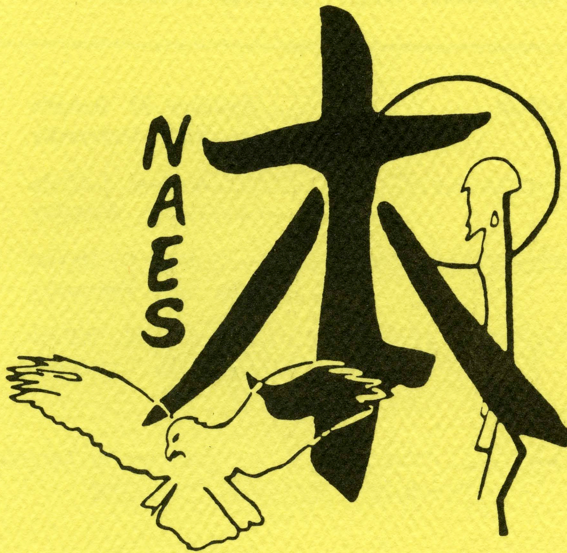
ISSN 0736-904X

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES



Vol. 13, No. 2

July, 1990

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is a multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

Opinions expressed in articles and critiques are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or the publisher.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *America: History and Life* and *MLA International Bibliography*.

The subscription list for this journal may on occasion be released to responsible scholarly and academic organizations; any member objecting to this practice should notify the treasurer.

EDITOR .... Gretchen M. Bataille
Arizona State University

ASSOCIATE EDITOR .... Barbara L.Hiura
University of California, Berkeley

ASSOCIATE EDITOR .... Phillips G. Davies
Iowa State University

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT......... Christine M. Wilcox
Arizona State University

NAES logo "The Source" designed by Jo Meyers
COPYRIGHT by NAES, Inc., 1990

Copies of articles from this publication
are now available from the
UMI Article Clearinghouse.
Mail to: University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91   Ann Arbor, MI 48105

Vol. 13, No. 2 July, 1990

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

The Journal of the National Association for Ethnic Studies

Published by NAES

General Editorial Board

Wolfgang Binder, Americanistik Universitat
Erlangen, West Germany

Lucia Birnbaum, Italian American Historical Society
Berkeley, California

Russell Endo, University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Manuel deOrtega, California State University
Los Angeles, California

David Gradwohl, Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

Jack Forbes, University of California
Davis, California

Lee Hadley, Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

Clifton H. Johnson, Amistad Research Center
New Orleans, Louisiana

Paul Lauter, Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut

William Oandasan, University of New Orleans
New Orleans, Louisiana

Alan Spector, Purdue University Calumet
Hammond, Indiana

Ronald Takaki, University of California
Berkeley, California

Darwin Turner, University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

John C. Walter, University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Vol. 13, No. 2 **July, 1990**

Table of Contents

Thinking Woman's Children and the Bomb
by Helen Jaskoski 1

Critique
G. Lynn Nelson 22

"Black" or "African American": What's In a Name?
by Johnny Washington 25

Critiques
Bamidele J. Bracy 33
Ashton Wesley Welch 36

"What Shall I Give My Children?" The role of the Mentor in Gloria Naylor's The Women of Brewster Place *and Paule Marshall's* Praisesong for the Widow
by Linda Wells 41

Critiques
Sandra E. Bowen 52
Suzanne Stutman 58

Abstracts from the Eighteenth Annual Conference National Association for Ethnic Studies, Inc. 61

Contributors 88

Thinking Woman's Children and the Bomb

Helen Jaskoski

> Sometime in the pre-dawn hours of July 16, 1979, an earthen dam holding back wastes produced by United Nuclear Corporation's uranium mill parted in Church Rock, New Mexico. From the widening breach poured ninety-four million gallons of highly contaminated effluent and 1,100 tons of wet slurry sands.
>
> The spill filled the nearby Pipeline Arroyo and flowed south into the Rio Puerco. . . . About one hundred and fifteen miles downstream, in Holbrook, Arizona, monitors registered chemical alteration at the junction of the Rio Puerco and the Little Colorado rivers.[1]

This was the largest radioactive waste spill in U.S. history, releasing more contaminants into the atmosphere than the Three Mile Island accident.

Flora Naylor, a Navajo shepherd, was one of the people affected by the Church Rock disaster. Not knowing about the contamination, she walked across the river that morning to get to some of her sheep. Her sister, Etta Lee, described what followed:

> "Not even a month later her feet started getting sores; open sores, with pus, in between her toes. She went to the Indian Health Service in Gallup. . . . They amputated below her ankle. . . . A month later they amputated again, above the ankle. Then a year later below the knee."[2]

Explorations in Ethnic Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2 (July, 1990)

American Indian people, the first inhabitants of the North American continent, have also been first and longest in their exposure to nuclear power and its effects on the continent and its inhabitants. As much as half of the uranium reserves in the United States are located on Indian-owned land in the west, mostly in the Grants Belt of northern New Mexico. Navajo, Jemez, Laguna, Zia and Zuñi own the land, though only the Navajos and the Laguna Pueblo have so far leased land for exploration and mining.[3] From mining and processing through testing and finally the nightmare of attempts at reclamation and coping with waste, the invention and development of the nuclear present and future has occurred in proximity with, and affected the lives of, people who have maintained with stubborn persistence the ancient cultures of North America.

This paradox has not been lost on writers dealing with American Indian themes. Authors like Wendy Rose[4] and Linda Hogan[5] in poems and journals, Paula Gunn Allen in fiction,[6] and Stephen Popkes in science fiction[7] are among those who have addressed nuclear issues in relation to American Indian themes and values.

The two authors who have presented the most extended examination of nuclear issues from the perspective of Native American people are Leslie Marmon Silko and Martin Cruz Smith. Silko's *Ceremony*[8] and Cruz Smith's *Stallion Gate*[9] provide extended critiques of the nuclear age. Both authors identify themselves as Native American and both have made American Indian culture and characters central to much of their writing. In spite of fundamental differences in tone, plot and outcome, *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* are remarkably similar. In both, nuclear weapons and nuclear power (desire, invention, construction and use of nuclear power and its artifacts) are seen, not as a special case of weapons or power, or a new phenomenon, but as the logical and inevitable culmination of western empirical thought. In both novels this mode of thought is juxtaposed, and in conflict, with the philosophy of the peoples within whose lands the nuclear age is created.

The two books focus on central characters with very similar life experiences, although the differences in literary tone and mode could not be more extreme. *Ceremony* follows the design of romance and ritual comedy: a young hero undertakes a quest for a remedy to rescue his community from a plague or disaster (in *Ceremony* the plague is a drought); with the help of wise, powerful and sympathetic guides he reaches a resolution that sees the questor healed and matured while the drought is lifted and scapegoats are expelled. The protagonist of *Ceremony*, Tayo,

is a young man lately come home from World War II and a Japanese prison camp. The novel follows his healing journey, centering on traditional Pueblo and Navajo beliefs and ceremonial practices through which he becomes cured of the maladies of psychological disintegration, guilt and hopelessness contracted during the war.

Stallion Gate, by contrast, is a skeptical, pessimistic probing of intrigue, deceit, arrogance and greed. Its protagonist, Joe Peña, is a young sergeant from the fictional pueblo of Santiago who has escaped from the Philippines after the Japanese invasion and who is assigned to be chauffer to J. Robert Oppenheimer at Los Alamos and to be "liaison" with the Indians in the area. Though it moves without deviation towards a tragic ending, the tone of *Stallion Gate* is cued to Joe Peña's wry, acerbic, often harsh with.*Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* con-tain remarkable similarities in their settings, in the back-grounds of their protagonists, and in the philosophical oppositions within the divided society the novels picture. Both novels are set in New Mexico at some time in the mid to late forties. In *Ceremony* Tayo has returned to Laguna some time after being released from a hospital where he was treated for illness apparently brought on by battle and prison camp. The sections of *Stallion Gate* are precisely dated, from November 1943 to the first atomic explosion, July 16, 1945; important events take place in the fictional pueblo of Santiago, as well as at the Los Alamos laboratories and the Trinity test site at a former ranch called Stallion Gate.

The protagonists in both *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* have taken on the traditional role of warrior in their stories: both are soldiers who have fought in the Pacific and experienced the Japanese occupation. Tayo has been a prisoner of war in an unnamed tropical country. Joe Peña has survived an incredible rescue in the Philippines when, after being wounded in the retreat from the Japanese invaders, he is sent adrift in a small boat and picked up by a United States naval vessel.

Warriors abroad, both men are outsiders in their birthplaces. While their mothers are Indian, the race or allegiance of their fathers is doubtful. Tayo's mother is Laguna but his father is unknown, a Mexican or possibly an Anglo, it is rumored. While Joe Peña's mother is a potter and so conservative that she still wears traditional dress, his father had been a bootlegger and silent partner in an Albuquerque nightclub.

Both Tayo and Joe Peña, furthermore, are rejected by the women who are or who act as their mothers, in favor of brothers

whom the mothers consider more acceptable. Tayo's mother, seduced by men and alcohol alike, leaves her young son with her elder sister, always called simply Auntie. Throughout Tayo's childhood Auntie blames him for the embarrassment and shame she feels at her sister's behavior, as she blames him later for returning home alive without bringing with him her own son, Rocky, who has died in the prison camp.[10] Joe Peña's mother, Dolores, considers her younger son, Rudy, her "only real son" (*SG* 74), and tells Joe not to return home until he brings Rudy, also captured or dead in the Pacific war, home with him.

For all their similarities in background and in being cast in the classic Indian role of warrior, essential differences in temperament, outlook and goals mark the two men. Joe Peña is urbane, street-wise, witty and cynical. For him, traditional village life is oppressive and dull. A jazz pianist and prizefighter, he is loyal and principled but survives by his wits, "your usual scams" (*SG* 6) as his commanding officer, Captain Augustino, remarks. His goal in the plot is to get $50,000 to buy out his father's partner and own the Casa Mañana, an Albuquerque jazz club, and to further this end he steals and sells from the project stores, and then arranges a fight and then bets on it on the eve of the Trinity test. In between his legal and extra-legal jobs he finds time for a robust sex life.

Tayo, by contrast, is quiet, introspective and most at home in the open pastures, mesas and mountaintops. He acts out his quest for healing and for psychological as well as physical return to village life in the search for a small herd of spotted cattle that his uncle, Josiah, had purchased some years before in Mexico as a breed most suited to the high arid ranges of northern New Mexico. If Joe Peña in his expansive sex appeal and con-man skills calls to mind some traditional and contemporary urban tricksters of Native American lore, then Tayo exemplifies the pastoral figure of the shepherd, the exemplar of a materially simple life sought in harmony with nature.

Science and Prophecy

Both novels depict their protagonists' quests in a context of clashing cultures and opposing world views. In both, atomic power, its production and its effects, is seen to be a logical and inevitable product of Western--that is, European or Anglo-American--thought and values. This idea is made clear through the contrast between two ways of thinking: the philosophy of the civilization that opened the uranium mines and eventually

produced the bomb, and the belief system of the older cultures that developed and persist on the land where the bomb is produced. In each book the differences in Indian and non-Indian thought are the differences between an epistemology that is essentially phenomenological and one that is basically empirical. Native American thought, as portrayed in these novels, seeks understanding that is holistic and integrating, and its mode of discourse is prophecy and story. The Western--European or Euroamerican--world view, by contrast, tends toward atomism and the disintegration of dissection and calculation; its mode of discourse is mathematical model and reductive analysis.

In *Ceremony* the contrast between the two modes of thought occurs in Tayo's recollections of school days and science teaching:

> He knew what white people thought about the stories. In school the science teacher had explained what superstition was, and then held the science textbook up for the class to see the true source of explanations. He had studied those books, and he had no reasons to believe the stories any more. The science books explained the causes and effects (*C* 94).

Later in the novel another recollection of science class opposes two views of nature: the American Indian attitude, which requires reverent and careful treatment of a sentient, fragile world on the one hand, and on the other hand the analytic viewpoint that regards nature as merely functional and essentially dead. Tayo considers how his search for reintegration into his community through ceremony and myth might be

> crazy, the kind of old-time superstition the teachers at Indian school used to warn him and Rocky about. Like the first time in science class, when the teacher brought in a tubful of dead frogs, bloated with formaldehyde, and the Navajos all left the room; the teacher said those old beliefs were stupid. The Jemez girl raised her hand and said the people always told the kids not to kill frogs, because the frogs would get angry and send so much rain there would be floods. The science teacher laughed loudly, for a long time; he even had to wipe tears from his eyes. "Look at these frogs," he said, pointing at the discolored rubbery bodies and clouded eyes. "Do you think they could do anything? Where are all the

floods? We dissect them in this class every year" (*C* 195).

Empirical science, the way of thinking that belongs with analytical prose, textbooks and capitalist entrepreneurs, takes the view that the natural world is inert, a reactionless object from which formulas or laws may be abstracted through probing, dissection, and measurement.[11]

Stallion Gate emphasizes on every page invasive, objectifying Western empiricism. The apparatus of empirical science obtrudes everywhere: miles of cables, uncounted geiger counters, sensors, cameras, recorders and calculators litter a landscape that has been dug out, paved over and cleared of living things. The Trinity explosion is to be a gigantic exercise in testing and measurement, for the purpose of which the desert, the atmosphere, and the earth itself are seen as nothing more than a single giant laboratory.

In contrast to all this scientific testing and measuring is the epistemology of the elders and clown priests in the Pueblo village. Clowns have a special and complex role in Pueblo religious ritual. Among their duties are the testing of society's rules by showing the effects of breaking rules, and restoring community harmony and equilibrium with parodies of exaggeration and excess.[12] Whereas graphs, formulas and mathematical models are means of scientific discourse, the traditional discourse of the Pueblos is carried on in ritual, story and prophecy. In *Stallion Gate* the clown priests dance a story mocking the experimental bomb and its promoters, General Leslie Groves and J. Robert Oppenheimer; they go so far as to identify and involve Oppenheimer himself in finally setting off the firecracker that stands for the bomb. Captain Augustino, surely intended to represent the OSS, believes the clowns may be passing on secret information to some current or future enemy of the United States government. Oppenheimer, on the other hand, believes he has a deep empathy with the Indians--or rather, that they have a deep empathy with him and his project:

> The Hill isn't a place; it's a time warp. We are the future surrounded by a land and a people that haven't changed in a thousand years. Around us is an invisible moat of time. Anyone from the present, any mere spy, can only reach us by crossing the past. We're protected by the fourth dimension (*SG* 142).

Oppenheimer and Augustino are both wrong.

Late in *Stallion Gate*, as the bomb test date draws near, magic sticks painted like lightning appear planted in places that have suffered fire. Joe Peña knows the sticks are intended to draw lightning that will destroy the testing equipment and ruin the experiment. A soldier asks incredulously if the Indians "really think they can bring lightning?" Joe replies, "They think they make the world go round" (*SG* 202). Mere spying does not figure on the agenda of the Pueblo elders. Neither does expanding the limits of empirical science. Their allegiance is not to a nation state or an ideology, but to the earth itself.

Opposed to the empirical process of truth-seeking, with its probing, testing and measuring, is the prophetic mode of arriving at knowledge, exemplified in story and dream. Both *Stallion Gate* and *Ceremony* contain prophecies about the atomic bomb. Throughout the twentieth-century events of *Ceremony* Leslie Silko interweaves verse-pattern renditions of several Keresan myths. Among them are the account of the creation and peopling of the world; the quarrel between Thought-Woman (Nau'ts'ity'i), goddess of the earth and all life and growth on the planet, and the people who neglect their duties because they are fascinated with witchcraft; and the legend of the hero called Tayo, who challenged the Gambler in his cave and won back the rain clouds for the people.

She casts her account of the creation of Europeans in the form of one of these traditional legends. It all began with witchcraft, according to Silko's poem, when a society of witches convened at the beginning of the world. One of the witches, eschewing incantations and potions, offered his craft in the form of a story:

Okay
go ahead
laugh if you want to
but as I tell the story
it will begin to happen.

A race of destroyers emerges. They are scientists. They look at the world objectively--that is, as an object, reductively:

They see no life
When they look
they see only objects.
The world is a dead thing for them
the trees and rivers are not alive (*C* 132-138)

Further characterizing this race of destroyers is a will to power fueled by greed and driven by fear:

They fear

They fear the world,
They destroy what they fear.
They fear themselves.

The work of the destroyers will culminate, according to Silko's prophecy, in destruction of the world:

Up here
in these hills
they will find the rocks,
rocks with veins of green and yellow and black.
They will lay the final pattern with these rocks
they will lay it across the world
and explode everything (*C* 132-138).

Later Tayo finds the myth confirmed as he begins to understand the events of the second world war. Walking through the abandoned uranium mine on the Laguna reservation, he contemplates the ravaged landscape, his proximity to Los Alamos and the Trinity site, and the relationship of it all to the holocaust at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The destroyers have created "a circle of death that devoured people in cities twelve thousand miles away, victims who had never known these mesas, who had never seen the delicate colors of the rocks which boiled up their slaughter" (*C* 246).

Stallion Gate also contains prophecies of the overwhelming devastation that will result from the careless release of nuclear energy. Two Pueblo elders, Joe Peña's uncle Ben Reyes and the blind old man called Roberto, advise Joe Peña early in the story that the business at Los Alamos should be stopped, even though according to Joe (and popular opinion) they do not know or understand what is going on (*SG* 98). Later, they explain to Joe that their information has come in dreams which predict in symbolic images the proximate events of the book--the preparation and detonation of the test bomb--as well as the long-term consequences which none of the scientists is taking into account. Four people--in Taos, Hopi and Acoma--have all had the same dream: "They were making a gourd filled with ashes. . . . They take the gourd to the top of a long ladder and break it open. The ashes fall and cover the earth. . . . The ashes will poison the clouds and the water and the ground and everything that lives on it" (*SG* 206-207). Joe Peña's scornful response ("Sounds like scientific proof" [*SG* 207]) betrays a

careless obliviousness to the diseased and radioactive cattle that he himself has had to destroy.

Earth Mother/Thought Woman

The two ways of thought identified as Indian and European are associated in both *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* with opposing views of the natural world. In the Indian view, as presented in the two books, the earth is life-bearing, female, and to be respected. This recognition stands in opposition to the western or capitalist notion that land is an inert commodity, an exploitable source of wealth that can be destroyed for the amusement of the destroyers. Both *Stallion Gate* and *Ceremony* associate the female character of the earth with life-giving and nurturant qualities as embodied in the ancient myths of the people.

Much has been written about landscape and the sense of place in *Ceremony*.[13] Paula Gunn Allen makes the connection of earth-life-female-myth most explicit in her discussion of "The Feminine Landscape of . . . *Ceremony*." She writes that

> There are two kinds of women and two kinds of men in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*. . . . Those in the first category belong to the earth spirit and live in harmony with her, even though this attunement may lead to tragedy. Those in the second are not of the earth but of human mechanism; they live to destroy that spirit, to enclose and enwrap it in their machinations, condemning all to a living death. Ts'eh is the matrix, the creative and life-restoring power, and those who cooperate with her designs serve her and, through her, serve life. They make manifest what she thinks.[14]

Allen places the alcoholic and sometimes sadistic veterans, the witches in the traditional stories, the destroyers in Silko's own prophetic myth, and Tayo's cousin, Rocky, in the category of those who follow "human mechanism." Rocky is not an evil person, but he is a "progressive Indian" who rejects the life-stories of the people in favor of the science books' teachings, and thus rejects the life-affirming view of the world in favor of sterile materialism. To these examples we may add the ranchers who have fenced off Mount Taylor and fenced in Josiah's cattle.

Ultimately, absent in person but present in their effects on the land, are the unnamed capitalists and government operatives who first expropriated the land and water rights and then exploited the area's mineral resources. Their development

efforts have transformed the land at the Cebolleta uranium mine from a place of extraordinary beauty into a lifeless wasteland:

> They were driving U.S. Government cars, and they paid the land-grant association five thousand dollars not to ask questions about the test holes they were drilling. . . . Ever since the New Mexico territorial government took the northeast half of the grant, there had not been enough land to feed the cattle anyway. . . . Rain eroded big arroyos in the gray clay, and the salt bush took hold (*C* 243).

By the time of Tayo's story "they had enough of what they needed and the mine was closed. . . . They left behind only the barbed wire fences, the watchman's shack and the hole in the earth . . . the last bony cattle wandering the dry canyons had died in choking summer dust storms" (*C* 244).

The hole in the ground that is the mine forms a deadly counter-symbol to the Pueblo understanding of the earth as literally the mother of all life, including the people themselves. The creation story at Laguna Pueblo explains that Thought Woman is the genetrix of the universe: she originated all things by naming them.[15] The process of creation also involves, as in all the creation myths of the southwest, the people's migration up through their earlier, underground world(s) and their final emergence into the present world.[16] The place of emergence is a sacred hole in the ground, and it is represented in the village by the sipapu, a small round hole in the kiva floor. Kivas now are sometimes square buildings, but the ancient ruins of abandoned cities show that they were round and often underground.

