invade Cambodia around 1978-79? Was it humanitarianism or an unwanted occupation, with respect to human rights laws? Current US Ambassador to the UN Samantha Power, in *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, suggested that it was both, that Vietnam's "invasion of Cambodia had a humanitarian consequence...not motivated by humanitarian concerns." When Vietnam stormed Cambodia, it saved the people from further Khmer Rouge atrocities. Was humanitarianism justified for Cambodia or intentional, an excuse for Vietnam's Communist government to expand? Vietnam's invasion could qualify as legitimate humanitarian anti-KR intervention. Either opinion seemed controversial; the U.S. lauded Vietnam's actions. Few dared oppose Pol Pot, though none supported his abysmal record. The KR tried infiltrating southern Vietnam in 1977, and border skirmishes had intensified. Vietnam, with Soviet support, sent 60,000 troops inside Cambodia's border. Cambodia's mistake was trying to invade Vietnam to solidify KR power. Cambodians were relieved but opposed Vietnamese occupation, as 200,000 Vietnamese ended up patrolling Cambodia's countryside, with advisers clogging Cambodia's government. Though Vietnam stopped the massacre, this was an example of a foreign power usurping a weaker one to gain ground for its own legitimacy. Because international humanitarian law had existed, with military intervention allowable in such a case, Vietnam felt obligated to intervene. In addition, if Vietnam had no history of border conflicts with Cambodia or no massacre of Cambodians had materialized (though ethnic Vietnamese-Cambodians were also slaughtered), Vietnam may not have intervened. Overall, this remains a complicated issue, one that brings no easy answer.

FRANKLIN R. HALPRIN, East, Ocean, West: Whaling, Cultural Symbolism, and Conflict

This paper explores the challenges of overcoming the boundaries created by differing cultures and aesthetic values with reference to whaling. The current debate, generally represented as a West-East conflict, or more specifically a United States-Japan conflict, illustrates not simply a disagreement on economic dynamics and endangered species discourses, but a series of misunderstandings stemming from the respective societies' opposing constructions of social and national relationships to one another and the environment. Geographically specific social movements and political reforms in the 20th century have set the civilizations in question on divergent paths. An egregious manifestation of these developments crops up in the whaling debate. The United States' leadership in the International Whaling Commission and activities of organizations such as Greenpeace antagonize Japan, while Japanese "scientific whaling" and economic attitudes towards whales offend Westerners. Both sides view the issue through their own lenses and fail to peer through those of their opponents. Ultimately the challenges herein are not solely to find a solution for whaling, but to surmount the obstacles originating from the social, cultural, and ethical contrasts between the West and East.

GIUSEPPE PERRI, Ukrainian Intellectual of the Early XX Century:

Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz

The submerged world - by history - of the Poles of Ukraine lives in the pages of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, one of the finest Polish poets and novelists of the Twentieth century. The article reconstructs his youth training, his ties with the Ukrainian land, his belonging to neighboring worlds, his multi-dimensional identity, and the violent laceration that forced him to leave Ukraine in 1918. An education and a cultural heritage that are not turned into political sensitivity, but have generated in him a metaphysical sensitivity, capable of grasping the root of the vital flow of existence.

JEAN WAITES-HOWARD and CARMEN L. MANNING-MILLER, Examination of the Connections of the "Great Migration" to the Creation of the Black Panther Party and Electoral Politics: A Preliminary Study

Isabel Wilkerson notes: "The first black mayors in each of the major receiving cities of the North and the West were not longtime northern native blacks but participants or sons of the Great Migration." Among others, she highlights the mobilizing efforts of the Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders during the 1960s and 1970s, as indicators of the political evolutions (the metaphorical "border crossings") employed to achieve political change and to influence public policy in the United States. This study is an investigation of the BPP's facilitation of community capacity-building, community leadership and media advocacy during the era of electing the first African American officeholders since the Reconstruction Period. The discussion addresses the relationship of the Black Panther Party to the election of black mayors in Oakland, California; Chicago, Illinois, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The finding is that the BPP transformed its political agenda into electoral capital for disenfranchised communities across the nation. The finding fuels other research questions and a need for more systematic analyses about how the BPP's activities accomplished the kind of coalition-building and media advocacy that resulted in significant political involvement by African Americans across the United States.

JAMAL BENIN, Border Crossing, Hidden in Plain Sight: From Urban Community to Urban Campus

This article discusses the life of Annie Dee Powe Hyman who was born in 1933 in Africatown, Alabama. Hyman was a wife, mother, and an unassuming yet highly effective community activist. Hyman, a devoutly religious woman, co-founded several churches, and participated in various civil rights organizations including Cecil B. Moore's demonstrations at Girard College, Reverend Leon Sullivan's efforts to gain fair employment for blacks in Philadelphia as well as in the on-campus protests to get tenured faculty positions for black professors at Temple University. The purpose of this article is to illuminate Hyman's life as a series of geographical, psychic, social and cultural border crossings traversing America's matrix of oppression. Hyman went on to make significant contributions in education, and towards creating a new university-community partnership between Temple University and the surrounding North Philadelphia community that eventually included the Delaware Valley.