This origin place in the Pueblo world is not merely symbolic or representative, but understood as the actual opening through which the people emerged. A Pueblo scholar has called the Tewa center "earth mother earth navel middle place,"[17] though the term navel seems a euphemism, since the opening appears to function rather as a vagina. In the traditional planting ceremony, "The medicine men are believed to be able to reach right through the ground and place the seeds of all cultigens in the navel, thereby reawakening all of nature for the new year."[18] While details of kiva construction and arrangement of ceremonies differ from village to village, all the Pueblos share these concepts of a center in the earth that connects the village in this upper world to original world(s) beneath, and through which the life-sustaining water and plant and animal life emerge.

So, in *Ceremony*, the uranium mine shaft where the final horrifying scene of Tayo's dream plays out, and where the bewitched and drunken veterans turn on each other in a rage of fear and sadism, was created to exploit the mineral wealth of the earth's interior. It is more than a visual blight, it is a real rape: a confiscation of the earth's life-sustaining resources for the purposes of destruction. The mine is the work of capitalist enterprise in the service of violence:

> The gray stone was streaked with powdery yellow uranium, bright and alive as pollen; veins of sooty black formed lines with the yellow, making mountain ranges and rivers across the stone. But they had taken these beautiful rocks from deep within the earth and they had laid them in a monstrous design, realizing destruction on a scale only *they* could have dreamed (*C* 246).

There is more than aesthetic blight here; this is fundamental blasphemy. The concept belongs to religious thought and is in keeping with the premise of the sacredness of land and life. The discourse of history and public policy enlarges, in grim irony, the novel's religious conceptualization of the nuclear disaster: in 1972 the Nixon administration suggested designating the blighted Four Corners region (i.e., the Navajo and Ute reservations) as a "National Sacrifice Area"--that is, an area "rendered literally uninhabitable through the deliberate elimination of the water supplies . . . and the proliferating nuclear contamination."[19]

Stallion Gate develops the same parallels between life/female/nature and earth, and death/male/the artificial and mechanical. Joe Peña's mother, Dolores, bequeathes to her son a token of her special relationship to the earth. Dolores is a potter. Besides being a shaper of earth (as is the blind elder, Roberto, who mixes adobe for his livelihood) she is related to some of the accounts of the making of people, in which the creatrix first forms people from mud.[20] Some time after her death Joe finds one of his mother's pots, "a little black seed bowl, round as a ball with a small hole" (*SG* 100). This pot, "a dark moon with a seed-sized hole on top" (*SG* 105) is as Joe realizes "like a little, smooth earth" (*SG* 185), a miniature planet, container of potential life and complete with tiny navel/vagina emergence hole. The novel explicitly contrasts the seed pot against the mock-up of the bomb being constructed by soldiers and scientists: the bomb "was a sphere of steel plates bolted together at the edges. It looked like a large steel spore--or a steel seed pot with a jagged rim" (*SG* 169). Instead of life

this pot carries destruction; it is, as in old Roberto's dream, a gourd of ashes.

Throughout *Stallion Gate* those who engage in wanton destruction also belong with the culture of the bomb, and are set in opposition to the people who belong to the land. On Joe's first visit to the test site, he meets two Mescalero Apaches and a Navajo who explain how the army has expropriated the land for itself: "Army bought the ranchers out," one tells him, "but they made it in one payment so the ranchers had to give it all back in taxes, and if the ranchers try to get back on the land, they bomb them" (*SG* 46). A few hours later Joe, Oppenheimer, Groves, and Klaus Fuchs watch army bombers sighting horses with phosphorus bombs and then strafing them:

> From the bomb came running shapes: horses, brilliant with lather and the glare of the bomb, racing under the wing. Mustangs out of the mountains for the night grazing and the mares the ranchers had left behind. . . . At a distance of a mile, he thought he could hear not only their hooves but their breath, although he knew they were drowned out by the sounds of piston hydraulics and .50-caliber rounds. . . (*SG* 54-55).

The scene is eerily prophetic of the book's ending, which finds Joe Peña himself running, crazed, away from a bomb set off in the same place.

Two other scenes in *Stallion Gate* of animals being shot serve to define the opposition between those who respect the earth, especially as genetrix, and those whom both authors characterize as the destroyers. Joe Peña is horrified when Captain Augustino shoots a gravid she-elk, and he almost shoots the captain in retaliation. As Alphonso Ortiz points out, the Tewa proscription against hunting animals in their mating season shows that the practical and the symbolic are inseparable aspects of the people's paramount project, survival and the continuance of life: "Most important, the Tewa do not want to kill the females with young because this would jeopardize the future availability of game."[21]

After the elk-shooting episode, in the course of destroying what he takes to be a radioactive steer, Joe Peña himself kills a cow that is about to calve. The sight brings back to him the earlier hunting incident:

> Now he remembered why he was so upset with Augustino when they'd gone hunting. . . . Not shooting an animal that was carrying was an Indian

> stricture, a primitive taboo. Not against killing life, but against killing the *seed* of life (*SG* 60).

This idea of the seed of life is contrary to Oppenheimer's fantasy that the pueblo is some sort of ancient, indulgent "time warp." What the traditionalists know, rather, is that it is the present that contains both past and future, and that must be protected. They see that the nuclear business is poisoning the land, which is immediate and present, and thereby destroying the cattle which are the people's subsistence and future. The explanation for the cow's radioactive condition lies in the volatile, fragile nature of the earth itself, which has been disturbed by aggressive mining undertaken on the pastureland: "Every canyon around Los Alamos had cows, and every canyon had sites where poisonous isotopes were vented or exploded, spewed and sown into the soil and water" (*SG* 60). The nuclear enterprise sows death.

In *Ceremony* Silko describes in a similar manner the destruction and devastation at the Cebolleta mine:

> Early in the spring of 1943, the mine began to flood with water from subterranean springs. They hauled in big pumps and compressors on flat-bed trucks from Albuquerque. . . . But later in the summer the mine flooded again, and this time no pumps or compressors were sent. They had enough of what they needed, and the mine was closed (*C* 243-244).

Both *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* depict the beginning of the spillage and contamination that continue today, poisoning Flora Naylor and her flocks and jeopardizing the future for all the people. In discussion of the Rio Puerco contamination among a group of Navajos

> one man, seeing far into the future, said he felt guilty for handing down contaminated animals to his children and grandchildren. He said that the animals are part of the Navajo's religious and spiritual system and he was concerned that his descendants would reject their religious and spiritual heritage for fear that the animals would always be contaminated.[22]

For Leslie Silko and Martin Cruz Smith, as for the Navajo shepherds and their families, the fate of animals is both symbol for and prophecy of the fate of human children of Mother Earth. In fact, among the earliest victims of the nuclear industry were Indian mine workers, who besides being cheated in many cases out of ownership of early claims, suffered injuries from unsafe working conditions and equipment.[23] Some studies report the

rate of death and incapacitation from cancer among Navajo mine workers as close to eighty percent.[24]

Pueblo myths personify the earth's creative potential as a woman, and both *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* refer to her by name as Thought-Woman or Thinking Woman. Thinking Woman created the world in the beginning, bringing all things into being by thinking of them and naming them, and so she is the originator of language as well as of material things.[25]

In *Ceremony* Thought-Woman is the originator and muse of the story: at the very beginning Leslie Silko presents her authorial self as Thought-Woman's amanuensis:

Ts'its'tsi'nako, Thought-Woman
is sitting in her room
and whatever she thinks about
appears.
***
She is sitting in her room
thinking of a story now

I'm telling you the story
she is thinking (*C* 1).

Thought-Woman comprehends the whole of *Ceremony*, witchcraft and evil as well as nurturance and healing. This comprehensiveness stands in sharp contrast to the manner in which she enters *Stallion Gate*, and it is related to the difference in the moral universes of the two novels.

For Joe Peña, Thinking Woman is a mythical figure from a culture he has intellectually rejected (though he adheres to its ethical precepts of respect, loyalty and competence). Her avatar is Anna Weiss, a Jewish refugee from Germany working for Oppenheimer on the bomb project. Anna Weiss's job is to produce simulations, mathematical formulas that will predict the nature and extent of the bomb's damage. She is the only person on the project who considers the future, and like old Roberto and the other Indian dreamers she prophesies to Joe about the bomb:

> No one looks ahead to after the bomb is used. Or asks whether the bomb *should* be used, or, at least, demonstrated to the Japanese first . . . they don't think of the consequences. I have. On the punch cards are not only the fireball, the shock wave, the radiation, but also an imaginary city--so many structures of steel, of wood, of concrete. Houses shatter under shocks of one-tenth to one-fifth of an atmosphere. For steel buildings the duration of the

> shock is important. If the pulse lasts several vibration seconds, peak pressure is the important quantity (*SG* 184).

With knowledge comes responsibility, and Anna Weiss in her prophecy is the only person who truly realizes and accepts the terrible responsibility which the bomb creates:

> Nobody else sees it, as if they can't imagine a shadow until the sun is up. I see it every day. Every day, I kill these thousands and thousands of imaginary people. The only way to do it is to be positive that they are purely imaginary, simply numbers. Unfortunately, this reinforces a new fantasy of mine. There are times when I feel as if I am one of those numbers in one of the columns on one of the punch cards flying through the machine. I feel myself fading away (*SG* 184).

Both Anna Weiss in *Stallion Gate* and Tayo in *Ceremony* feel responsible for the destruction they witness, and both find that they are themselves subject to being eroded away by the destructive forces they encounter. What Anna Weiss describes as "fading away" is precisely Tayo's condition when he first returns to the U.S. after the war. For a long time he is invisible, a vapor, lacking even an outline and fading into the white walls of the institution where he spends some time before returning to the village. Like Tayo, Anna seeks healing in a renunciation of her connection with the project of destruction. But although she allies herself with the Pueblo traditionalists and their perception of the destructiveness of the bomb, her powers for healing are limited or nonexistent. *Stallion Gate* is a naturalistic work, and insofar as Anna Weiss embodies a prophetic voice, she is Thinking Woman in the role of Cassandra, not Demeter.

Good and Evil

The continued presence of Indian people on the North American continent and the existence of the atomic bomb have a parallel function with relation to the prevailing national mythology: both require that the American people confront their fallacy of collective innocence and their obsession with freedom from guilt. R. W. B. Lewis has documented how the formation of the country in the first half of the nineteenth century included the invention of an American national character endowed with prelapsarian innocence: America as the New Eden, and (descendants of European immigrant) Americans as the New Adam.[26] Reginald Horsman details the simultaneous

and concomitant creation of doctrines of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, which served to justify the continental takeover.[27]

Both fictions were necessary to justify aggressive expansionism and capitalist exploitation of the continent's resources, and the removal or domination of peoples who did not belong to the privileged group. The ideal of a New Eden required a garden. Thus was born the fantasy of a wilderness--pristine, voluptuous, and above all, empty--the romantic vision most poetically evoked in Nick Carraway's farewell to Jay Gatsby:

> . . . a fresh, green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the trees that had made way for Gatsby's house, had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams; for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.[28]

But--contrary to Nick Carraway's fantasy, and the dreams and desires of millions of immigrants and their children--the New World Garden of Eden was not empty.

This pervasive American myth of innocent beginnings in a new, unpopulated Eden cannot be sustained in the face of Indian testimony, and especially in the presence of surviving Indians. "Man" had not just recently arrived from Europe, the land was not empty, not wilderness, not unsettled, not--according to the people already living in it--undeveloped. It was not an unpopulated Garden of Eden created expressly for a new race, but a continent with a population placed at the mercy of invaders with a superior technology in the service of an insatiable greed.

Likewise, the development and especially the use of nuclear weapons cannot have been the work of a people with no capacity for evil. Acute defensiveness even now permeates the attitude of apologists for the bomb; there is a compulsion to prove that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not merely militarily effective but morally defensible as well. *Stallion Gate* contains an extended example of this moral defensiveness in a debate carried on between J. Robert Oppenheimer and another physicist, Harvey Pillsbury, on the relative ethics of using the bomb on various targets. The simple admission that it will be used because it will mean conquest is not enough; the bombing of cities must be justified as saving lives, so that the act will seem guilt-free as well as successful.

In both *Stallion Gate* and *Ceremony* evil manifests itself as the atomistic and dis-integrating forces of greed and racism. Yet the books' visions of the moral universe are radically different. Silko presents good and evil as metaphysical entities, mysteries beyond rational thought. *Stallion Gate* has no gods; evil emerges in the actions of the novel's fallible, flawed characters.

Silko identifies fear and greed as propellants of racist destruction, which she sees as having its birth in European thought. According to the prophetic myth she constructs for *Ceremony*, the Destroyers, coming from far across the ocean, indiscriminately "kill what they fear." Their self-destructive rage to consume and to destroy will turn against them, however, and "stolen rivers and mountains/ the stolen land will eat their hearts/ and jerk their mouths from the Mother" (*C* 136).

Tayo recognizes race hatred as the work of the destroyers when he understands why he had persistently identified Japanese soldiers with his uncle and cousin:

> From the jungles of his dreaming he recognized why the Japanese voices had merged with Laguna voices, with Josiah's voice and Rocky's voice; the lines of cultures and worlds were drawn in flat dark lines on fine light sand, converging in the middle of witchery's final ceremonial sand painting. From that time on, human beings were one clan again, united by the fate the destroyers planned for all of them, for all living things (*C* 246).

Silko also links dis-integration associated with racism to displacement that removes people from the sustaining land to which they belong. Displaced by war from the arid United States southwest to the humid south Pacific jungle, Tayo lacks the proper resources for dealing with constant rainfall, and he acts inappropriately: he curses the rain and thus, in his mind at least, brings on the drought that besets his village when he comes home. The nature of his illness, and therefore the first step towards his cure, become defined in the Los Angeles railroad station when he collapses in the midst of a group of Japanese-Americans returning from the concentration camps in the desert and midwest to their forcibly abandoned homes and farms on the west coast. The first step toward healing must be a step towards home, a return to one's own place.

In *Stallion Gate* individual characters exemplify the same greed and paranoid hatred that Silko personifies in the mythical race of destroyers. The pottery broker, Mrs. Quist, embodies capitalist lust for profit in her relationship with

Dolores, buying pots for a dollar and selling them for fifty times as much. Joe Peña explains to the avaricious woman that his mother was not driven by market and profit, but by traditional Pueblo reserve, decorum and respect: "You always made that kind of money off Dolores. She always knew. I used to tell her, but she was too embarrassed for you to say anything. She was embarrassed for your greed" (*SG* 101).

If the venal Mrs. Quist personifies the demeaning greed of the capitalist mentality, mendacious and vindictive Captain Augustino provides the counterpart in paranoid fear. In charge of security at the project, Augustino bears an eerie resemblance to Oliver North: he is a man who says, "I don't need orders from anyone" (*SG* 31). Further, he pursues a fanatical vendetta against Oppenheimer, "the Third Great Jew . . . intent on developing an atomic weapon here only so that he can deliver the finished plans to his Soviet friends" (*SG* 31-32).

But Augustino is only the fullest efflorescence of the racism that flourishes everywhere in the America of *Stallion Gate*; from the crude and explicit bigotry of the Indian Service agents, to the whining nastiness of Klaus Fuchs, who makes known from the first his contempt for Joe and all Indians. Even Oppenheimer betrays the thinness of his fantasied empathy with the people he has been living among; when advised of Indian objections to the project he asks if Joe "really think[s] I'm going to let the effort of all these good men be endangered by a . . . tribe" (*SG* 309; ellipses in original).

Augustino's worst crime, however, is not against any person or group, but an attack on thought itself. He orders Joe to help him plant a piece of evidence in Oppenheimer's clothes to link the physicist to Gold, the spy working with Fuchs. Augustino's plot against Oppenheimer parallels Santa's work on propaganda. Santa is the project psychiatrist. Ostensibly present to study the effects of the bomb project on the mental condition of the men involved with it, he actually concocts propaganda stories intended to deceive the public:

> "If the bomb makes a big bang, then we'll report that an ammunition dump exploded without loss of life. If we blow up the desert and everyone in it, then we'll have to come up with a different story . . . an alternative, assimilable emergency. 'Epidemic,' 'tainted water,' 'chemical warfare'. . . . The Freudians want 'tainted water,' naturally" (*SG* 219).

Like the witches in *Ceremony*, who create a counter-myth of destruction against the traditional myth of creation, both Santa and Augustino create stories. Their stories, too, are counter-

myths, corruptions of the European mythology of empirical science. Falsifying evidence and distorting results, they act out in Martin Cruz Smith's novel the self-destructive tendencies Leslie Silko personifies as witches.

Both Leslie Silko and Martin Cruz Smith meditate in their novels on the paradox of the creation of the nuclear world in such close proximity to ancient Pueblo culture. In an interview Silko has acknowledged that

> The Pueblo people have always concentrated upon making things grow, and appreciating things that are alive and natural, because life is so precious in the desert. The irony is that so close to us, in Los Alamos, New Mexico, scientists began the scientific and technological activity which created the potential end to our whole planet, the whole human race. The first atomic bomb was exploded in New Mexico, very close by us. To me it is very striking that this happened so close to the Pueblo people.[29]

Stallion Gate and *Ceremony* can be read as extended meditations on that paradox. Both books present the perspective of the Pueblos as being a long-tested philosophy of human survival, and a critique of Western faith in technology.

The two novels differ radically in the possibilities they present for coping with the nuclear menace they describe. Silko's novel allows for redemptive healing in a world that can accept and give priority to a simple, pastoral life. It is a profoundly religious vision, affirming the possibility of spiritual transcendence and the creation of a nurturing community separate from the dominant culture, so long as the necessary connection with the land can be sustained. *Stallion Gate* offers only a secular world, where even--as Captain Augustino says--the laws of science are no longer dependable, and where each person lives out individual values in unsupported isolation.

Their basic premises, however, are the same. Although Silko offers a religious vision that postulates an inherently ordered universe, whereas Cruz Smith presents a rigorously secular view that emphasizes human limitations and imperfectability, both authors' critiques of the postnuclear world move beyond the immediate issues of weapons, war and power to question the sufficiency of rational thought itself.

Notes

[1]Steve Hinchman, "Rebottling the Nuclear Genie," *Native Self-Sufficiency*. 8, 4 (Spring 1987): 1.

[2]Hinchman.

[3]Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance: Land Tenure in New Mexico, 1680-1980* (Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1980), 121.

[4]Rayna Green, ed., *That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 216-217.

[5]Green, 157-178. For discussion of Rose's and Hogan's poems see Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon, 1986), 169-172.

[6]Paula Gunn Allen, "From *Raven's Road*." *New Native American Novels: Works in Progress*. Mary Dougherty Bartlett, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 51-63.

[7]Stephen Popkes, "Deathwitch," *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine* (February 1985): 76-88.

[8]Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Viking, 1977).

[9]Martin Cruz Smith. *Stallion Gate*. (New York: Random House, 1986). The titles of both *Stallion Gate* and *Ceremony* will be cited in parentheses as *SG* and *C*, respectively, with page numbers in the text.

[10]As the sons of sisters, Tayo and Rocky are as closely related as brothers according to Pueblo family patterns; see Edward P. Dozier. *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 145-146.

[11]The dissection of frogs is apparently becoming a pervasive metaphor for the invasive, life-denying side of empirical science. In Gerald Vizenor's *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* (New York; Boulder; Normal, IL: Illinois State University/Fiction Collective, 1987) the protagonist recalls liberating live but doomed frogs from a high school classroom. In a speech at the Cooley Peace Conference at Earlham College (May 4, 1985) Barbara Stanford made the same parallel: "To study biology, I had to kill a frog. This is a typical initiation into science"; she reflects that the process perpetuates "two lies: (1) That science is superior to morality . . . (2) That relations between the parts of the object (e.g. the frog) are more important than the subject-object relationship (the frog and me)" (*Peace Research Abstracts Journal*. 23, 6 (1986) 71-73. In

Victorville, California, a high school student went to court in 1987 to establish her right to refrain from dissecting a live frog in her biology class; she won her case on appeal.

[12]Louis A. Hieb, "The Ritual Clown: Humor and Ethics," *Forms of Play of Native North Americans.* Edward Norbeck and Claire R. Farrer, eds. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, 1977. (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1979), 171-188.

[13]See, for instance, Reyes Garcia. "Senses of Place in *Ceremony*," *MELUS*, 10, 4 (1983); Kenneth Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Robert M. Nelson, "Place and Vision: The Function of Landscape in *Ceremony*," *Journal of the Southwest*, 30, 3 (Autumn 1988): 281-316.

[14]*The Sacred Hoop*, 118.

[15]Franz Boas, *Keresan Texts*. Part I (New York: The American Ethnological Society, 1928), 7-8.

[16]Ortiz, 1, 9.

[17]Alphonso Ortiz, *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 37.

[18]Ortiz, 114.

[19]Winona LaDuke and Ward Churchill, "Native America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 13, 3 (Fall 1985): 107-132, 120.

[20]Boas, 224.

[21]*The Tewa World*, 113.

[22]Hinchman, 10.

[23]Navajo miners often spoke of the hazardous working conditions. John Billsie, hired during the 1940s at age 13, recollected moving vanadium with shovel and wheelbarrow. Ventilation in the mines was poor, and though laws enforced by mine inspectors were supposed to protect the workers, "The mine inspector don't come around" (California State University Fullerton. Oral History Collection OH 275). Ned Yazzie and Jimmie Singer were both disabled as a result of faulty equipment; Yazzie was injured driving one of the mine's trucks: "It use to be bad before. The equipments were too old, out of order: [bad] brakes, no doors, no rear view mirrors" (Tr. Fern Charlie. OH 296). I am grateful to the CSUF Oral History program for use of their collection on the development of the uranium industry in the Four Corners area.

[24]LaDuke and Churchill, 114.

[25]Boas, 9.

[26]R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

[27]Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

[28]F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, rpt. 1953), 123.

[29]Per Seyersted, "Two Interviews with Leslie Marmon Silko," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 13 (1981): 17-33, 26–27.

Critique

These days, most literary criticism, like the world view that spawned it, is obsolete, a luxury we can no longer afford. Too much of it is esoteric, egotistical, and trivial. While the world balances on the edge of annihilation, we count semicolons on our computers.

But such is not the way of Helen Jaskoski's article. It is good criticism--in the fullest sense of the word. She helps us to see the works--*Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate*--more clearly and, in turn, to see the world more clearly. And we need help with both. We need help to understand these novels more fully, for they arise from a very different world vision from the traditional paradigm of reality shaped by Western science--which most of us were trained to see. Ironically, however, understanding the vision of these novels, the traditional vision of the American Indian, in turn helps us to understand the emerging new vision of Western science.

Jaskoski begins by posing the paradox, developed in their respective novels by Silko and Cruz Smith, that American Indian people have been "first and longest in their exposure to nuclear power and its effects . . . ." Early on, she points out that in both novels, "nuclear weapons and nuclear power . . . are seen, not as a special case of weapons or power . . . but as the logical and inevitable culmination of western empirical thought. In both novels this mode of thought is juxtaposed, and in conflict, with the philosophy of the peoples within whose lands the nuclear age is created." She then takes us on a careful walk

through the novels and through these heretofore contrasting world views.

It is important for us to see that there is a paradox at work here even more fundamental than the one upon which Jaskoski focuses. To understand the traditional world view of the American Indian is no longer so much to understand the past as it is to understand the future if there is to be a future. In getting at the heart of the vision of these American Indian novels, Jaskoski is also helping us get at the heart of the emerging paradigm of the dominant culture, the new vision of modern science.

The greater paradox, then, is this: The development and explosion of The Bomb, which took place in such close proximity to the American Indian people and the ingredients of which were ripped from their sacred land, also exploded the very foundation of the world view that produced that bomb--the same vision of reality that permitted and promoted the "discovery" and ultimate occupation and destruction of the American Indian's land in the first place. It is vision that is now obsolete.

In splitting the atom and releasing its awful energy in the form of the atomic bomb, Western empirical science also literally and symbolically destroyed the basis of its own world view--that of the atom as an indivisible and fundamental building block of a material universe. Enter quantum physics. And now, traditional, left-brained, linear, reductionist science has burst its own blinders and is coming around to a vision of life and reality which is very similar to the traditional vision of the American Indian.

Listen, for example, to Chief Seattle, speaking in 1855: "Humankind has not woven the web of life. We are but one thread within it. Whatever we do to the web we do to ourselves. All things are bound together. All things connect. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the children of the earth."

The scientific paradigm that produced the bomb scoffed at such seeing as that embodied in Chief Seattle's words--even as it was unwittingly producing its proof. Jaskoski helps us see the examples of the irreverence, blindness, and brutality of the dominant paradigm woven throughout the two novels. So certain was science of its linear vision that it could not see the great circle of life of the American Indian vision.

But all that is now changing. From the vanguard of the same science that created the bomb now comes a steady stream of messages describing a very different view of reality. From Rupert Sheldrake's morphogenetic field theory in biology to

Karl Pribram's holographic theory of the human brain to David Bohm's *Wholeness and the Implicate Order*[1] in physics, the emerging description of the world is much closer to that of Chief Seattle and the traditional American Indian vision. Perhaps Fritjof Capra, theoretical physicist, says it best: "Quantum physics forces us to see the universe not as a collection of physical objects, but rather as a complicated web of relations between various parts of a unified whole."[2]

Thus, the paradigm that produced the bomb and has very nearly consumed the Earth now comes around to embrace the only vision that may be able to save us--the vision of Thinking Woman's Children. Fortunately, Helen Jaskoski's own vision is larger than semicolons, large enough to see where we are heading--and her work on *Ceremony* and *Stallion Gate* helps us along the way.

--G. Lynn Nelson
Arizona State University

[1]David Bohm, *Wholeness and the Implicate Order* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

[2]Fritjof Capra, *The Tao of Physics* (New York: Bantam, 1975), 124.

"Black" or "African American": What's In a Name?

Johnny Washington

Within the United States the African American[1] community has again reverted to the problem of ethnic identity and the question, "Who are we--'Blacks' or 'African Americans'?" is now being debated. It will be recalled that a similar debate was carried on in the 1960s, and the history of this identity question extends to the 1920s and beyond.

In the 1890s, Booker T. Washington advanced the ethnic identity debate when he impressed upon blacks the importance of race consciousness. Following the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915, in the 1920s black people throughout the African Diaspora witnessed a rekindling of interest in embracing their ethnic heritage. The Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey is credited with having stimulated this new sense of racial identity, placing a positive value on "blackness" and the African heritage generally.

Marcus Garvey foreshadowed the teachings of the Trinidadian-born political activist Stokely Carmichael. In 1966 Carmichael popularized the slogan "Black Power," repudiated "Negro," and in its stead insisted on the appellative "Black." Carmichael, who many regarded as the father of the Black Power movement of the 1960s, has now adopted for himself the personal name Kwame Toure and has repudiated "Black" in favor of "African American." Toure and others argue that "African American" is preferable to any other term denoting ethnic identity because "African American" heightens among people of the African Diaspora the sense of affinity between themselves and the people on the continent of Africa. Thus, African Americans have a history of constant name shifting, along with

its underlying ethnic identity shifting and the concomitant crises, precipitated in part by the ever-recurring social processes. On certain occasions, the crises are spin-offs from the assertions and counter-assertions arising out of the dynamics of black and white relations. On other occasions, as will be seen, such recurring social processes, that include the assertions/counter-assertions, impeded ethnic remolding and its concomitant name changing.

The object of this paper is not to debate the merits or demerits of "Black" or "African American." Rather, I will be concerned with the following: (1) examining the ways a people ascribe meaning to the above terms, and (2) attempting to shed light on the underlying social dynamics that tend to precipitate or impede the ethnic changes and transformations that a people constantly undergo. In doing so I will draw on the works of the African American philosopher Alain Locke (1886-1954). Specific attention will be devoted to Locke's "The Concept of Race as Applied to Social Culture" (1924), where he examined race within the social context. The application of his notion of "social race" to the "Black or African American" controversy will enable us to shed some light on this matter. To get a clearer picture, however, of the issue, one needs to turn to the philosophy of language, certain results of which will complement Alain Locke's analysis of race, which he conducted by focusing on cultural matters almost to the exclusion of language. One of his Harvard classmates, however, C. I. Lewis, made great contributions to the philosophy of language and epistemology and Lewis's works, it should be noted, were inspired by the views of Josiah Royce. In the latter part of this paper I will consider Lewis's view of linguistic meanings to shed greater light on the meaning of "Black" and "African American." In this connection I will also allude to one of the teachers of both Lewis and Locke, namely Royce, whose view of interpretative meaning will be employed to supplement the meaning of "Black" or "African American."

At the turn of the century, it was quite common for anthropologists to support a biological theory of race, according to which races were said to be endowed with certain fixed tendencies and mental capacities. Employing an evolutionist hypothesis, many authorities held that the European race, because of its "superior" brain capacity, had advanced beyond the African and other non-European races. The assumption was widely held that race was the determining factor of culture; that the Europeans who constituted the most advanced race had, by virtue of evolution, achieved an advantageous position of power

and that such a position was fixed by nature, since race itself was a fixed, unalterable entity.

Alain Locke's "The Concept of Race" was directed against the above position. Denying that race had anything to do with biological, hereditary tendencies, Locke devoted much attention demonstrating that race is to be understood in terms of social dynamics, or culture, or ethnicity, the existence through which a people achieve their identity. Instead of speaking of race, Locke spoke of cultural group or ethnic group; and, if one is to persist, Locke maintained, in employing the notion "race" it is to be understood only in the social or cultural sense.

Locke was anxious to point out that cultures are constantly undergoing transformations, from which it follows that an ethnic group is also constantly undergoing transformations. Hence, the ethnicity of blacks, or any other ethnic group, is not fixed. Ethnicity here might be regarded as a perpetual process, always in the state of becoming. But it should be noted that the process of becoming is not something over which members of the ethnic group have no control. In fact, Locke identified certain factors as keys in the process of culture or ethnicity making. Among these Locke regarded what he called *stressed values*, the factors which constitute the dynamics of culture and ethnicity. By "stressed values" he meant the factors in the culture--objects, events, or symbols--that are highly emphasized by members of the culture. The stressed values that the group entertains are the ones that motivate the group to take actions and assume attitudes that contribute to the preservation of the stressed value, and of the culture generally, if the stressed values are regarded by the group in question in a positive light. Or, Locke suggested that the such stressed values may motivate the group to take actions to route the values in question, if they are regarded in a negative light. So these stressed values are the determining factor in the formation of culture or ethnicity. Thus, the stressed values are in part the elements that constitute the ethnicity of a people. They are responsible for relative stability as well as the changes that an ethnic group undergoes. An ethnic group harbors stressed values that allow it to resist certain changes that may arise internally or are introduced externally by contacts with other cultures. Among those stressed values, according to Locke, is the factor of race itself:

> Race accounts for a great many of the specific elements of the cultural heredity, and the sense of race may itself be regarded as one of the operative factors in culture since it determines the stressed values which become

> the conscious symbols and tradition of the culture. Stressed values are themselves factors in the process of cultural making, and account primarily for the persistence and resistance of culture-traits.[2]

This attempt to explain the social aspects of race has almost forced Locke into a paradoxical position: on the one hand, culture is that which determined race or ethnicity; on the other, inasmuch as race or ethnicity is a stressed value, it determines culture. So ethnicity is a factor contributing to is own social construction. This nearly amounts to saying that something is its own cause; or that something is at the same time and in the same respect both cause and effect.

Thus, in view of the fact that race enjoys the process of self-creation through the dynamics of culture, it should come as no surprise that black Americans, as any other ethnic group, especially those of minority status, intermittently seek to examine their ethnic identity. Such examinations occasionally, but not inevitably, result in the changing of their ethnic group name. A name is obviously a social convention. Names are not fixed only to a particular ethnic group. Throughout history the Jews have been called by various names, including "Hebrews," "Israelites," "Judaeans" and "Jews" in that historical order.

Earlier in the history of the U.S., whites forced blacks to assume a negative attitude towards Africa, and this might explain in part why there was resistance to the adoption of "African American." But obviously the stressed values upon which the above attitude rested, together with the ethnic name which the attitude expresses, are not fixed. As has been noted all along, ethnic groups occasionally change their cultures. Locke clearly stated: "Culture is not related functionally to definite groups or races, but varies independently. Races change their culture on many historic occasions and various culture advances are made independently by different racial stocks."[3] The stressed values, a shifting in the stressed values, as was noted, are the factors that bring about culture changes, including name changes, since race is a symbol constituting the "racing of the races." Prior to the 1920s "Negro" which was forced upon blacks by Europeans, was among the stressed negative values, forced upon black culture. The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, following the death of Booker T. Washington, witnessed an effort on the part of blacks to define themselves, and "New Negro" was introduced. Following the brief Renaissance era, until the mid-1930s, there was the return to "Negro." Then came the 1960s and "Black" became the stressed value, reversing the old attitude, imposed by whites,

that associated blackness with evil. Now we are in the 1990s and "African American" is becoming more widely acceptable.

It is too early to identify the underlying social factors that are motivating this shifting in stressed values, inspiring elements of the black community to seek to adopt "African American." A perceptive observer can at once discern that with the 1984 and 1988 presidential elections, where the African American Jesse Jackson participated in a serious struggle for the highest political office of the land, African Americans are experiencing a new political awakening. Then within the past decade or so world attention has focused on the South African racial crises. Such crises coupled with other factors may be needed to induce a paradigm shift as Thomas Kuhn would have us believe. Seen from another perspective, the world is beginning to celebrate the eve of the new century, the 21st century. That factor together with certain crises within the culture, may be a sufficient condition to prompt blacks, as an ethnic minority, to re-examine their ethnic destiny. It may be that their contemplating their collective future--thinking about the next century--has led them to return in their imagination to their collective past: Africa, including South Africa's on-going crises. Such factors may have led members of the black community to raise the inevitable question, "Who are we, 'Blacks' or 'African Americans'?"

Here we may pause to consider why certain names ascribed to or adopted by blacks "catch-on" and become widely accepted by the larger community and certain names enjoy only a brief career. "New Negro" was employed mostly among black intellectuals and it survived for only about a decade (1920s-1930s). The term "Colored" in North America seems to parallel the history of the term "Negro," both of which were forced upon blacks by whites. W. E. B. DuBois and a few other black intellectuals would often employ "Negro," "Colored," and "Black' interchangeably. As progressive as DuBois was in his thinking, he apparently did not see the need to reject "Negro" and replace it with "Black" or "African American." Marcus Garvey exalted the virtues associated with blackness, but he shifted back and forth between "Black" and "Negro," and rarely did he use "African American." Apparently, Alain Locke found "Negro" acceptable, and he embraced "New Negro." Like Garvey and DuBois, Locke constantly impressed upon blacks the need to identify with their African heritage, but rarely, if ever, did Locke employ "African American." What psychological or sociological factors blocked these African American leaders from making this conceptual shift? It took a Stokely Carmichael

to bring about this total shift, conceptually and psychologically, away from "Negro" to "Black." But, it is interesting to note in passing that Carmichael did not in the 1960s move on to make the connection that he now makes with African culture and insist on the adoption of "African American."

Now we may pause to consider the nature of meanings connected with the employment of such terms as "Black" or "African American." Certain results that C. I. Lewis achieved may be useful here. In his *An Analysis of Knowledge and Valuation* he distinguished between two types of meanings: linguistic meaning and sense meaning.[4] The former has to do with the meaning assigned to words through our syntactic convention. The linguistic meaning of "car," for example, is discursively exhibited by the meaning we ascribe to "automobile" and "vehicle," by which it is meant a machine used mainly for transporting human beings. One could substitute "vehicle," or "automobile" in a sentence that contained "car" and in doing so would not alter the meaning of the sentence that contained "car"--that is what Lewis had in mind by linguistic meaning.

A question worth posing is what is the linguistic meaning of "Negro," "colored," "Black," Afro-American," or "African American." But, we will not attempt to decide that here. For our purpose, the most illuminating notion has to do with what Lewis called "sense meaning." By "sense meaning" Lewis had in mind the Kantian schema, a condition or modality of the mind, in according to which order, and meaningfulness is imposed upon experience. Lewis, of course, had a greater interest in sense meaning than linguistic meaning, as the former was the basis for philosophy of science, logic, and epistemology, and for the way we make sense out of our experience in general. Sense meaning is deeper than and independent of the conventional usage of language, of linguistic meaning. Now, we might be in a position to respond to the question as to why DuBois, Garvey and others failed to make the shift to "African American." It may be that the sense meaning of "African American" was not established by the culture, at that time.

Now the question naturally arises, what is the sense meaning of "Black" or "African American"? Before we can answer this, we need to note the difference between Kant's and Lewis's usage of the above schema, by which sense meaning is derived. Kant held that such schema was an *a priori*, formal condition of knowledge. The schema does not have its origin in experience, and is not conditioned by experience or culture. Lewis did not deny this *a priori* nature of the schema; but,

unlike Kant, Lewis held that the source of all *a priori* knowledge was derived from experience, that is, shaped by the culture of which one is a part. How does the above schema relate to the "Black" or "African American" debate? It relates in the following ways. "Black" or "African American" may be regarded as a modality of the mind, as constitutive of the schema, culturally determined but which, nevertheless, is an *a priori* condition, through which experience became organized, rendered meaningful. "Black" or "African American" is a rule or concept that prescribes the manner in which black people value, interpret and impose meaning on their culture or ethnicity. So, if "Black" or "African American" is an *a priori* concept, constitutive of the schema, and if the schema is culturally determined, molded in part by what Alain Locke called the stressed values, then it follows that the sense meaning that black people ascribe to "Black" or "African American" would differ from, and no doubt conflict with, the sense meaning that white Americans would attach to the above names. The reason is that the ethnicity or culture of whites differs from that of blacks, so much so that the difference in itself throws light on the reasons of the controversy in the first place. Blacks are repudiating the names and experiences that whites forced upon them. White American culture owes its origins to a society of slave owners; black culture owes its origins to a society of slaves and descendants of slaves. Therein lies a major difference; from which it follows that blacks and whites ascribe different sense meanings to "Black" and "African American." Many whites nowadays are perhaps indifferent to the whole controversy and thus this element of their schema is without content. Or, the modality of "Black" or "African American" insofar as it is included in the schema of the larger society, may and often does elicit interpretations that are at odds with the larger element of the black community. Often the larger society tends to be divided within itself about its interpretations of the black experience.

Besides, the black community, as most other ethnic groups, is a composite entity, with diverse cultural strains and conflicting attitudes, conflicting stressed values. In the 1960s, Martin L. King, Jr. advocated nonviolence, and the Black Panthers advocated violence, for example. Today, while certain blacks, as was noted, are advocating the adoption of "African American," the NAACP includes "Colored People" in its organization's name. Similarly, the United Negro College Fund still includes, "Negro" in its organization's name. This in itself is evident of the self-contradictory attitude within the black

community on this name or ethnic identity question. Apparently, these various elements of the black community are assigning interpretations to the above names that are at odds with the interpretations assigned by the larger black community. It, therefore, follows that the black community within itself is not in total agreement as to what sort of interpretations should be assigned to terms signifying their ethnicity. A more adequate explanation of this problem of interpretation leads us to a closer examination of Royce's view of interpretation.[5]

Royce's theory of interpretation was inspired by Charles Sanders Peirce's view which the latter discovered through the analysis of logic and epistemology. Peirce called this view of interpretation the "Doctrine of Signs." Royce broadened Peirce's theory to include metaphysics and the social realm. Words, deeds, objects, events--that is, every element of experience--in Peirce's view, is to be regarded as a sign requiring interpretations, by which the meaning of the item in question is established. Royce introduced the metaphor "sign-post." Items of the universe present themselves as sign-posts, pointing the way for the wayfarer traversing unfamiliar terrain to establish bearings. To make sense of the sign-posts, the wayfarer has to interpret the sign-posts, an adequate interpretation of which requires a community of interpreters. If Peirce held that the pragmatic meaning of beliefs are established through a community of inquirers, Royce held that meaning is established through a community of interpreters. It does not require much to extend Royce's view to the "Black" or "African American" debate. "New Negro," "Black," "Afro-American," or "African American" may be regarded as sign-posts that point the way for wayfarers, especially the African American wayfarers, as they beat paths in the fulfillment of their destiny. The sign-posts demand re-interpretations by each generation of wayfarers, because the social reality, the ethnicity within which the sign-posts are grounded, the stressed values, are constantly undergoing transformations. Sense meaning, of which C. I. Lewis speaks, in spite of its limitations,[6] provides a relative degree of permanence to the knowledge bases of a given culture; yet, interpretations and re-interpretations of the sign-posts are needed in order to grasp the significance of the broadest ranges of experience that involves both permanence and changes, eternity and time. These two modes of reality, eternity and time are the ultimate sign-posts around which a people, any people, work out their individual and collective destinies. To interpret these sign-posts, including the ultimate ones, it is imperative

that blacks constantly interpret their ethnic experiences which flow from the stressed values, from which it follows that members of the black community have constantly to reinterpret the names by which they wish to answer in response to that cosmic roll-call.

Notes

[1] In this paper I employ "Black" and African American" interchangeably.

[2] Alain Locke, "The Concept of Race as Applied to Social Culture," *Howard Review* 1 (June 1924): 290-299.

[3] Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern, eds., *When People Meet: A Study of Race and Culture Contacts* (New York: Committee on Workshops, progressive Education Association, 1942), 3-11.