Keywords: Annie Dee Hyman, Borderlands, Civil Rights, Community Education

KIRSTEN C. KUNKLE, The Educational Benefits of Commissioning and Premiering Vocal Repertoire at the Undergraduate Level: A Case Study of Students at Youngstown State University and Shorter College

At the undergraduate level, the focus for voice majors is to learn basic concepts about vocal health, diction, style, history, and performance practice. The ultimate goal is for the students to develop into vocalists who are competent enough to continue onward to graduate school where these skills will become more specialized or teach basic music fundamentals to children. This paper centers around case studies at two different institutions of higher learning that challenge the most fundamental of these expectations by asking the students to think and perform outside of these primary goals and typical borders by commissioning and premiering a new piece of music. By finding a composer, choosing poetry that may or may not be in public domain, and working with the composer to create a new piece of art, the studies show how the students are able to break through traditional expectations and grow as musicians and artists. This article features interviews with the students, as well as instructor feedback on the overall benefits of going beyond the expected norms of classical vocal training at the undergraduate level.

Keywords: Commission, Undergraduate, Voice, Collaboration, Performance

SAMAA GAMIE, Fantasy, Feminism, Islamism, and Sexuality in the Literature of El Saadawi, Rifaat, al-Shaykh, and Mernissi

Arab women writers have used their literature as a platform for mapping the borderlines confining women's bodies and gendered experiences, through various articulations of feminism, sexuality, and fantasy. In these feminist literatures, the central female characters attempt to subvert the boundaries of male domination, resist the normative mechanisms of cultural and gendered identity in their Arab and Muslim societies. However, their attempt to rebel is often vanquished by the overreaching power of an uncompromising patriarchy, which is expressed by these writers by underscoring the conflict ensuing in the construction of a female identity that waivers between a subdued femininity that finds affirmation in Islamism and a tyrannical femininity that espouses secular feminism while rejecting the claims of traditional Islamism as a construct promoting women's liberation.

LAURA MCKENZIE, “You Devil!”: The Governess as Gothic Outsider in Henry James’ *The Turn of the Screw*.

Whether one subscribes to the supernatural or natural interpretation of James’ *The Turn of the Screw*, readings of this highly ambiguous text invariably position the ghosts of Quint and Miss Jessel as ‘Others’ or ‘Outsiders’. If we situate the novella within the gothic genre, however, an alternative outsider begins to emerge. Drawing on the critical premises of Insider and Outsider Gothic, and utilizing Derrida’s theory of invagination as its theoretical foundation, this article proposes that it is James’ governess who operates as the narrative’s outsider. Not only does the figure of the nineteenth-century governess oscillate between the binaries of relation and servant, resisting definition and thus occupying the position of Other, James’s governess herself can be accused of drawing those further sites of Otherness—the ghosts—into the narrative in attempt to renegotiate her *own* position into that of insider. In her role as outsider, therefore, the governess functions within the novella as an inherently destabilizing figure who ruptures the boundaries dividing inside/outside, thus negating the possibility of conclusive narrative signification and meaning; a negation which, ultimately, produces the Gothic ambiguity that characterizes the text.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Wilmington 10 and other issues such as opposition to capital punishment. She also was active in the fight for freedom for activist Angela Davis. She is still passionate about issues related to life imprisonment and the death penalty. Along with her husband they founded a Prison Re-Entry Organization, Good Shepherd Outreach Services. They also serve as Co-Leaders of the Prison Ministry at Siloam. Professor Waites-Howard is married to West Philadelphia native, Alfred Howard, Jr., a tax accountant. They sang with The Royal Priesthood a music ministry for fifteen years. Presently they sing with The Gospel Choir at Siloam. The Howards' have two adult children: Demarcus and Joyce. They have six grandchildren.

Carmen L. Manning-Miller is professor and chair of the Department of Mass Communications at The Lincoln University.

Samaa Gamie received her BA in English language and literature from the University of Alexandria, Egypt in 1995. She received her MA in Professional Writing from the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth in 2003 and her Ph.D. in English with concentration in Rhetoric and Composition from the University of Rhode Island in 2009. She is currently entering her fifth year as an Assistant Professor of English at The Lincoln University, PA. She has published poems, reviews, and essays in *AEE*, *EAPSU*, *MLS*, *JCW*, and has book chapters, and other forthcoming publications.

Laura McKenzie is a postgraduate researcher in the Department of English at Durham University (UK). Her current research project, conducted under the supervision of Prof. Stephen Regan, is an AHRC-funded PhD thesis investigating the relationship between traumatic experience and classical translation in the work of Robert Graves and Ted Hughes. She is Arts and Humanities Editor for *Kaleidoscope*, the interdisciplinary postgraduate journal of the Institute of Advanced Study, Durham University, and is currently Research Assistant for two ongoing projects: Dr. Mark Sandy's forthcoming *Decadent Romanticism* anthology (contracted by Ashgate Publishing), and Prof. Simon James' *Electronic Time machine* project, for which she is creating an online archive of H.G. Wells manuscripts. She has recently been awarded an AHRC International Placement Scheme Fellowship at the Harry Ransom Center, Austin TX, where she will be conducting archival research in their Robert Graves Collection.

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The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at The Lincoln University in Pennsylvania is requesting proposals/abstracts for its third international conference, to be held on **Saturday, March 28, 2015**. The conference theme is “*Memory in Action: Remembering the Past, Negotiating the Present, and Imagining the Future.*” **Abstract deadline: December 1, 2014.**

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