[4] C. I. Lewis, *An Analysis of Knowledge and Valuation* (La Salle, IL: Open Count Publishing, 1946); also cited in Barbara MacKinnon, ed., *American Philosophy: A Historical Anthology* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), 536-540.

[5] John K. Roth, ed., *The Philosophy of Josiah Royce* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), 388-402.

[6] Although I have been suggesting that sense meaning will enable us to get a handle on the name controversy, Henri Bergson has brought to our attention the inadequacy of intellectual knowledge which hinges on sense meaning whose foundation involves concepts and analysis. The problem with concepts, in Bergson's view, is that it falsifies reality by denying the dynamic, progressive unfolding of reality. If Bergson's position is applied to the above discussion, and if Bergson is right, and I think that he is, then we are forced to admit that sense meaning of which Lewis speaks, harbors certain difficulties and limitations, the ramifications of which are beyond the scope of this paper.

Critique

Aside from examining the ways people ascribe meaning to the terms "Black" and "African-American" and possible

"underlying social dynamics" impeding or precipitating ethnic label changes, Washington concludes that these above mentioned "sign-posts" may be justifiable periodic changes which an ethnic group should constantly re-interpret on its ever evolving "cosmic" journey. Washington presents an interesting case from a philosophical/metaphysical standpoint. From a social scientific perspective, however, there is much to be determined.

First, this reviewer has no problem with Alain Locke's "paradoxical position." In social psychology, for example, it has been acknowledged for quite some time that certain factors can become "functionally autonomous." Thus, race or ethnicity (and especially "the sense of race") can in turn become both cause and effect.

The evolution of an ethnic label or name, for some, depicts the social history of a people in reference to a homeland as well as their psychological development. It has been suggested elsewhere that the issue has come full circle, from "African" through "Negro" (and the Spanish term for "black"), "Colored," Afro-American," "Black," back to "African" (i.e., "African American"), the term originally used by blacks in America to define themselves.[1]

It should also be noted, this ethnic labeling phenomenon can be examined among a number of different ethnic groups which may reveal similar evolutionary progression (being labeled by others vs. self labeling). The resultant investigation may lead to the same basic questions asked.[2]

One of the more interesting psycho-social phenomenon has been the Rev. Jesse Jackson's statement, "To be called black is baseless . . . to be called African American has cultural integrity.[3] He and many other black leaders see the linkage to Africa as having an utilitarian importance.[4] As Fairchild elaborates, the term "African" denotes the continent of one's ancestors (Africa), and the term "American" denotes the continent in which one now resides or was born and/or raised (America).[5] Whether Washington calls it a "Khun Paradigm Shift" or a cultural "stress value," or "Sign Post" is rather pedantic. It's obvious there is a combination of factors (cultural, situational, historical, psychological, etc.) causing and resulting in a "label identification" shift phenomenon.

In addition, Washington questions why W. E. B. DuBois (co-founder of NAACP), Marcus Garvey (founder of the United Negro

Improvement Association, UNIA)[6], and Alain Locke did not reject the term "Negro" or "New Negro" and replace it with either "Black" or "African American." The author then answers his line of questioning by suggesting that the "sense meaning" of the term "African-American" was not established by the culture back then.

The present reviewer could just as well add: why have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) not changed their names to go along with the new times? If this reviewer may be as bold as Washington, the answer may be the long suggested rumor that during the 1960s executive members of the NAACP did discuss changing their name and decided the label should remain the same. It's rather obvious as far as this reviewer is concerned that the labels NAACP and UNCF have evolved into anachronistic historical symbols or icons, having a "sense meaning" in and of themselves.

Another issue which can lead to differing interpretations centers on Washington's belief that blacks and whites ascribe different sense meanings to the terms "Black" and "African-American." If he implies that there is a greater emotional importance/value ascribed to these labels by blacks than non-blacks than perhaps there is a *minor* schism between the two groups. But this schism does not necessarily lead to or should be equated with major conflict. Though a number may express indifference, many from the "larger society" are simply ambivalent, not unlike a portion of the black community.[7] Contrary to traditional psychological thought, cognitive dissonance (or as Washington believes, "self-contradictory attitudes") does not necessarily mean weakness. Even Washington himself professes using both labels *interchangeably*.

True, many non-white and oppressed groups may reject forced labeling, but as Washington mentioned earlier, it appears natural for each generation to experiment and possibly adopt or reject whatever enhances their image of themselves. In turn, any other group will be unsure of how to address or label that group. In general, however, this reviewer agrees that the phenomenon in question appears a natural evolutionary change with periodic labeling displacement a natural human outgrowth.

--Bamidele J. Bracy
California State University
Northridge

Notes

[1]Joseph E. Holloway. *Africanisms in American Culture.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), xviii-xx.

[2] Halford H. Fairchild. "Black, Negro, or Afro-American? The Differences are Crucial!", *Journal of Black Studies* 16 (Sept. 1985): 47-55; K. Sue Jewell. "Will the Real Black, Afro-American, Mixed, Colored, Negro Please Stand Up? Impact of the Black Social Movement, Twenty Years Later," *Journal of Black Studies* 16 (Sept. 1985): 57-75; Also see Alfred Yankauer. "Hispanic/Latino--What's in a Name?", *American Journal of Public Health* 77, No. 1 (January 1987): 15-17; Aida Hurtado and Carlos H. Arce. "Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans, or Pochos . . . que somos? The Impact of Language and Nativity on Ethnic Labeling," *Aztlan* 17, 1 (Spring 1986): 103-130; Halford H. Fairchild and Joy Asamen Cozens. "Chicano, Hispanic, or Mexican American: What's in a Name?", *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 3, 2 (1981): 191-198 for a similar perspective of another ethnic group's label identification change movement.

[3]"African-American or Black: What's in a Name? Prominent Blacks and/or African-Americans Express their Views," *Ebony* 44, 9 (July 1989): 76.

[4]*Ebony*, 76, 78, 80.

[5]Fairchild, (Sept. 1985) 54.

[6]Fairchild, 53, stated Garvey campaigned for the adoption of the term "negro" rather than "black" for he felt it connoted more dignity and respect.

[7]In fact, one can see in *Ebony* (July 1989) the ambivalence of various black leaders on whether to acknowledge the use of the terms "Black" or "African American," others as well have questioned usage, e.g., U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, *New York Times* (Oct. 16, 1989); Martin Kilson. "What is Africa to Me" Dilemmas of Transnational Ethnicity," *Dissent* 31 (Fall 1984): 433-440.

Critique

In "'Black' or 'African American': What's in a Name?" Johnny Washington reminds us that the debate on the

appropriate name for Americans of African descent has been ongoing, with varying degrees of intensity, for a long time. In illustrating the ancientness of the debate, he referred to precedents of the current irruption. He observed that "Booker T. Washington advanced the ethnic identity debate" in the 1890s. He also pointed to twentieth century contributions to the labelling crisis by W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Alain Locke, and Stokely Carmichael. Yet, neither the debate nor the labels themselves are the core concern for Washington's article. Rather, with emphasis on Locke's concept of race in a social culture context and C. I. Lewis's thesis on linguistic and sense meaning, philosophy and linguistics are the primary concerns of the article. The debate and the labels serve as incidental pegs for the analysis. Though still in the exploratory stage, the author's juxtaposing of the debate against linguistic and philosophical theories is both interesting and illustrative.

Washington's article can be viewed as an entreaty for historians and social scientists to explore labelling of Africans in the diaspora, though the discussion is limited to the United States. He underscores a void in American social history. A number of popular cultural interpreters have addressed changes in the labels used to identify people of African descent in the United States. Few scholars have paid serious attention to the evolution, however. As a result of both the approach of popular observers and the neglect by serious scholars, the examination of the debate remains almost virginal.

Ethnic labels, as Washington and Locke suggest, are more than applying appellations to groups. Ethnic consciousness, ethnic debasement, time, nationalism, events, and group size are some of the determinants which might influence the adoption of an ethnic label. Few participants of the current debate acknowledge that black and African were among labels used by European colonists in seventeenth century Virginia and New England to identify Africans and individuals of African descent. As identifying labels, African, Negro, and Colored gained currency and predominated for a time because of their use by the dominant society. Some other predominant names, including Colored, Afro-American, Black and African American, rose to primacy because of the insistence of the named group. Scholars who accept the challenge to venture beyond Washington's exploratory exposition to conduct more extensive investigations of ethnic titles in American society provided by Washington must work from the vantage point that competing labels have been applied to blacks in the United States beginning with the arrival of the Africans and continuing

throughout the history of the nation. Such scholars might also reconsider his assertion that the parallel use of Black, Negro, Colored, and African American is "in itself" evidence of a "self-contradictory attitude within the black community on this name or ethnic identity question."

They might also address time as a factor in the debate. When did the debate begin if Washington's conclusion that Booker T. Washington heightened the ethnic designation discussion in the closing decade of the nineteenth century is correct? What caused the debate to start? The inclusion of the time factor should lead to other considerations, including the nature of the debate, its participants, and the economic, social and political environments which conditioned the debate's directions as well as provide possible explanations for the rise, fall, success, and failure of different labels. Washington is on solid ground in inferring that Locke's "New Negro," was designed to make manifest the arrival of a new more socially self-secured Afro-American. "New Negro" failed to gain wide-spread acceptance, however. Perhaps it failed because its appeal was much too limited as has been said for the movement which was associated with the term. Or then again it failed because the term connoted a new militancy which repulsed many blacks as well as many whites. If the latter is true, then, indirectly, Washington might have provided a basis to explain the generational acceptance of the term black.

In short the topic is ripe for the use of models and theories of social and political change. Thus, for example, an examination of the debate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would not only substantiate Washington's observation on the Sage of Tuskegee, his philosophy of accommodation and self-help, and his promotion of "Afro-American" or the emergence of DuBois and Monroe Trotter and other champions of "Colored," but also probe into the philosophy of Bishop Henry McNeil Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal church who called on "Negroes" to immigrate to Africa. Reference to societal environmental factors could lead to the positing of hypotheses on the acceptance of new names and the discarding of old.

The article also begs for devoting greater scholarly attention to connections between native African Americans and blacks from elsewhere in the diaspora. It evokes thoughts of the core premise of the philosophy of Negritude: that the stamp of Africa remains in its children wherever they might venture and regardless of the generations abroad. Stokely Carmichael and Marcus Garvey, among those cited by Washington, originated in

the diaspora. In the United States both lived among sizeable concentrations of West Indians. Garvey, who came to the United States as an adult and who spent only a rather short time in this country, regarded countries and territories with sizeable numbers of people of African descent to be his stage and such people to be his subjects. It has been theorized that Garvey's consciousness was consistent with the assertiveness found in many immigrants. He just happened to be black. Thus his occasional use of "black," and his simultaneous incorporation of Negro into the title of his primary association and black into a number of its subsidiary organizations could have been free of any significance apart from the philosophy which had driven him into action. Carmichael, now Kwame Toure as Washington reminded us, lives in Guinea where he has spent most of the past decade. Washington credits him, in his personal evolution from Negro to Black to African American, with crossing psychological barriers more noted predecessors, including DuBois, Garvey and Locke, were unable or unwilling to surmount. Long conscious that personal and societal factors are involved in how people identify themselves, Carmichael who popularized "black power" and who now styles himself to be an African might want to modify his dictum that "inside every Negro there is a potential black" person, which he stated almost three decades ago. Washington and others should continue to explore ideas and possibilities which flow from "'Black' or 'African American': What's in a Name?"

--Ashton Wesley Welch
Creighton University

"What Shall I Give My Children?" The Role of the Mentor in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* and Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*

Linda Wells

"What Shall I Give My Children?"

What shall I give my children? who are poor,
Who are adjudged the leastwise of the land,
Who are my sweetest lepers, who demand
No velvet and no velvety velour;
But who have begged me for a brisk contour,
Crying that they are quasi, contraband
Because unfinished, graven by a hand
Less than angelic, admirable or sure.
My hand is stuffed with mode, design, device.
But I lack access to my proper stone.
And plentitude of plan shall not suffice.
Nor grief nor love shall be enough alone
To ratify my little halves who bear
Across an autumn freezing everywhere.

Gwendolyn Brooks [1]

The question Gwendolyn Brooks asks in her poem "What Shall I Give My Children?" is a central question asked by African Americans: how can I who am considered less than perfect by mainstream America give to my children a sense of their own self-worth? In a culture where being poor, black, and female triply marginalizes an individual, what kind of consciousness develops from such marginality? How does such marginality carry over into the next generation and into the community of other women? How does the power of mentoring and affiliation help women to overcome the institutional oppression leveled against them because of race, gender and class? Gloria Naylor and Paule Marshall create in their fictional worlds the answers to some of these questions.

Gloria Naylor's novel *The Women of Brewster Place* exposes the sources of power among women traditionally seen as powerless, women who create a community which is non-threatening to the outside world precisely because its inhabitants are marginal, or to use a phrase from Gwendolyn Brooks, "sweetest lepers." In her book *Communities of Women: An Idea in Fiction,* Nina Auerbach argues that women's communities are usually seen as defective or transcendent: either there is something wrong with women who choose to live together without men or there is something other-worldly about them.[2] The common attitude toward women is that women's completeness is dependent upon their involvement in heterosexual relationships. Auerbach goes on to argue that women themselves internalize this view and also see women's communities as incomplete or defective. Yet Naylor's women of Brewster Place stand against many of these values. It is not that her women are indifferent to men, for many of their joys and their miseries are a result of their involvement with men. The energy of Brewster Place arises out of the women's affiliation with each other, however. It it their sense of responsibility for the welfare of each other that binds them together. Though marginalized by mainstream standards, these women develop a sense of their own worth and pass that same worthiness on to others in the community.

Paula Giddings in her book *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* begins with an epigram from Toni Morrison which captures the same power that Naylor depicts. About the black woman Morrison says, ". . . she had nothing to fall back on; not maleness, not whiteness, not ladyhood, not anything. And out of the profound desolation of her reality, she may well have invented herself.[3] Naylor creates for us a community of African American women

who not only invent themselves, but also take responsibility for assisting others in the act of self-creation. Self and other are inextricably linked in the consciousness of the women of Brewster Place, and such linkage is the source of power in this community. African American women writers, Gloria Naylor among them, have been under some attack for their apparent need to elevate black women at the expense of black men. Certainly in *The Women of Brewster Place* only the shadowy figure of Kiswana Browne's lover, Abshu, and the drunken janitor Ben are portrayed in a favorable light. Ben has been humanized by his suffering over the loss of his daughter, though mostly he must remain drunk to stave off the pain. Abshu represents the black male who gains his self-esteem and confidence from his return to African heritage and his desire to help the community of black people in Brewster Place. The other males in the novel are seen as negative primarily because they are shown to be selfish: Basil with his whining, wheedling ways, Eugene who can only blame Ciel for his unemployment and his burden of the family, Reverend Woods who takes advantage of Etta Mae's "generous" nature for the evening and then dumps her back at Brewster Place. Whether African American women writers are unduly harsh on black males is as much a political and social issue as it is a literary one. One must be sensitive to the concern that a traditionally marginalized group feels about the lack of solidarity among its members. On the other hand, writers are more than social advocates. While I have not sought to explore the relationships between men and women in these novels but rather to examine the relationships primarily among the women, the issue of gender relations and the black experience is one that needs further study, especially in the areas of racial consciousness, gender identity, and power relations.

Brewster Place is an urban neighborhood conceived by white male politicians, a housing project built on worthless land to appease voters and to line pockets or ensure political bids for the progenitors of the project. What started out as a housing project for returning WW I veterans became an ethnic neighborhood for Mediterraneans and finally the home of blacks migrating to northern cities in search of greater prosperity than the South provided. Naylor writes, "Brewster Place became especially fond of its colored daughters as they milled like determined spirits among its decay, trying to make it a home. . . . They cursed, badgered, worshiped, and shared their men. . . . They were hard-edged, soft-centered, brutally demanding, and easily pleased, these women of Brewster

Place. . . . Like an ebony phoenix, each in her own time and with her own season had a story."[4]

The narrative device Naylor uses to develop the idea of African American female consciousness is the voice of the mentor. The novel is told in seven parts, each from the perspective of one of the inhabitants of Brewster Place. Naylor creates a series of mentors, women whose voices reverberate throughout the novel, and each mentor carries the voices of past mentors who have healed her and bound her to the community through shared experiences. They teach each other and support each other in their misery. The seven sections in the novel are tied together with a number of cinematic techniques: the collapsing of time into a flashback or a brief image; the use of setting to unite scenes, especially the street scenes in Brewster Place; the power of sensory impressions, like the smell of food cooking; the "camera's eye" which moves in and out of the apartments on Brewster Place. The most pronounced linkage among the sections is established, however, through the use of the mentor's voice, appearing and reappearing throughout the novel, echoing from one character to another.

The novel opens with the arrival of Mattie Michael, the central consciousness in the novel, to Brewster Place. A mature woman by the time the novel begins, she acts as the able spiritual and emotional guide for many of the other female characters she meets there. As the moral agent in the novel, Mattie represents the voice of charity and sensitivity, a woman whose suffering has not made her bitter and competitive, but rather strong and supportive. Mattie herself comes from a long tradition of affiliation among women. The consciousness she possesses at the opening of the novel is a "fortitude/pain-bought," to quote Paul Laurence Dunbar, the product of much anguish at the hands of her lover, her father, and her son.[5] Yet it is the consciousness of a woman nurtured first by her mother, and then by Eva Turner, a woman who takes her into her home and makes her a part of the family, when she and her son Basil are homeless. Eva's voice reverberates in Mattie's ear long after Eva is dead and the pain of Mattie's past long over. As Mattie stands on the street outside her new home on Brewster Place, she recalls those thirty years in Eva's home. She remembers the warnings Eva gave and she disregarded about pampering Basil and thereby crippling him. Yet Eva was always there for her, even when Mattie could not help herself from loving Basil too much. One of the most poignant sections of the novel is the treatment of the deep mother-love Mattie showers upon Basil and the resulting weakness of character it produces in him.

Love does not humanize him; it makes him shiftless, selfish, and weak. Naylor does not blame the victimized Mattie, however; instead she shows the complex interrelation between mother and son, older woman and younger man that develops under Eva's roof.

The mature Mattie becomes the sage, the mentor, who is no longer passionately troubled or troublesome. She is the calm, unifying force, who suggests proper values through actions, rather than preaching and cajoling. The voice of the mentor can certainly be critical, as Mattie's is toward Etta Mae Johnson, for example, because the mentor operates with a system of values she abides by deeply. In being critical, however, Mattie does not deny Etta Mae's worth as a friend.

Etta Mae arrives in Brewster Place, an aging black woman who has always made her way in the world by attaching herself to men. They have hurt her but she knows no other way of life. When Etta Mae lights upon an affluent preacher as a suitable prospect, again Naylor draws with sensitivity the complexities of women's hopes and women's friendships. Etta sees the preacher as a prospective husband, someone who will provide security. Mattie is stunned by the extent to which Etta can delude herself into believing the preacher's attention is anything more than a "mating dance." The two women quarrel, but Etta's words do not wound Mattie for they have a shared history of communication, even on uncomfortable subjects. Mattie's insight into human vulnerability makes her sensitive to Etta's desperation, just as Eva's insight once made her sensitive to Mattie's plight. Mattie reveals her character and her solidarity with Etta in the observation, "Sometimes being a friend means mastering the art of timing. There is a time for silence. A time to let go and allow people to hurl themselves into their own destiny. And a time to prepare to pick up the pieces when it's all over. Mattie realized that this moment called for all three" (70). Mattie shows a generosity of spirit and ability to counsel and to refrain from counsel. Late in the evening when the disappointed Etta returns to Mattie's apartment, it is Mattie who has left a light in the window and the music playing. Etta, understanding that Mattie will not scorn her, climbs the stairs "toward the light and the love and the comfort that awaited her" (74). Just as Eva Turner saved Mattie years before, and just as Etta Mae was Mattie's rescuer when Mattie was young, unmarried, and pregnant, here Mattie rescues Etta. Naylor treats effectively the reversal of roles and the ennobling power of love as women sustain each other.

In perhaps the most affecting scene of the novel, the one Naylor says was the starting point for the book, Mattie rescues Ciel Turner, Eva's granddaughter, from a death she has willed for herself. The scene opens with talk of a baby's funeral and then follows with a flashback to Ciel's life of anguish with Eugene, the father of her daughter Serena who has died. Ciel is passionately tied to him, even when she hears "nagging whispers of trouble" concerning their relationship. When Eugene pities himself, complaining that no one cares for him and blaming her for costing him so much money, Ciel responds to him with total selflessness. She has an abortion to protect him from further responsibility and worry, yet he plans to leave her anyway. During their dispute, the baby, Serena, left alone in the kitchen, is electrocuted when she puts a fork into a light socket. Unable to bear the losses, Ciel wills death for herself. Mattie, seeing Ciel dying before her very eyes and refusing to accept it, literally rocks Ciel back to life. Through human touch, Mattie rocks Ciel across history. She becomes not an individual mother who suffers the loss of her child, but one of the multitude of sufferers, collectively connected to mother suffering: "It was exorcising the evilness of pain" (103). Mattie, in the images of mother and midwife, assists Ciel in rejoining the world by binding her to other victimized women who too had to find a way to exorcise the pain.

In *The Women of Brewster Place* other characters also serve as mentors, but what they all share is the power acquired through experience to be whole and human, despite the dehumanizing culture that surrounds them. They seek to support others, to prepare others to meet the world with pride and self-worth, despite the fact that they have been "adjudged the leastwise of the land." These women have overcome the problem of identity that Gwendolyn Brooks presents.

Brooks's poem also reverberates throughout Paule Marshall's novel, *Praisesong for the Widow*. To answer the question "what shall I give my children," some African American parents would shape an answer in favor of materialism, teaching their children the work ethic and the model of success epitomized in the American dream. To achieve success the children must perfect themselves by white standards because the white power structure determines who will have access to material well-being. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. analyzes the problem of adhering to this theory of perfectibility, whereby blacks internalize a sense of themselves as defectives and seek to perfect themselves by white values and standards. In his book *Black Literature and Literary Theory*,

Gates argues that when blacks accept white values, they do it at the expense of their own identity and self-worth.[6] Like Gates, some black parents see the danger of perfecting oneself in the white image to gain wealth and success, and, indeed, counsel their children to learn about their African heritage and to connect themselves to their ancestors and the culture they provided. The conflicts between materialism and spiritualism are central to Marshall's novel. While Paule Marshall, in her novel *Praisesong for the Widow*, uses only the oxymoron "sweetest lepers" from the Brooks poem, the central question asked in the poem becomes the premise for Marshall's novel.

Avey Johnson, the central character, involves herself in a personal quest which leads to her discovery of her heritage and to the re-discovery of herself. Structured in four parts, the novel traces Avey's quest as she rejects the material world in favor of the spiritual world. She seeks her own personal history as a way to place herself in the history of black people, a history within the white power structure, which has marginalized blacks and called them defective by white standards. Avey has been able to obliterate this history because of the measure of wealth and success she and her now-dead husband have achieved over the years. At sixty-four, the widowed Avey experiences an awakening and an alteration in values that arise from her journey, both literal and figurative.

While the journey is the dominant structural device in the novel, each of the four parts has specific formal devices to create meaning. Each part is characterized by a unique setting which elicits meaning or memory in Avey. Also each part is characterized by the artistic elements of black music, particularly blues, jazz, and gospel; dance; and poetry. These black art forms become associated with spirituality and a life connected naturally to African culture, while the artifacts of white culture becomes associated with decadence and deadly materialism.

Part one, "Runagate," which takes its name from the Robert Hayden poem about slaves escaping to freedom, establishes the conflict in the novel between materialism and spiritualism through the technique of juxtaposition of setting. At the opening of the novel, Avey is aboard the *Bianca Pride*, a cruise ship, when she experiences a dream vision that returns her as a child to the summer visits with her great-aunt Cuney in the South Carolina Tidewater. The literal journey, the cruise, is interrupted because of a visionary journey Avey makes with her aunt to the Landing, the place in South Carolina where Avey's ancestors, the Ibos, were brought ashore as slaves. In her dream,

Avey recalls the lesson from her aunt learned years ago but forgotten until now. Cuney told her of the visionary or spiritual capabilities of the Ibos: "those pure-born Africans was peoples my gran' said could see in more ways than one."[7] When the Ibos looked at the Landing, the story says they walked on water, trying to get home. The implication is that the Ibos could see into the future, a future of enslavement and deprivation at the hands of the white masters, and that seeing what lay before them, they tried to flee. The parallels in faith, determination, and spirituality the story draws between the Ibos and Christ are internalized by both Cuney and Avey.

Avey, however, had spent her adult life trying to escape the lesson taught by the Ibos and carried on by Cuney's grandmother and Cuney herself. Her escape had been executed by material well-being achieved for the past fifty-odd years. Aboard the cruise ship, the epitome of white materialism, Avey's consciousness is awakened to the false values she had been living by. She becomes aware that the recollection of Cuney and summer journeys to the Landing call her to duty: "in instilling the story of the Ibos in her child's mind, the old woman had entrusted her with a mission she couldn't even name yet had felt duty-bound to fulfill. It had taken her years to rid herself of the notion" (42). The rest of the novel details her journey away from the mind-dulling effects of materialism and toward a recovery of identity tied to her history taught by her mentor, Cuney. The decision to leave the cruise ship is motivated not only by the dream of her youth with Aunt Cuney but also by the juxtaposition of settings, the Landing with the cruise ship, particularly the Versailles Room. Her daughter Marion, the political activist aghast that her mother would even consider a cruise, said of the dining room, "Versailles. . . . Do you know how many treaties were signed there, in that infamous Hall of Mirrors, divvying up India, the West Indies, the world? (47). Avey looks at herself and her two black companions in a mirror and sees three blacks totally isolated from the whites. In fact, everyone is isolated from one another; the tables look like remote islands. When Avey is served dessert, "Peach Parfait a la Versailles," the imagery of excess does not escape her. She is sickened by the white values reflected in the cruise ship, its passengers, its food, the excess in the material world that has been gotten at the expense of black people. With such a recognition of the false values which erupts through the juxtaposition of settings, the Landing and the Versailles Room, Avey leaves the cruise ship to begin a different kind of journey,

one which strips her of material values and renews the spirituality she learned from Cuney.

Part two, "Sleeper's Wake," set on the island of Grenada, is also structured by the journey motif and by the juxtaposition of settings. The journey is a visionary one, like the recollection of Cuney and the Landing. She recalls in a dream her life with Jerome Johnson, her deceased husband, and in that dream, Marshall contrasts Halsey Street with North White Plains. Halsey Street, where they had spent their young married life, Avey recalls with great fondness. It was there that Jay, as she called him, dedicated himself to his family and their success. While he was being ground down in work and rejected for advancement because of his color, he escaped through music--blues and jazz. These art forms represent solace and life itself to him, while he devoted himself to rising in the world. Jay perfected himself by white standards. He earned all the credentials that mark one's access to the world of money and power: a college degree, a CPA license. Finally by his wits and ambition, rather than white generosity, he succeeded. If asked "What Shall I Give My Children?" surely he would have answered money, education, a home, and status. He was able to move them from Halsey Street to North White Plains, but Avey wonders at what cost to himself? She understands that in his pursuit of "white" credentials and success, he put aside his jazz and blues albums, the music that once put life back into him after his work siphoned most life from him.

When Avey considers what they lost in the move, she says, "Something vivid and affirming and charged with feeling had been present in the small rituals that had once shaped their lives" (137). The music and dance that filled their young lives together disappeared: "something in those small rites, and ethos they held in common, had reached back beyond her life and beyond Jay's to join them to the vast unknown lineage that had made their being possible. And this link, these connections, heard in the music and in the praisesongs of a Sunday . . . had both protected them and put them in possession of a kind of power" (137). Jay, who internalized the Puritan work ethic with a vengeance, suffered a death of the spirit in the process of accumulating material wealth, a Mephistophelian bargain.

To demonstrate Avey's awakening, Marshall embeds in Avey's insight her recollection of Cuney's words. Avey says to herself that to avoid the loss of one's soul in pursuit of wealth, "It would have taken strength on their part, and the will and even cunning necessary to withstand the glitter and the excess. To take only what was needed and to run. . . . Above all, a

certain distance of the mind and heart had been absolutely essential. 'Her body she always usta say might be in Tatem, but her mind was long gone with the Ibos.' " (139). At the end of "Sleeper's Wake," the emotional crisis of the novel passes and Avey awakens from her visionary journey through her domestic life prepared to recover what she has lost.

"Lave Tete," part three, is structured by the same journey motif and contrast of settings that characterize the first two parts. Avey walks out of the hotel, stripped of her middle-class, fashionably-attired facade. The rather plain black woman walks along the beach, where she meets Lebert Joseph, a new-found mentor who, like Cuney, points her in the direction of self-discovery and spirituality. Because she cannot "call her nation," Avey is persuaded to make the excursion to the near-by island of Carriacou to observe those who can. The wharf setting causes her to recall summer excursions her family used to make on the *Robert Fulton*, it was on this boat ride, as the young Avey observed the multitudes of black people, that she was aware of a connection among them all. "For those moments, she became part of, indeed the center of, a huge wide confraternity" (191).

On board the "Emanuel C" on its way to Carriacou, she widens the confraternity to include these people of Grenada who welcome her into their midst. On the journey to the island, several old women soothe her with "maternal solicitude" as she rids herself of the material world. In a fit of vomiting, she feels the weight inside her break loose, a weight that she noticed on board the cruise ship at the lavish meal in the Versailles Room. In her mind, she links these black women on the "Emanuel C" with those women who presided over the rituals at Mount Olivet Baptist Church in Tatem. Cuney, Lebert Joseph, the old women of the church and the island all merge as part of the confraternity she will join willingly.

Part four, "The Beg Pardon," opens with Avey cleansed, like a newborn, of the material world. Empty in both mind and body, she is ready to fill the gaping hole inside herself. This part of the novel brings us full circle. She realizes the dance the people now perform is exactly like the Ring Shout that the old people did at Mount Olivet. When Avey observes and then participates in the ritual dance, The Beg Pardon, the threads she once sensed connecting the black people on the *Robert Fulton* now connects her to her people and heritage: "Looking on outside the church in Tatem, standing waiting for the "Robert Fulton" on the crowded pier at 125th Street, she used to feel them streaming

out of everyone there to enter her, making her part of what seemed a far-reaching, wide-ranging confraternity" (249).

Avey's awakening is complete when she acknowledges the mission she is duty-bound to fulfill. Each summer she will bring her grandchildren to the Landing and tell them the story of the Ibos and the spirit that connects them all.

Both Naylor and Marshall treat the power that arises from marginalized groups who forge a community out of their common history. In each of the novels, the mentor binds people together in this common history. Unlike Gwendolyn Brooks's speaker who says "My hand is stuffed with mode, design, device/ But I lack access to my proper stone," the mentors in these novels have gained access to their stone. They have been able to create or sustain an identity that is often undermined by bigotry and hatred. To answer "What Shall I Give My Children?", they might respond with Baraka's words that "there were black angels straining above her head, carrying life from the ancestors, and knowledge, and the strong nigger feeling."[8]

Notes

[1]Gwendolyn Brooks, "What Shall I Give My Children?" *Selected Poems* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 53.

[2]Nina Auerback, *Communities of Women: An Idea in Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 5.

[3]Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Bantam, 1984), epigram to Part One, "Inventing Themselves."

[4]Gloria Naylor, *The Women of Brewster Place* (New York: Penguin, 1980), 5. Further references will be made within the text.

[5]Paul Laurence Dunbar, "Misapprehension," *The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), 126.

[6]Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Black Literature and Literary Theory* (New York: Methuen, 1983), 5-10.

[7]Paule Marshall, *Praisesong for the Widow* (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1984), 37. Further references will be made within the text.

[8]Amiri Baraka, "leroy," *Collected Poetry by LeRoi Jones* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969) quoted in *Praisesong for the Widow* in the epigram to Part One, "Runagate."

Critique

In her discussion of Mattie Michael and Avey Johnson as mentors in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* and Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*, Wells uses as a focal point Gwendolyn Brooks's poem "What Shall I Give My Children?" It is a socially and politically institutionalized assignment that becomes cosmic when experienced by African American women. Joanne M. Braxton expresses it: "As Black American women, we are born into a mystic sisterhood, and we live our lives within a magic circle, a realm of shared language, reference, and allusion within the veil of our blackness and our femaleness. . . . "[1] Wells quotes Toni Morrison regarding the black woman: "She has nothing to fall back on; not maleness, not whiteness, not ladyhood, not anything. And out of her reality, she may well have invented herself." And she invented a self that shaped her identity within the constrictions of a hostile network that wove a tapestry of bonding, the foundation of becoming a mentor, or providing "ancestral presence" to borrow phrases from Braxton, in the image of "the outraged mother." The roles of mentors and bonding are survival mechanisms, spiritually and physically.

Harry B. Shaw, categorizing Brooks's poetry, placed "What Shall I Give My Children?" under the heading "The Labyrinth--111 Surviving in the Labyrinth"[2] and states:

> Miss Brooks's poetry depicts an elaborate system . . . or labyrinth, . . . characterized by myriad pitfalls, dead ends, endless wrong choices and other hazards, and the poet refers figuratively to it as "the way back home or Mecca," or alludes to a spiritual return to Africa which is consistently depicted as the embodiment of the original dignity and freedom for the black man. It is the tortuous road that lies between spiritual death and spiritual rebirth. . . .[3]

Wells describes Mattie Michael as the "moral agent" in *The Women of Brewster Place*, representing "the voice of charity and sensitivity, a woman whose suffering has not made her bitter

and competitive, but rather strong and supportive. . . . The consciousness she possesses at the opening of the novel is a fortitude/painbought, the product of much anguish at the hands of her lover, her father, and her son." This reader agrees with Wells, and it is the reader's opinion that capturing the portrait of both Mattie Michael and Avey Johnson could be enhanced by discussing literary devices that Naylor and Marshall employed to solidify and fix their characters as mentors. Such discussions could also provide an avenue for further research.

Mattie "is the product of much anguish at the hands of her lover, her father, and her son"; this statement describes her beginning in a Lapsarian setting. She is allegorically and symbolically presented as the innocent Black Eve, in a pastoral atmosphere, a Garden-of-Eden paradise, Arcadia of sugar cane (representing the sweetness of the apple) and herbs. Mattie is under the protection of her father who warns her of Butch Fuller (the "snake" who offers the apple), just as God warned Eve of temptation. Challenging Mattie's staunch adherence to her father's warning, Butch cajoles, "Why, well, just as I was saying. . . . A big woman like you ain't got no cause to be scared of what her daddy might say. . . ." Butch tells her how to taste the sugar cane to get the maximum sweetness: " . . . 'try it the way I told you.' And she did."[4] Just as Eve encountered the wrath of God and was banished from Eden, Mattie faced her father's rage, an anger so great that it forced Mattie to abandon her "garden." Not even her mother's support could prevent Mattie's exile. Another penalty Eve paid was bearing children; Mattie has a son whom she named Basil, one of the herbs in her former "garden." Like Cain in *Genesis*, Basil becomes a murderer (involuntary manslaughter).[5] He also destroys his mother's hopes and dreams for him, as well as her independent future when he jumps bail causing Mattie to lose the house she purchased from her mentor Eva Turner and occupied for thirty years. She must now go even farther east of Eden. Arriving at Brewster Place, Mattie symbolized displaced Eves through the centuries, specifically the Black Eve, with "nothing to fall back on," and a victim of "myriad pitfalls, dead ends, and endless wrong choices." However, as Wells states, her "suffering has not made her bitter and competitive" and "she becomes the voice of charity and sensitivity."

Wells quotes Naylor: "It was exorcising the evilness of pain." At this point there is also another Biblical image of Mattie as she totally transcends banishment and symbolically is the Black Madonna, a child in her arms, a holy guide and teacher with the forgiving and understanding nature of a

Madonna. Mattie executes "laying on of the hands," and like the Saint, she has power to heal. To her lost sheep, her lambs who strayed in the labyrinth, Mattie gives hope, love, salvation, and spiritual rejuvenation.

There are other vestiges of Biblical references that may invite investigation: Eva Turner bears a name which is a variation of Eve, the earth mother, referring to life. In Etta Johnson's commanding the attention of the Reverend Woods by adorning her finery and attending church with Mattie, there is a suggestion of Bathsheba's bathing on the roof so that King David might notice her, or of Ruth's gleaning in the fields with Naomi and lying at the feet of Boaz to gain attention. Unlike the Biblical characters, Etta failed because the Reverend Woods did not share her dream.

Since the role of mentors may be reinforced by the names they bear, a serious student might examine appellations that help define Mattie and some of the other "women whose voices reverberate throughout the novel." Analyze Eva Turner's surname TURN-Her. She literally turned Mattie's life around. As for Etta Johnson, Etta is derived from Henrietta, the feminine form of Henry. Henry refers to "ruler of an enclosure, home ruler," Johnson, son of John, John meaning "the Lord is gracious." Mattie, a diminutive of Matilda or Mathilda, means "powerful," and Michael, "who is like God."

Regarding Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*, Wells supports her discourse with a comment from Henry Louis Gates, Jr.: "Gates argues that when blacks accept white values, they do it at the expense of their own identity and selfworth."

After Avey abandons the cruise, goes on the excursion to the island Carriacou, listens to the drums and music, and joins the dancing, all of African origin, she travels farther along the path to spiritual discovery: She will counsel children, and become mentor to all whom she meets. Her retirement will become "RE-*TIER*-MENT," the ascension of a black middle-aged, middle-class woman whose mission will be to spread vestiges of African heritage. Taking upon herself to "speak of the excursion to others elsewhere, her territory would be the street corners . . . front lawns . . . of North White Plains . . . shopping malls. . . ."[6] Avey continues planning to tell the story that has been drilled into her as a child, which had been handed down from the woman whose name she bore. Her ancestors, the Ibos, had walked across the water back to Africa. And they had "all that iron on they ankles and they wrists and fastened 'round they necks. . . . But chains didn't stop those Ibos none. . . . Her

[Aunt Cuney] body she always usta say might be in Tatem but her mind was long gone with the Ibos. . . ."[7]

The roles of mentors may be reinforced by the inclusion of literary devices that solidify and fix personages, as well as provide avenues for additional research. Walking on the water, a defiance of the law of physics, may be discussed as the spiritual refusal to be bound by bondage; it is preserving history of a proud defiant people respecting their own native land. Further research will unearth other examples of knowledge about Africa that was handed down from one generation to the next by Africans in the New World. This knowledge became a part of folk thought and was incorporated in literary work. A portion of it revealed Africans challenging and protesting enforced transplantation. For example, in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon*: "Some of those they brought over here as slaves could fly. A lot of them flew back to Africa."[8] The speaker feels the "ancestral presence" so keenly that he asserts: " . . . He flew baby. Lifted his beautiful black ass up in the sky and flew on home. . . . He tried to take his baby boy with him . . . my great-granddaddy could flyyyyy. . . . Tell him my great-granddaddy could fly."[9]

The name Avatara defines, not only Avey but also the mentor for whom she was named. Avatara comes from the word *avatar*, a god in Hindu mythology representing reincarnation. The English translation refers to "a god's coming to earth; and embodiment." Avatara also reinforces the four themes attributed to Marshall's fiction: the identity crisis, the importance of tradition for black Americans, the race problem, and the need to share in order to foster meaningful relationships.[10] In addition, Abena P. A. Busia informs readers:

> The name, therefore, which has at its root a word meaning a passing over or a human manifestation of a continuing concept or entity, is of great symbolic importance.[11]

Associating Avey, as her name implies, with god-like qualities, Busia discusses the significance of her meeting Lebert Joseph, who performs the role of the deity Legba. In Ewe religion, he is the god of households and thresholds; he is also the Yoruba god of crossroads, who is the messenger of the gods. As for Afro-Caribbean practice, Legba is the lame god of the crossroads.[12]

Considering the importance of the title *Praisesong for the Widow* to Avey as mentor, Busia offers the following assessment:

> These gestures of significance that need to be registered begin, even before the first word of the

> novel has been read, with the words of the title, *Praisesong for the Widow*. For Africans, a praisesong is a particular kind of heroic poem. Sung in various communities over the entire continent, praisesongs embrace history, myths, and legends of a whole people. . . . Important for its use here, they can also be sung to mark social transition.[13]

Not restricting defining characters by implication of their names, Marshall placed Avey on the cruiser *Bianca Pride*--white pride. She lives in North White Plains. Sabine Brock observes: "[Marshall] sets out to send her heroine on a successful search for an alternative, after having imaged for us, in an emphatic, precise close-up, the violation suffered in middle-class sites like *North White Plains*, in itself *a name that is almost too metaphorical*.[14] (Italics added)

Supporting Wells's commentary, Eugenia Collier comments, " . . . what Avey discovered and left to tell all who would listen--*especially the children*. The people with no sense of community were the losers."[15] (Italics added) In addition, John McClusky describes the dance: "It is a dance which defines Avey as a member of a vast family and clarifies not only her present identity but her future as *myth extended*."[16] (Italics added)

Wells presented the response to the question "What Shall I Give My Children?" by defining the giving that Mattie Michael and Avey Johnson provided as mentors, gifts of the substance which create and sustain the spirit, contributing to black survival, especially black female survival. This survival encompasses historical memories, "genetic" in origin that command respect and fortify self-worth. "Genetic memories" are illusive, as illustrated by Avey Johnson, but may be summoned by the sound of an African drum, an African chant, recalling a story of slaves landing who could see what ordinary people could not see. Thus they crossed the ocean by foot and returned to their land, leaving descendants, such as Avey Johnson, whose bodies remain in Tatem, but whose souls were gone with the Ibos. The feeling may emerge, as it did with Mattie Michael, when women share their common state of femaleness, blackness, and alienation.

Linda Wells's analysis is supported by the literary devices that authors Gloria Naylor and Paule Marshall used to further define and solidify Mattie Michael and Avey Johnson, and supporting characters, as mentors.

--Sandra E. Bowen
Arizona State University

[1]Joanne M. Braxton, "Ancestral Presence: The Outraged Mother Figure in Contemporary Afro-American Writing," in *Wild Women in the Whirlwind*, eds. Joanne M. Braxton and Andree Nicola McLaughlin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 299.

[2]Harry B. Shaw, *Gwendolyn Brooks* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980), 106.

[3]Shaw, 94.

[4]Gloria Naylor, *The Women of Brewster Place* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 18.

[5]Naylor, 46.

[6]Paule Marshall, *Praisesong for the Widow* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1983), 255.

[7]Marshall, 255.

[8]Toni Morrison, *Song of Solomon* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 322.

[9]Morrison, 328.

[10]Loola Kapai, "Dominant Themes and Techniques in Paule Marshall's Fiction," *CLA Journal* 16 (September 1972): 49-71.

[11]Abena P. A. Busia, "What Is Your Nation?: Reconstructing Africa and Her Diaspora Through Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*," in *Changing Our Own Words*, ed. Cheryl A. Wall (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 210.

[12]Busia, 204.

[13]Busia, 198.

[14]Sabine Brock, "Transcending the Loophole of Retreat: Paule Marshall's Placing of Female Generation," *Callaloo* #30, 10,1 (Winter 1987): 88.

[15]Eugenia Collier, "The Closing of the Circle Movement from Division to Wholeness in Paule Marshall's Fiction," in *Black Women Writers (1950-1980)*, ed. Mari Evans (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984), 296.

[16]John McClusky, Jr., "And Called Every Generation Blessed: Theme, Setting, and Ritual in the Works of Paule Marshall," in *Black Women Writers (1950-1980)*, ed. Mari Evans (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984) 333.

*Gratitude to Sharon Howard, Acquisitions, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, 515 Lenox Ave., N. Y., NY 10037-1801, for supplying material requested.

Critique

In her article "'What Shall I Give My Children?': The Role of the Mentor in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* and Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow,*" Wells focuses upon the woman's role as mentor in various works of modern African American women writers. In using Gwendolyn Brooks' poem as the cornerstone of her study, she establishes the sense of anguish and frustration faced by the mother who seeks to give to her children a sense of worth and self-esteem in a society which automatically disenfranchises them. She poses an important question--one that goes beyond the role of mother: "How does the power of mentoring and affiliation help women to overcome the institutional oppression leveled against them because of race, gender and class?" The works of Naylor and Marshall offer their individual answers for triumph in the face of "an autumn freezing everywhere."

As Wells notes, the women of Brewster Place support and empower one another, and, through mutual love and respect, enable one another to develop a sense of individual completeness. She cites important critical works which facilitate her movement beyond the novels of Naylor and Marshall into the culture they represent. Auerbach and Giddings note the black female's disenfranchisement in modern American society, and the need, as Morrison states, not only to establish themselves, but to invent themselves. It is this "mother of invention" which the women of Brewster Place bring to their dead-end ghetto, a blind alley symbolically represented by the brick wall which borders it. With nowhere else to go, they create for one another a haven of peace and community among a world which either ignores, brutalizes or betrays them.

In *Brewster Place*, as Wells establishes, the role and voice of the woman as mentor is integral to the central fabric and device of the novel. Each of the seven narrators tells her story and relates the history of sisterhood through the recollections of past mentors who have enabled these women to survive. It is Mattie Michael, the novel's "central consciousness," who best represents the ideal role of the black woman in her community: she is the novel's moral consciousness, a woman who has transcended the suffering heaped upon her and who responds to all who need her with a quiet outpouring of love, wisdom and support. Mattie has matured into a "calm, unifying force," one

who has, with every new tragedy, emerged reborn into an ever stronger self.

Wells ends her discussion of *Brewster Place* with what I agree is "the most affecting scene of the novel," the scene in which Mattie rocks the tortured Ceil "across history" and in so doing becomes the archetypal mother who, through her love and compassion, bestows upon her children "a way to exorcise the pain." The women of Brewster Place, as Wells so aptly notes, have, by striving for and maintaining their humanity, overcome the limitations about which Gwendolyn Brooks has written.

It is indeed the question of legacy with which Paule Marshall in concerned in *Praisesong for the Widow*. As Wells indicates, "conflicts between materialism and spiritualism are integral to the novel." If the black parents and children strive to "perfect" themselves by white society's standard of success, they become, like Jerome Johnson, traitors to themselves, cutting themselves off from both the past and the future, and squandering the present as well. They become, like Avey and her friends aboard the *Bianca Pride*, isolated faces in a mirror, hollow masks of their real selves. How, then, can they "reinvent" themselves, and affirm their selfhood, and also pass along to their children, those "sweetest lepers," a vision for the future?

Wells examines Avey's spiritual awakening through the four sections of the novel, "Runagate," "Sleeper's Wake," "Lavé Tête," and "The Beg Pardon." She aptly stresses the importance of the journey motif and the use of music in the novel. Black music functioned as an enlivening force in the Johnson's early marriage; the lack of this influence later in their lives is representative of the false and sterile values they have come to embrace, and of their alienation from one another.

When Avey rediscovers herself, she also rediscovers her music, which serves as a conduit to connect her with the community of spirits her great-aunt Cuney identified in her legend of the Ibos. Aunt Cuney tried to teach Avey the lessons of the Ibos' vision into the future, a future of further enslavement by whites and by their false values. From her tenth year, Avey had begun to reject this vision, and has become increasingly isolated within the white world and values. Her flight from the ship, a symbol of material luxury, and her rejection of her material possessions, reflected by the six suitcases of clothes she leaves behind at the hotel, prepare her for her encounter with the old man, Lebert Joseph, who, like the Ibos, can see that which is beyond seeing. As Wells notes, her excursion to Carriacou is a journey which enables her to rejoin

her nation. His daughter bathes and purifies her, and by her laying on of hands, heals her much as Mattie Michael has done for Ceil in *Brewster Place.*

In the final section of the novel, "The Beg Pardon," Avey is "cleansed, like a newborn, of the material world." As Wells notes, the novel has come full circle. The dance performed is the same as the Ring Shout performed so long ago in the South Carolina Tidewater. Avey has indeed experienced a full awakening. She understands her mission: to bring her grand-children and Marion's students, the "sweetest lepers," back to the Landing in order to pass on to them the story of their heritage. She has learned that one's connection to the past helps to create the present and to ensure the future.

As Wells notes in her conclusion, "Both Naylor and Marshall treat the power that arises from marginalized groups who forge a community out of their common history. In each of the novels, the mentor binds people together in this common history." In an earlier section of her work, she focused upon another important theme for exploration, "the issue of gender relations and the black experience." Certainly, as she has established, the relationship between these women and their men--fathers, lovers, sons--who are so integral a part of their lives, is one which could be further explored. As Toni Morrison so aptly depicts in her novel *The Bluest Eye*, without healing relationships, and without guidance and mentoring, many are still, as Gwendolyn Brooks laments, lost in "an autumn freezing everywhere."

--Suzanne Stutman
Penn State University
Ogontz

Abstracts from the Eighteenth Annual Conference National Association for Ethnic Studies, Inc.

"Ethnicity, Justice and the National Experience"

Fort Collins, Colorado March 8-11, 1990

For the third year in a row, Conference participants were greeted with snow and ice; however, the chilly weather was not indicative of the warmth generated in sessions and special events planned by Conference organizers Larry Estrada and Jeannie Ortega. The theme, "Ethnicity, Justice, and the National Experience," was addressed by plenary session speakers Tom Romero and Dana Sims. Ray Rodrigues and Keith Miser presented a model for dealing with diversity on campus with the "Colorado State University Perspective on Diversity." Orage Quarles III, president and publisher of the Fort Collins *Coloradan*, eloquently addressed participants at the banquet with his views gained through many years of experiences with print media. Sumiko Hennessay was presented the Ernest M Pon Award for her work with the Asian American community of Fort Collins, particularly for her work with battered women; and the Charles C. Irby Service Award was received by David M. Gradwohl of Iowa State University for his many years of scholarship and teaching in ethnic studies and for his long-term commitment to NAES. Jeannie Ortega organized and evening of entertainment which included Balinese dancers and an American Indian dance and drum group.

In a variety of papers, participants examined issues of justice both nationally and internationally. Although the focus of the annual conferences continues to be people of color in the United States, presenters who addressed such diverse issues as apartheid in South Africa, aboriginal experiences in Australia, and Latvian cemeteries in Lincoln, Nebraska, established the importance of examining issues of justice and ethnicity in a broad context to understand the experiences common to distinct groups throughout the Americas and the world.

As the United States approaches the Columbian Quincentenary, teachers and scholars of ethnic studies must examine anew the histories which are our pasts. That we do not

all share the same "story" is yet more evidence of some of the distortions which have been passed down as "truth" and should make us more receptive to the many "voices" of our past. This conference did just that, and we are grateful for the financial support of Colorado State University and the participation of CSU faculty, students, and administrators in the Conference. By the time the Conference ended, the warmth inside had spread: the snow had melted, and the sun came out, sending most of us on our way to Denver to fly back to our homes with a new commitment to the Association and to our responsibilities to the mission of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. Dale Rosebach's commemorative poster designed for the Conference guided our way: "As we struggle together against the winds of injustice, unity of movement flows from our diversity."

SESSION I: **"Ethnic Portrayal in the Media."**
Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley.
George Junne, University of Colorado, Boulder. **"Afro-American Images in Film and Television."**

Afroamerican images in film and television have been negative and inaccurate. Not only are those images long lasting, but they are also extremely detrimental. Afroamericans cannot view their portrayal in film and television as entertainment.

Historically, Afroamerican and African cultures and peoples have been denigrated, as have their aesthetic values, moral codes and history. Early examples are *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone With the Wind.* Both have a recurring slavery motif which can be traced even to current films such as *The Color Purple.*

Even when the slavery motif is not readily evident, films about Afroamericans and Afroamerican history still contain gross inaccuracies, such as seen in *Glory*. The story, supposedly about black Americans, is still told through the eyes of white people. Scenes were included which promoted white fictional perspectives at the expense of Afroamericans, such as the lack of seriousness and direction shown by the troops of the Massachusetts 54th. In another scene, Colonel Shaw is shown exhorting the troops not to accept the discriminatory wages. While Shaw did send letters, action on the pay did not materialize until Shaw had died at Fort Wagner.

Television is sometimes described as the direct descendent of radio. Many of the early television radio shows moved directly from radio. Examples include "The Lone Ranger" and others. Racist shows which also made the move to the small screen included "Amos and Andy" and "Beulah." Even recent television shows such as "Miami Vice" and "The Cosby Show" are limited in their portrayal of Afroamericans. In "Vice," the series revolved around the character played by Don Johnson, with the character played by Phillip Michael Thomas supporting Johnson's adventures. In "Cosby," a definite step above any other television show starring Afroamericans, there appears to be a disassociation from the major Afroamerican institutions such as school and other community organizations.

Films and television still suffer from the lack of quality programming in regard to Afroamerican images because whites control the production and distribution system. Until Afroamericans and other minorities gain some control in the media, negative stereotypes and incomplete portrayals will continue.

Kumiko Takahara, University of Colorado, Boulder. **"Sociolinguistics of Injustice: A Study of Media Exposition on Japanese Internment in Colorado."**

The war between Japan and the United States (1940-45) has definite racist overtones as manifested in discriminatory policies and treatment of Japanese

during that period of time. Of all the American citizens with different ethnic backgrounds, only the Japanese Americans were made to forfeit their property, civil rights, even their human dignity; they were rounded up in prison camps, not because of crime or harm against anyone, but because of their ethnic origin. This paper is not, however, concerned with details of the history of Japanese internment. The central concern is linguistic distortion of reality to manipulate people's thoughts and attitudes, resulting in their acceptance of social injustice. (This is true not only of Japanese Americans, but of Italian Americans, blacks, Jews, Hispanics . . . in short any easily identifiable ethnic minority.) By tracing the media coverage of Japanese settlement in Colorado from the 1870s through the Second World War period, a journalistic profile of Japanese Americans may be reconstructed as unwanted population and potential threat to mainstream American citizens. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, Japanese internment can be seen as a consequence of negative political propaganda. Language of negative representation of the Japanese is examined and its specific features discussed. I argue that although racism has a political and socio-cultural origin, the strongest form of its manifestation is linguistic discrimination as exemplified in the case of Japanese internment.

Robert Terrell, University of Colorado, Boulder. **"Minorities and the U.S. News Media: The Oppressive Conspiracy."**

"Minorities and the U.S. News Media: The Oppressive Conspiracy" documents the manner in which the mainstream news media conspire to maintain the oppression of minority people via biased reportage and discriminatory hiring practices. Special attention is devoted to the fashion in which editors, publishers and other key gatekeepers coordinate policies regarding the ways in which minorities are portrayed in the news media.

Respondent: Jesse M. Vazquez, Queens College, (CUNY).

The papers discussed in this critique focus on the manipulation and distortion of language (newspapers) and visual images (film and television), and the ability of each of these forms of communication or media to shape public opinion, perception, and to reinforce stereotypes and racism in American society. According to Jean Mitry:

> On the level of language, the meaning isn't in the words but in the phrase, that is to say, in the relational process implied by their organization within the phrase. On the level of film, the meaning *is* not in the images, but in the relationships *between* them. Changing a part transforms the whole, giving it *another meaning.*[1] [italics added]

It is through the consistently distorted images of the African American, projected in film and on television alongside images of whites--usually portrayed as heroes of an American mythology--that the visual media effectively delivers the messages that reinforce and reify the negative and malignant stereotypes that perpetuate racism in our society. Similarly, key words and phrases, in relation to other words and phrases in the news media, (print media), also serve to create the links between the referent group and feelings of "anger, disgust, hatred and contempt" directed against a particular ethnic/racial target. Kumiko Takahara points out that a "modifier structure" such as *Jap* submarine, *Jap* labor or *Jap* evacuees, effectively elicits predictable reactions from the unthinking mind. And George Junne, in his examination of the African American in the visual media, points to the predictable motifs and genres in American films and in television sitcoms which effectively reinforce the negative stereotypical image of blacks and other ethnic/racial minorities in American society.

The image is introduced, and the viewer, because he/she has seen this relationship so many times before, assumes and anticipates the stereotypical conclusion. In effect, the repeated presentation of relational images (in movies and television), and words or phrases in the print media, effectively provokes the viewer or the reader to expect the predictable stereotypic message.

The central concern of Takahara's paper is a sociolinguistic analysis of the newspaper media's reporting of the events surrounding the Japanese internment during World War II, from 1942 to 1945. Takahara asserts that the "overwhelming success" of the conspiracy against the Japanese owed a great deal

to media support. She further states that "racial prejudice becomes concrete experience in language, and the language of prejudice in turn propagates more prejudice in the hearer's mind." Key in the misuse of language during this period is the use of the abbreviation *Jap*, which Takahara says is a "classificatory term which abstracts only undesirable properties of Japanese." On the other hand the use of the term *Japanese* is a "simple denomination by nationality." In her careful examination of one full year of newspaper reporting on the war by the *Denver Post*, Takahara found one derogatory reference to Germans in the use of the term *Huns*. She also notes that the use of the term *Nazi* does not condemn or encompass the whole of the German people as readily as the use of *Jap*, which effectively included all of the Japanese, in Japan and in the United States. Interestingly, Italians, also at war with the United States, are referred to in the news media only as *Italians* during this same time period. While all three were seen as the enemy during the war, the Italians and the Germans were never perceived as "potentially subversive aliens" (FBI).

Takahara's analysis includes a review of the Alien Land Law (1903), which restricted the ownership of property by Japanese, and the National Origin Act in 1924, which limited the number of Japanese immigrants to only 100 per year. She also points out that the hard work and the great success of the early Japanese immigrants was not greeted with praise and encouragement, but with intense hatred and resentment. Her point is that for decades escalating anti-Japanese sentiment served to provide the social fuel for the eventual attack on the Japanese in the United States, which resulted in their mass illegal internment.

The history of anti-Asian laws, the perception of Japanese and other Asians as "shrewd alien devils" not to be trusted by their fellow citizens was something that had become part of the racist mind-set of the American people. The history of hatred and racism made it possible for non-Asian Americans to turn on the Japanese and appropriate their businesses and homes and deny them the fundamental rights of any person accused of crime. However, no crime was ever committed, nor evidence of any subversive activity ever unearthed. The news media went to work after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and did everything in its power to destroy the very fabric and credibility of the Japanese American community.

After Takahara completes her analysis, it would be interesting to consider a sociolinguistic analysis in a longitudinal study of how the U.S. news media has portrayed the Asian Americans during key historical periods after the war with Japan. For example, how, if at all, did the news media portray Asian Americans during the Chinese revolution, the Korean War, the French-Indochina war, and the Vietnam War? And now as a result of the dramatic increase of Asian immigrants, how have the newspapers reshaped their reporting of the Asian American experience?

Junne's paper was provocative and raised interesting questions and lively responses from the participants in this session. The visual media, and film in particular, is the one medium that we have all come to know on deeply intimate personal terms. So when we combined the ingredients of Junne's well structured analysis of African Americans in film and television, and the well trained ears and eyes of an audience of ethnic studies specialists, the outcome was a most interesting exchange of ideas, questions, and debates.

Junne's two key assertions, which seem to set the framework for his analysis throughout his paper, are (1) that white America controls cinema in that it controls the scripts, production, direction, and distribution of films, and (2) that "all film is political." All critiques of film, therefore, should be framed within these two fundamental propositions.

Junne begins his analysis of the visual media with an account of an incident which took place in Japan more than one hundred and forty years ago. This particular incident illustrates the power of negative images to be sustained in the collective memory of a culture over a long period of time. Until very recently the logo for *Darky Toothpaste* consisted of a picture of a "grinning Black man in a top hat and tail." This image, Junne reports, can be traced back to a Japanese artist's sketch of a minstrel show presented shipboard by sailors on the *Commodore Matthew C. Perry*, shortly before a trade treaty agreement was signed in 1854.

This artistic rendering was apparently so powerful that it eventually found its way onto the label of a popular toothpaste label years later.

The destructive power of this nineteenth century image promoted by American sailors, and the countless number of images that followed in films like the *Birth of a Nation* (1915), offer strong evidence of how the visual media can and has contributed to the perpetuation of a distortion of the African American reality in the United States, on and off the screen. Blacks simply did not exist as real people until at least fifty years after *Birth of a Nation*. Myths and beliefs were passed on to each succeeding wave of new imigrants, and a good part of that mythology was the Hollywood-contrived version of the Afroamerican reality in the United States. Junne points out that a good many movies were built around "historical or historically rooted incidents," which tended to give these movie dramas a touch of pseudo-authenticity. As such, they served to educate, or as Junne suggests miseducate, Americans about the history and character of African Americans.

Junne effectively identifies a succession of films whose central depiction of African Americans is in the frequently used slavery motif. After *Birth of a Nation*, *Gone With the Wind* further cements in the American imagination the distorted and inaccurate images of slaves in ante-bellum America. Instead of the "brutal, dehumanizing experience of slavery," the moviegoer is given images which alter and deny the truth of that reality. Over and over again, the American viewing audiences are given false images, distorted events, sometimes romantic or idyllic settings which effectively wash away any traces of or approximation of what it means to be black in America.

Junne cites a number of films that use the slavery motif as a central part of the story line. He suggests that although a number of these films may seem very different, the essential slavery motif can be gleaned not too far beneath the surface. To illustrate this, he recalls *Song of the South* (1946), *Slaves* (1969), *Mandingo* (1975), and more recently *The Toy* (1982) with Richard Pryor, which Junne suggests is a parody on the slavery motif. Junne concurs with Guerrero's (1988) critique of *The Color Purple*, which suggests that the creators of this film continued the slavery motif except, in this instance, they had black males switch roles with the white males to then act out the oppression of black women.[2] Once again, the institution of slavery and the experience of African Americans is distorted and deflected towards other interpretative ends.

Junne continues his line of criticism by including the recent highly acclaimed film *Glory*, a film that for the first time in American cinema reveals the role played by black soldiers during the Civil War. Although Junne acknowledges that *Glory* is cinematically far better than previous films in this genre, it, nevertheless, fails to accurately tell the whole story; and consistent with the Hollywood formula, it effectively distorts and omits key issues, not only in the experiences of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, but in others as well. Junne sees this as another film, which once again can serve as an "example of the exploitation of black history which continues to perpetuate a one-dimensional view of Afroamerican society, a view which has its roots in ante-bellum myths."

Junne's overview of the images of Afroamericans on television spans the medium from the early days of the "Amos 'n' Andy Show" through spin offs such as "Beulah," and the prominent yet stereotypical depiction of supporting character roles such as Rochester in "The Jack Benny Show," maids in "The Great Gildersleeves," and the handy man on the "Stu Irwin Show." These minor characters cast black actors in the usual stereotypical roles and social status. While some critics see "The Cosby Show" as greatly separated from the institutions of the African American community, Junne's sense is that it is "definitely a step above previous family shows (e.g. "Sanford and Son," "Good Times," etc.). Another television show, which was not discussed in Junne's paper, but worthy of mention was "Frank's Place." Shortlived by major network standards, this show is guilty of intelligent writing which reflected the complexity of the Afroamerican community as expressed through real multidimensional characters and situations. Unfortunately, it seemed to have suffered the fate of most good solid shows--it was cancelled.

Of "Miami Vice," Junne is critical of what seems to be a most subtle but accurate reading of the relationship between the Detective Tubbs character, played by Phillip Michael Thomas and Detective Crockett, played by Don Johnson. Tubbs, according to Junne's interpretation, when stripped of the "sophisticated trappings" which make him a most appealing character, is in the end not "really an equal partner but a subordinate one in relation to Johnson's character."

My sense is that there are more television shows and films guilty of this dynamic than meet the eye. The ones that come to mind are the recent spate of buddy films with an Afroamerican as part of the team. Films pairing Gregory Hines and Billy Crystal, Richard Pryor and Gene Wilder, and Danny Glover and Mel Gibson perhaps should be examined more closely to determine whether or not there is a formula in these buddy films which parallels the "Miami Vice" partnership of Thomas and Johnson. Do these pairings provide the American audience with anything new about the Afroamerican reality and the relationships between blacks and whites in America, or are they simply superficial casting gimmicks which guarantee big box office profits? I wonder if *The Defiant Ones* (1958), starring Sidney Poitier and Tony Curtis, was not the first of the buddy genre, albeit an inverted sort. Shackled together, these two escaped prisoners are forced to come to terms with their hatred for one another and their shared goal of freedom.

Today, a new more subtle brand of racism and distortion of the realities of ethnic/racial minorities in the United States has been introduced into the media as well as into the society at large. This does not mean, however, that the more blatant, virulent forms of racism have been abandoned. The two types are sometimes presented together in such form that the viewer is often unaware of the distortion or of the manipulation. For example, incidental characters, either Afroamerican, Latino or Asian, may be introduced into scenes where the particular ethnic/racial stereotype is clearly the only rationale for introducing the character at that particular time.

The War of the Roses (1989), starring Michael Douglas, Kathleen Turner and Danny Devito, a Buñuel-like dark comedy about the break up of an upper middle class white couple, provides an interesting example of this kind of incidental or gratuitous racial stereotyping. In one isolated emergency room scene, a black man is brought in with a knife wound in his abdominal area, inflicted, he says, by his enraged wife. In a very quick impressionable moment, he offers sage warnings to Douglas's character about the unpredictability of the enraged women. It's not a white collar white man who is lying there bleeding giving advice to another white man; it is a working class black man who delivers the message. This kind of image manipulation is not coincidental. It is inserted to give the viewer an opportunity to make the associations between blackness and violence, as well as between violence and gender; so, the net effect is that one is exposed to two kinds of manipulations. There is a not so subtle connection between the almost surrealistic violence that the white couple has chosen to inflict upon one another, and the stereotypical violence in the black community that the filmmaker chooses to distort, reinforce, and link to the white couple in this one brief scene. The writers obviously felt they needed this device to lock in a particular psycho-cultural and political link between violence, race, and gender. These kinds of gratuitous conscious distortions and associations serve to further imprint the image of the stereotypical Afroamerican on the minds of the viewing audience.

Finally, Junne's and other critics' suggestions that those who control the economics of the media will ultimately control the images portrayed by them, is inextricably linked to whether or not we will see an authentic depiction or one which distorts the reality of the subject. Junne's concern with films like *Glory*, and other similar ventures, is that "because it is a movie of one culture's actions filtered through the 'lens' of another culture, the subjects are not given a chance to tell their story." Junne believes that Afroamericans and other ethnic/racial minorities will have an opportunity to "tell their own stories" only when they gain the means to control production and distribution of their films.

In a way, the question of authenticity in film and television raised by Junne goes to the very heart of our own founding principles in ethnic studies and in our need to establish autonomous programs, departments and centers. Who indeed is

chosen to tell the stories of ethnic groups in America? What materials and methodologies ("lens") are used to document these stories, and through what form or structure in the university can these stories be told with a minimum degree of distortion? The answer in part is already being forged by the interdisciplinary approach used by ethnic studies practitioners in universities throughout the United States, and in the opportunity to test out our own observations and ideas in the emerging community of scholars in NAES and other similar organizations.

[1]Gumpert, Gar & Robert Cathcart, "Media Grammars, Generations, and Media Gap[s]," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (1985): 23-35.

[2]Ed Guerrero, "The Slavery Motif in Recent Popular Cinema," *Jump Cut* 33 (Winter 1988): 52.

SESSION II: **"Curriculum Development in Multicultural Education."**
Chair: David Mielke, Appalachian State University.
Mackie Faye Hill-Mays, Metropolitan State College. **"Challenging Discrimination and Combating Prejudice by Integrating the Accomplishments and Contributions of People of Color into the Curriculum."**

Although difficult to accept and/or admit, professors in the higher education arena are and have been the most dedicated gatekeepers of racism and sexism. We, all of us, are and have been instilling prejudice in our students by continuing to present curriculum materials that dwell on one thing, the young male of European heritage. We either ignore the existence of other ethnic groups and women or present them in such a way that they are perceived by students as societal burdens rather than contributors. On rare occasions when we do attend to the accomplishments and contributions of people of color and women, our presentations are handled as afterthoughts or delivered in a separate context. Rarely do we integrate our curriculum, giving people of color their correct place in history. Ignoring the accomplishments and contributions of people of color and women, and simply presenting them as convicts, welfare recipients, and dope dealers, says to students that these groups are inferior, lazy, and not to be trusted.

Globally, people of color and women have always been the majority, and recent demographics indicate that they will soon be the majority population in the United States. Our elementary schools are already more than fifty percent students of color and female. Our future workforce will need to be chosen from a population of women and people of color. These facts demand that our curriculum can no longer focus only on white males. Higher education curricula must be aimed at the integration of scholarship on women and people of color. Not to do so will contribute to a situation in which the new majority might act out of anger and simply reverse the situation.

Establishing and maintaining a multicultural perspective in curriculum is a difficult task. It takes commitment and many hours of hard work--but exciting and rewarding work. This presentation relates the need for the integration of women and people of color into the curriculum. It also presents information regarding existing programs--how they were accomplished as well as the success of such programs.

Lupe Martinez, Metropolitan State College. **"Prospects for Multicultural Education."**

It is important to understand concepts such as racism as a basis for the implementation of an integrated multicultural education curriculum. It also is necessary to have an historical perspective on the development of multicultural education in our public schools. However, in order to change the attitudes of adults in our society and to influence children to accept cultural and physical differences in people, the curriculum must represent all groups equally. Therefore, any multicultural education curriculum must describe and define the problems and the emotional pains of racism and how to use an infused

multicultural curriculum in public education from grade school through graduate school.

Marva L. Lewis, University of Colorado, Boulder. **"Multicultural Perspectives on the Family."**

This presentation describes the curriculum and format of a successful undergraduate course that focuses on culturally determined family dynamics from five ethnic groups in the United States. This class has been taught on a predominantly Anglo campus through the ethnic studies department. The theoretical organization of the course, criteria for selection of reading materials, curriculum content and class projects are presented. Unique issues that occurred in teaching the class are discussed as well as methods to address these issues. An experiential exercise utilizing a sample of the concepts as well as a specific teaching method found to be effective for the content of the course is presented.

Respondent: Victor Baez, Colorado State University.

SESSION III: **"Justice, Religion and Ethnic Minorities."**

Chair: Curtis Jones, Grand Valley State University.

Lisa Borini and Joseph G. Rish, Marywood College. **"Santeria Practice and the First Amendment."**

This paper examines the limits of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment as applied to a "non-mainstream religion," the Santeria cult or religion. Santeria is a religious sect which practices animal sacrifice as an integral part of its ritual. Do the rights to exercise such beliefs fall under First Amendment protection? Does the government interest in prohibiting such conduct outweigh the burden on religion? Is Santeria a "religion"? If Santeria is protected, must all obscure sects be recognized or is our definition of "religion" limited by mainstream religious belief?

Allene Jones, Texas Christian University. **"The Practice of Satanism Among Blacks."**

According to the media, the practice of Satanism is increasing at an alarming rate. Associated with the practice of Satanism is the committing of many heinous acts of crime and violence against animals and human beings. The Satanism that will be addressed is the Satanism as practiced by Anton S. Lavey, who founded the first legal Church of Satanism in the United States. The purposes of this paper then are two fold: (1) to discuss Lavey's Church of Satan, and (2) to ascertain how many blacks in the United States are participating in the practice of Satanism as advocated by Anton Lavey.

Keith Miller, Arizona State University. **"Seeking Justice: The Language of Rev. C.L. Franklin and the Black Folk Pulpit."**

Despite the importance of black folk preaching, scholars, including Bruce Rosenberg in his MLA award-winning study, have consistently dismissed the black folk religion as little more than an emotional circus. Folk preachers like Rev. C. L. Franklin do not deserve such treatment. Packing auditoriums around the country for three decades, Franklin recorded at least seventy commercial albums of sermons.

Franklin creates a self by merging his voice with the sanctified language of scripture and hymns. Repreaching traditional sermons, he reinvigorates the great theme of liberation by inserting black American experience within the story of Exodus. Current struggles become later chapters in the tale of Hebrew slaves straining against Egyptian bondage. The recurring, archetypal event of Exodus guarantees freedom to blacks shackled by white pharaohs in an American Egypt.

Alberto L. Pulido, Michigan State University. **"Are You an Emissary of Jesus Christ: Justice, the Catholic Church, and the Chicano Movement."**

Through an examination of Catolicos Por La Raza this paper explores the notion of "justice" within a spiritual and religious context. As a group which arose in direct opposition to the actions of the American Catholic Church in 1969, a clear notion of justice emerged for these young urban Chicanos. As an emerging consciousness in direct opposition to the American Catholic Church, not only was it influenced by the Church but it was also instrumental in bringing about major change to this institution. This notion of justice and its implications for

contemporary community-church relations are fully examined in this presentation.

Respondent: Faythe Turner, Greenfield Community College.

The baseline for the papers in this session was religion and religious institutions, more specifically Christianity (in most cases, the Catholic Church), its historical and immediate role in people's lives and its contribution to or detraction from justice for ethnic peoples.

The paper presented by Lisa Corini and Joseph G. Rish, "Santeria 'Religious' Practice and the First Amendment," is a justification for court intervention when the practice of a given religion involves activities that the court deems forbidden by law or defines as an infringement upon the rights of others. The religion in question is Santeria or saint worship, a religion brought to Cuba by African slaves who, not permitted by the Catholic Church to practice their own religion, cleverly merged the identities of African gods and Catholic Saints. Santeria is practiced in Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean today. It also has a sizeable following in the United States, 50,000 members alone in the Miami area of Florida since the large immigration of Cubans in the 1960s.

The case in question concerns a church in Hialeah, Florida, La Iglesia Lukumi Babalu Aye. Although much of the practice of Santeria in the United States takes place underground, the church in Hialeah tried to gain a legitimate place in the community there and in so doing came up against the law due to the inclusion in their religion (when necessary) of ritual animal sacrifice. While the people of Lukumi Babalu Aye were organizing their church, the town was busy passing ordinances that would prohibit animal sacrifice locally as anti-cruelty statutes do state-wide in Florida. The ordinance that brought about the suit from the Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye was based on Florida's Kosher Slaughter Act which prohibits all ritual killing except for the primary purpose of food consumption.

This paper is a detailed exploration of the trial between the Santerias and the town of Hialeah. The Santerias took the position that ordinances prohibiting ritualistic animal sacrifice discriminated against them and interfered with their First Amendment rights, arguing that most of the animals sacrificed were, in fact, eaten. The town argued, successfully, that it passed the ordinances to prevent cruelty to animals, to protect the health, welfare and safety of the community, and to prevent adverse psychological effects on children.

It is important to note that a sizeable community of Fundamentalists and Charismatic Christians resides in Hialeah as does the American Catholic Church. The critics of the Santerias say that, unlike the aforementioned, they are not practicing a religion; the lawyer for the town argued this: "Santeria is not a religion. It is a throwback to the dark ages. It is a cannibalistic, voodoo-like sect which attracts the worst elements of society, people who mutilate animals in a crude and most inhumane manner." (*New York Times*, 29 June 1987) So a central question issues from this case: how much power will dominant religions, those considered acceptable, respectable by establishment standards, have in setting the definition of religion? The authors acknowledge that religions which seem strange to the dominant religion (referring to the Christian orientation of the Founding Fathers) are sometimes not accepted in the United States but trust that acculturation and blending will take place. They feel that the present combination of free exercise and governmental intrusion is a fair compromise. The reaction of the Catholic Church--that the Santerias should "purify" their faith in the Catholic Church (*New York Times*, 29 July 1987)--is instructive.

Alberto L. Pulido's paper, "Are You an Emissary of Jesus Christ?: Justice, The Catholic Church, and The Chicano Movement" treats the subject of the proper role for the American Catholic Church and its stated ideal of Christian justice with respect to the Chicano community in the San Diego/Los Angeles area. Pulido's interesting explication of the political and religious implications of the now famous 1965 grape boycott is enough to make the old Dominican, Bartolome de Las Casas, the Spanish priest who as early as 1542 fought for fair wages, hours, and conditions for the Indians of Latin America out of his experiences in what is now Mexico, roll uneasily in his grave. Given the size of the Chicano community's membership in the Catholic Church (although size alone cannot be a legitimate reason for action) and the fact that the Church in Rome had recognized labor's

right to organize, one would think that the Church would have actively participated in winning justice for poor Mexican farm workers. Instead it gave no support to the workers and developed an overly chummy relationship with the wealthy Catholic growers. In response to this situation an ethnic protest group, Catolicos Por La Raza, emerged in 1969, objecting to the church's elitist practices. This group arose out of the powerful and successful farm workers' movement, led by Cesar Chavez, that worked for union organization to secure decent wages and working conditions for farm laborers. The Church in Rome had recognized labor's right to organize. However, when Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association joined Filipino labor from the AFL-CIO in the boycott of 1965 and some priests of the Catholic Church joined the picket lines, the Church, as Pulido puts it, did not "practice what it preached." The hierarchy sided with the growers as the community watched. That Chavez was a devoted Catholic and that he had such an enormous influence upon young Chicano identity put him in a very good position to challenge the lack of Church participation within the Chicano community. Catolicos Por La Raza encouraged the people's deep religious beliefs to bolster their political beliefs and as a bulwark against wealthy, elitist forces denying them decent lives. They drew in urban youth and college students, linking them with the farm workers. The Catholic Church was forced to take a stand on political and economic issues on behalf of the community. In so doing the movement strengthened the remnants of old ties and established a new affirmative relationship with the Catholic Church.

This paper has wide implications not only for the Chicano community but for others associated with the American Catholic Church: The Liberation Movement in Central America, the Gay Movement, and the Women's Abortion Rights Movement to name but a few. It may be that grass roots may again finally win out over the hierarchy and bring this powerful institution to the side of the people.

SESSION IV: **"Justice and the National Experience."**

Chair: Saundra Taylor, Western Washington University.

Malik Simba, California State University, Fresno. **"Gong Lum v. Rice: The Convergence of Law, Race, and Ethnicity."**

In the constitutional case of *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78 (1927) the United States Supreme Court, composed entirely of Bok Guey (Whites) adjudged Hon Yen (Chinese) to be in the same social classification as Lo Mok (Blacks). The case, which pertained to "racially" segregated schools, reveals the problematics of law, race and ethnicity.

The Supreme Court's decision permitted the state of Mississippi to define Martha Lum, a Chinese-American, as a member of the "colored races" so that "white" schools could remain segregated. The concrete meaning of American ethnicity was, to a large degree, revealed by this convergence of law and race as ideological constructs reflecting real social relations in the second decade of the 20th century.

This presentation explicates this convergence by examining the validity of critical legal theory. This theory "explains the way in which law ultimately reflects and sustains the social order yet has its own internal logic, and unique modes of discourse and institutional patterns that are to some extent independent of the will of powerful, nonlegal, social and political factors and that represents an important constitutive element of the social totality. . . . "

Jane Starfield, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. **"The Law and the Proverbs: Plaatje's Search for Ethnic and National Justice."**

Paul G. Zolbrod, Allegheny College. **"Federalism Grew Out of Native Soil: The Roots of the U.S. Constitution in the Iroquois Great Law."**

The influence of the Iroquois Confederacy on the making of the United States Constitution goes unnoticed even after the recent celebration of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. The debt goes all the way back to prerevolutionary times. It is registered in certain similarities between the Constitution and printed texts of surviving Iroquois oral poetry and reflected in the journals and diaries of early settlers and explorers. To glean evidence from that material, however, we must use it differently from the way scholars customarily work with source material.

Only then will we do Iroquois tradition the justice of recognizing its importance to the fabric of law and government in the United States.

Respondent: Ronald S. Martinez, Western Washington University.

In Gong Lum v. Rice, the Supreme Court's decision permitted the state of Mississippi to define Martha Lum, a Chinese American, as a member of the "colored races" which permitted white schools to remain segregated. School segregation was and still is a national issue.

In "Federalism Grew Out of the Native Soil," Paul Zolbrod argues that the Iroquois Confederacy has significant influence on the writing of the U.S. Constitution. Here is an irony that begs for recognition in the theme "Justice and the National Experience." Full recognition is long overdue.

In a similar vain, Jane Starfield, in her paper "The Law and the Proverbs," presents that under apartheid ethnic identity has been presented as being non-distinguishable from tribal identity in South Africa. She contends that this extrapolation of segregation has consciously disguised the effect of South Africa's manipulative educational systems, media propaganda and the engineering of a political and economical geography upon ethnic peoples. According to Starfield, ethnicity in 20th century South Africa is a process of selective memory, invention and state intervention.

Each of these papers fit well with this session's theme, "Justice and the National Experience." The major premise in "Gong Lum v. Rice" is that the meaning of American ethnicity was revealed by the convergence of law and race as ideological constructs which reflected real social relations existing in the 1920s. Simba explained this convergence of law and race by examining the validity of critical legal theory. Simba stated that the theory explains the way in which law ultimately reflects and sustains the social order. This case reveals the complex nature of law, race and ethnicity. Simba examines four concepts within critical legal theory to state that: (1) federalism supported the view and interest of the southern ruling class; (2) "separate but equal" was an ideology that helps solidify the material basis of society but could not obscure its racist reality; and (3) the law did not function in a manner which sought to structure socially acceptable classifications of race, color and ethnicity.

When Chinese labor came to Mississippi, they met a type of social system in which their status had been predetermined by the customs, traditions and institutional usages of 300 years of black and white relations. In rejecting Gong Lum's appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court asserted that if you lived in the South, you must abide by Mississippi law. Thus, racism as a dominant cultural and political view of both Northern and Southern ruling classes was expressed through legal doctrine to legitimize and support the interest of the ruling classes. Simba shows that, while critical legal study has a lot to offer legal scholars, the theory has to be severely adjusted when it is applied to race relations law. American law has consistently shown minorities the illegitimacy of law and its ideologies of fairness and justice.

In his paper, "Federalism Grew Out of the Native Soil," Paul Zolbrod contends that the foundation of American justice rests as firmly on pre-Columbian Iroquois tradition as it does on any European source. Zolbrod believes the problem stems not from the lack of documented evidence, but from the way the evidence or other material is conventionally utilized. Instead of looking for sources which attest to some direct influence, Zolbrod believes we must learn to make inferences on the basis of what we can learn about relaying information in a preliterate tribal culture. This paper was very enlightening to me. I had no idea there was such a strong connection between the U.S. Constitution and the Native peoples of this nation. Full recognition is far overdue.

Here is a prime example of how U.S. history has excluded ethnic minorities of their rightful place in the construction of this nation. Chicanos, blacks and other minority groups have had similar experiences. However, this example goes to the very core of governance, which is significant in determining who are the "haves" and who are the "have nots." It is very sad and unconscionable to discover the U.S. Constitution is but a piece of plagiarism.

Obviously, this issue needs to be made public. I would be naive to think historians would jump at the chance to re-write U.S. history, but that process must begin and Zolbrod should be commended for his role.

He has pointed out several areas that need further study. These should be pursued. Many of the Iroquois contributions and influences were subtle and indirect and have to be more carefully documented before historians will accept them. They are registered in similarities between the Constitution and surviving printed text of Iroquois oral poetry. They are also reflected in journals and diaries of early settlers and explorers. Zolbrod made it clear, however, that further research must be unconventionally viewed to really do justice to this issue.

This paper is part of a book Zolbrod and Frederick Seeley are writing on the influences of Native American poetry on an emerging American character. I am looking forward to the book, but I can't help but think what a marvelous mini-series or movie this would make.

In "The Law and the Proverbs: Sol Plaatje's Search for Ethnic and National Justice" Jane Starfield studies a member of the subordinated South African community who made it his life's work to see that political, social, and economic contributions of black people were not excluded from history. Starfield declares that it is through the efforts of persons such as Sol Plaatje that ethnic history survives against overwhelming odds. Plaatje's ideal was to preserve the history and customs of his people by recording or otherwise writing them down. He was a very educated man and also used these recordings to argue for the equality of all social groups. Starfield closes her paper by reflecting on one of Plaatje's writings, "The Sechuana Proverbs," by sadly acknowledging that the pen could not save what the white South African government would neither read nor hear. Starfield asserts that by examining two questions historically, we can come to understand South Africa both past and present. The two questions used by Starfield as a guide in her study were: (1) how is it that some articulations of history came to be instituted as dominant and others subordinated? and, (2) how are these relations of dominance and subordination actually lived?

These questions can be applied to all three of the presentations given today. Clearly for ethnic studies, the historical task has been made much more difficult because of the exclusion of minorities' contributions to the building of these nations. Further, the lack of a political and economic base for minorities can also be attributed to racially motivated policies implemented both in South Africa and the United States.

SESSION VI: **"Justice, Media Images and Popular Culture."**
Chair: Jim Gray, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
Theresa M. Carilli, Purdue University, Calumet.

Italian Americans are often negatively portrayed by the visual media as buffoons, criminals, or pasta-eaters. These negative portrayals indicate that Italian Americans are becoming a scapegoat culture. In this paper, some of these negative images and stereotypes, expressed in the visual media, are explored. Proposed reasons as to why Italian Americans make comfortable scapegoats and measures Italian Americans can take to overcome these images are discussed.

Irene I. Blea, Metropolitan State College. **"Chicano and Other Ethnic Jokes: A Critical Perspective."**

This paper is part of a larger text reviewing the origin of racist and sexist Chicano jokes. Presented is the methodology, the collection of jokes, the different categories into which they fall, and how these jokes are incorporated into the Introduction to Chicano Studies curriculum at Metropolitan State College. Central to the focus of the paper is the relationship of Chicano jokes to other ethnic jokes and the social messages about ethnicity. Justice is raised as a question: What can justice mean in the context of racism and sexism in popular culture?

Linda Wells, Boston University. **"The Portrayal of Justice and Ethnicity in American Film."**

Issues of racial injustice have fascinated filmmakers recently, but the history of American film might be said to reinforce racial and ethnic injustice through the portrayal of ethnicity as a threat to progress, social order, and American (read,

white) supremacy. This paper explores issues of justice and race in a number of films and film genre, as it raises the following questions:

How does film reflect the spirit of the times and the values of the dominant culture?

Does film reinforce racial attitudes held by the dominant culture, or is it a subversive form which seeks to change attitudes?

Who owns the means of production and how does this affect the portrayal of ethnicity and justice?

Historically, how do films give a voice to ethnic identity--i.e., how do films treat the shift from object to subject?

Respondent: Garrett Ray, Colorado State University.

SESSION VII: **"Current Legal Issues and Examination of Past Judicial Decisions."**

Chair: Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University.

Mary Alice Herrle, Pennsylvania State University. **"Spiritual and Judicial Thunder: The Harmonie Society and the Courts."**

In 1805 the Harmonie Society became a legally sanctioned religious communal society. Even though it was a small community, numbering only between eight hundred and one thousand members at various times, it still became an important economic force in both Pennsylvania and the nation. However, the success came at a high cost. In 1816 the founder's son, John Rapp, died. Investigating the reports that John was either killed by his father or that he committed suicide, the courts intervened and saved the community's reputation. In a second legal matter, Count de Leon seduced over one third of the society's membership to leave the group. He then persuaded the former members to sue the society for a large share of its profits. Again the courts intervened and preserved the integrity of the society's reputation and secured its finances. It is quite probable that had the courts ruled unfavorably in both cases, the Harmonie Society would have been destroyed.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse. **"U.S. Immigration in the Post Civil Rights Era: The Myth of Declining Significance of Race."**

The U.S. Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965. It was hailed as the fulfillment of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibited, among other things, discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. This immigration act abolished the national origins quota system which had severely restricted immigration from the Third World in general and Asia in particular. Since then, however, there has been the assumption that not only is there equity, but also that race is no longer a relevant factor in the U.S. immigration policy. In this paper, I present a critical analysis of the supposedly race neutral criteria of admission/exclusion in order to demonstrate the continued significance of race in the immigration policy.

Rudy Mattai, CUNY College, Buffalo. **"Justice Delayed or Justice Denied: An Examination of the Inefficiency of the Judicial System in the Desegregation of Schools."**

The origins of formal education for African Americans were foreshadowed by grit and determination on the part of African Americans despite the adversities encountered. So severe were the adversities that W. E. B. DuBois was moved to conclude that "probably never in the world have so many oppressed people tried in every possible way to educate themselves." The earliest attempts of African Americans to enter the public educational institutions were met with stiff opposition and even the rulings of the highest judicial body of the land were not able to prevent a situation that evolved into "separate but equal" treatment.

Beginning with Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, there were several judicial decisions that sought to ensure the provision of educational training for the African American albeit in a benign fashion. The very language of the judicial decisions made in the period immediately following the famous Brown v. The Board of Education contended that African American institutions were inherently *inferior*. Alvis v. Adair contends that "the court held that separate facilities for [African Americans] could never be made equal to those for whites because of certain 'intangibles.'" Those "intangibles" related to the prestige of the school, its

distinguished alumni, professors, etc. In essence, if African Americans were to be recognized by the society then they were expected to be products of majority institutions.

This position that minority institutions are inferior has had and continues to have severe implications for the desegregation efforts. It is no wonder then that while the Statistical Abstract of the United States exhibits data which show very little differential between inverse relationship between the two groups when higher educational levels are compared with the former occupying the negative position.

This paper analyzes the language of eight Supreme Court decisions between 1896 and 1974 in an effort to show how the desegregation efforts have been stymied by the deeply ingrained thoughts that African Americans are inferior to the majority population.

Otis Scott, California State University, Sacramento. **"An Analysis of the Post Civil Rights Status of African Americans."**

This paper examines the post civil rights era in American society and what this era has wrought for African Americans in particular and people of color in general in their historical quest for social justice. Particular attention is given to examining the last decade. During this time period we have witnessed an unabashed attempt by top level public policy makers, and policy making institutions, e.g., former President Reagan and the U.S. Supreme Court, to turn back the hands of the civil rights clock to a preceding era in which the rights of people of color were presumed non-existent much less respected. This retrenchment in civil rights commitment and enforcement especially by a former President of the U.S. is instructive; it institutionalized the national movement away from issues of equity and justice. This paper contends that this slippage has been underway since the decade of the 1970s. This paper further asserts that the present social climate characterized on a more visible level by an increase in ethnophaulisms and physical violence against the person and property of people of color is a manifestation of an increasing hostility toward racial/ethnic issues. This climate signals the emergence of an era whose major characteristics are likely to be increased social tension and strife. This paper introduces the insider-outsider concept as an explanatory device for analyzing and otherwise attempting to account for the anti-civil rights sentiments and practices contemporarily shaping public discourse.

Respondent: Brij Khare, California State University, San Bernardino.

SESSION VIII: **"Justice and Literature."**

Chair: Russell Endo, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Cortland Pell Auser, Bronx Community College. **"Literary Response to Ethnic Injustice: Works by Imprisoned Japanese American Citizens."**

One of the most infamous examples of ethnic injustice in the United States was the imprisonment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps in the days of governmental infamy following 7 December 1941. Literary selections by four generations of Japanese Americans are presented in the paper. Representative works discussed include productions by Takahashi, Inada, Mori, Mirikitani, and others. Such works in fine literary expressions reveal the traumas of this experience of innumerable unjust acts at the time of and during the period of incarceration. (This paper is a tribute to Gordan Hirabayashi who refused to obey the Relocation Order in May, 1942.)

Jim Gray, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. **"The Reception of *Native Son*."**

Fifty years ago *Native Son* permanently changed the writing and study of Afro-American literature. Most of the reviewers had difficulty with the character of Bigger Thomas. Some attacked Bigger (and Wright) virulently and defended the status quo. Wright explained his intentions best in "Blueprint for Negro Literature," "I Bite the Hand That Feeds Me," and "How 'Bigger' Was Born." The response of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison also criticized the depiction of Bigger Thomas, but these two writers were primarily concerned with establishing the validity of their own work as novelists.

Rennie Simson, SUNY, Morrisville. **"The Garies and Their Friends: The Black American Novel Comes of Age."**

In a critical review of ***The Garies and Their Friends***, emphasis is placed on:

a. The depiction of the lives of free blacks in the North (Webb's novel was the first novel by a black author to treat this subject). He illustrated several incidents of Northern racism (including a lynch mob) to emphasize that the South did not have a monopoly in racist practices.

b. A study of what was needed for blacks to survive in the North, namely the necessity to adhere to racial pride and identity rather than an attempt at complete assimilation into the white society.

c. An analysis of the characters Webb presented to illustrate the intelligence, courage and strength, as well as the weaknesses, of black people. Webb's dark skinned, independent characters are the central figures of the novel and are worthy of admiration and respect. The light skinned black people who try to assimilate into white society are depicted as weak and unsuccessful. This approach contrasts to that of several other early black American authors whose central figures are often light skinned black people.

Webb had the courage to hold the mirror up to the Northern whites who enjoyed wagging their fingers at the "cruel" Southerners. Northern whites who read Webb's novel could hardly look into his mirror and find themselves "fairest of all."

Respondent: Joan Sullivan, Morehouse College.

SESSION IX: **"Justice in Higher Education."**

Chair: Harriet Ottenheimer, Kansas State University.

James A. Jaramillo, University of Colorado, Boulder. **"Hispanic Student Recruitment and Retention at the University of Colorado at Boulder: An Evaluation of each Agency's Effectiveness."**

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, I interviewed nine minority recruiting agency representatives, two retention agency representatives, and a sample of the Hispanic student population to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each agency. The informant replies provided me with the problems that students, recruiters and retention agency representatives undergo on campus. The project's main goal was to propose solutions to the problems that minority recruiting organizations and their recruited students reported on their questionnaires.

The questionnaires also sought the recruitment and retention rates for each of the minority recruiting agencies. This data was derived by annually recording and comparing each agency's recruitment and retention figures for the 1978-1988 period. Because this data was quantifiable, I utilized my knowledge of SAS (A Statistical Analysis System) and constructed a broken line graph to compare each agency's performance. I will conduct a follow-up study to ascertain the University's Hispanic student recruitment and retention rates for the academic year of 1989-1990.

Eugene C. Kim, California State University, Sacramento. **"Recruitment, Retention, and Successful Completion of Ethnic Minority Candidates for Teaching in Higher Education."**

This paper addresses the need for the recruitment, retention and the successful completion of the prospective ethnic minority candidates for teaching positions for higher education in the nation.

Specifically, the presentation proposes ways and means to:

1. attract and mentor ethnic minority candidates to the teaching profession;
2. reach out to prospective candidates via personal contact and/or media resources in all levels of higher education institutions, both public and private;
3. retain prospective candidates in the respective degree program through personal counseling and advising;
4. place prospective candidates as paid teaching/research assistants in their training institutions prior to their graduation;
5. inform prospective candidates of the Affirmative Action guidelines for recruitment and hiring practices to enhance ethnic diversity;
6. assist the candidates in their job searching in collaboration with Placement Offices of graduating institution and the prospective hiring institution.

Alan Spector, Purdue University, Calumet. **"Minority Student Retention in Higher Education: A Case Study of Institutional Obstacles and Meritocratic Myths."**

Public attention has been focused on a wave of reported incidents of overt racist harrassment and violent attacks on a number of U.S. college campuses. While it is important to bring these incidents to light and develop strategies to counter them, there are other, less dramatic processes at work on college campuses which also serve to intensify racial discrimination in U.S. society. In the 1960s, the term "institutional discrimination" was widely used to describe policies which had a racially discriminatory effect even as the administrators of those policies denied any racist intent. The focus on overt racism has provided a way for some institutions to avoid dealing with institutionally racist policies; a recognition of those policies and a commitment to change them is essential if colleges are to be serious about opposing racism.

Luz Maciel Villarroel, Western Washington University. **"Retention of Minorities and Women."**

If higher education's long term planning effort is to be useful and effective, it must include a commitment for the development of a comprehensive approach for addressing a multiplicity of issues related to minorities on campus and in the community. One of the institution's primary goals should be to create or to support a truly pluralistic environment where individuals of diverse background feel accepted as an integrated part of the institution.

A comprehensive minority affairs program is essential in higher education for at least three reasons: First, a fundamental mission of any institution of higher education is to be an agent for significant social change. This can be achieved only if the institution actively purposes complete diversity in the student body, faculty, administration and staff. Second, education in racial and cross-cultural sensitivity regardless of race, religion or background should be an integral component in the institution's curriculum. Beyond providing for such specific training, this educational objective cannot be accomplished in a social, cultural and racial vacuum. Third, on-going demographic change nationwide suggests that the population of potential incoming students will be increasingly comprised of minorities, at least one third. If Western Oregon State College is to compete for these students then it must create an environment, both academic and social, which will appeal to the diverse student population. To adequately address concerns of and for minorities it is my judgement that institutions of higher education must: (a) strengthen and expand the support network for individuals in the university/college community, and (b) continuously pursue improvements which will make the campus and community environment one in which each member of a diverse population feels welcome, comfortable, and nurtured.

Respondent: Betty Jean Valdez, Colorado School of Mines.

In January Ernest L. Boyer, President of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, gave a speech called "In Search of Community." In the five part speech, the second section dealt with *A Just Community*. Boyer said, "Especially disturbing is the fact that minority students, when they come to campus, often feel a sense of isolation, and racial tensions seem to be increasing, especially at large research and doctoral institutions where sixty-eight percent of the presidents we surveyed said race relations is a problem, the second most serious problem they mention. . . . Here then is our conclusion. If the nation's colleges and universities are to be just communities, prejudice in all its forms must be challenged and every college should develop a comprehensive plan to strengthen pluralism, within a community of learning."

The roads to justice in higher education for some are met with roadblocks, detours, and pot holes. In paving the roads to educational opportunity there is also the responsibility of providing conditions that are not more difficult to navigate based on gender, physical ability, culture, age, surname or skin color. Our future and the future of our country is strengthened through the education

of its citizens. We need to be vigilant in not allowing the hopes and dreams of generations of young people to be buried in our educational bureaucracy and the glacial movement called "change."

The conflict and struggles of our lives can and will make us stronger and better equipped to handle difficult situations and hard times. Challenge is needed to grow, develop, and learn. No one is asking for lower standards or less challenge. Instead the future should provide students equal opportunities to meet educational challenge.

Simple answers are often wrong. Our panel grappled with the question of justice in higher education and the retention of minority students on our college and university campuses. The panel's insight can help students travel the road to higher education and help us make that road smoother for future students.

Alan Spector presented case studies. His illustrations were helpful because they told a story that needed to be heard and they gave us specific behavior that can be questioned, discussed, and addressed.

Eugene Kim provided a list of successful program models. These models were examples of individuals and institutions who were not satisfied with the rate of change and chose to be proactive in their commitment. In contrast some individuals and institutions do not accept the challenge of effecting change due to the expense and uncertainty of intervention. This is no longer an acceptable stance since there are intervention models that can be adopted/modified with minimal strain on the current resources of our institutions. As Kim points out, "There is an information gap on what is available and working." We need to be willing to investigate and share intervention strategies.

James Jaramillo brings us into the arena of evaluation and monitoring of existing recruitment and retention practices. We need, and our institutions need to be accountable. One of the best ways to evaluate student satisfaction is to ask the students themselves. They not only can assist in identifying problem areas but can initiate change, and often do so in a more timely manner.

Luiz Maciel de Villarroel discussed specific ways to make campus wide change, including: inservice workshops for faculty and staff; revising curricular requirements of all students; hiring minority faculty; changing the institutions so that they are attractive to the minority populations; and appointing non-minority officials to advocate and mediate for change. Her strategies include strengthening and expanding the support network.

In conclusion, each of us can begin to build sections of the just road to higher education by becoming advocates for change through educating ourselves on what can and must be done. Our panel gave us a new focus on road building. Rather than simply accommodating minority students in our higher education institutions, we must construct and build roads to justice with the needs and aspirations of minority students in mind.

SESSION X: **"English as Official Language or English Only?"**
Chair: Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University.
Karen L. Adams and James Weinstein, Arizona State University. **"Ethnicity, Justice, and the Official English Movement."**

The campaigns to pass referenda making English the official language in Arizona, California, Colorado and Florida were replete with charges of racism and counter charges of unfair and misguided campaign tactics. This paper examines the crucial legal issue of whether such laws once in place do indeed create a ***de jure*** preeminence of one ethnic and racial group over another.

Barbara J. Boesker, Moorhead State University. **"The English Only Movement: Social Glue or Xenophobia?"**

This research paper focuses on the English-only movement, which is a movement to have English designated as the official language of the nation. Included is a discussion of the changes in ethnicity which the United States is experiencing as well as a brief history of multilingualism in America. The group known as U.S. English, which has led the campaign to designate English as the official language, is examined as well as arguments in favor of such legislation. The status of an English Language Amendment (ELA) to the U.S. Constitution and various state referenda are also discussed. Opposition to the English-only

movement, citizen outcry to the changing language and ethnic patterns of the country, and consequently, racism, are explored.

Luis Torres, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. **"The Proposed English Only Constitutional Amendment: An American Debate."**

The national English Only supporters are nearing their goal of having two-thirds of the states pass amendments to their constitutions proclaiming English the official language of the states; such passage will allow the supporters to propose an Official English Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The recent past, the current status, and the proposed future of the movement have far-reaching implications for language minorities, especially in such crucial areas as bilingual education and bilingual ballots. Through understanding and utilizing the intricacies of the Constitutional amendment process, the proposed amendment can and must be defeated.

Respondent: Stephen P. Mumme, Colorado State University.

If there is any doubt that the national English Only movement is not the latest round in an ancient cycle of xenophobia and bigotry, the papers on this panel should lay it to rest. It is clear enough from the papers presented by professors Boseker, Torres, and Adams and Weinstein that thinking Americans should regard the national English Only movement with deep suspicion, its disclaimers and qualifiers as to its motives notwithstanding.

It is worth reflecting on what our panel has told us. First, the national EO movement is on the march, capitalizing on latent--and manifest--fears of minority empowerment. It is a backlash movement, led by a coalition of individuals with profound and disturbing connections to overt xenophobic and exclusionist, even explicitly racist, organizations. Second, it has been successful in appealing to the emotions of American voters, uncritical voters who often fail to understand or appreciate the "hidden agenda" of racial exclusion contained in the softened syntax of proactive integration, assimilation, of English Only (Official English). In fact, the movement has sufficient momentum that unchecked it has a good chance of reaching its goal of a constitutional EO provision. Third, it has thus far managed to peddle its message in a positive, national integrationist, package while explicitly avoiding the kind of viscerally racist terminology that could readily discredit the movement. In this sense, it is a modern response, a sophisticated response to underlying racist imperatives.

Our panel has also shown that the claims of EO proponents lack merit. Is language the integrating glue of American society? This question gets an emphatic "no." Not only does the United States have a rich history of language diversity, but it did at the time of the founding of the republic and even then it was not regarded sufficient to warrant reference in the Constitution. Are contemporary minorities more retarded than earlier waves of immigrants in entering the mainstream of American society, in learning English? No. On the contrary, we may be witnessing some of the most rapid and successful integration processes ever, especially judged in terms of language competency. Do bilingual programs retard integration into the mainstream? Again the answer is no. As professor Boseker notes, there is no really reliable evidence that bilingual programs of any type retard learning English. And there is quite a bit of evidence that suggests it enables the student to better make adjustments, and retain self esteem in the process.

In fact, the EO agenda is an agenda that panders to nativism, xenophobia, bigotry, and parochialism. At a time of global change and global challenge, at a time of demographic change in the United States, it is clearly in our national interest to encourage cultural pluralism, to encourage multilingualism. The EO movement works against both these desirable aims, and violates (as professors Adams and Weinstein aptly argue) some of the most fundamental values of the land, constitutional values, in the process.

Obviously, groups like the National Association for Ethnic Studies carry a large burden in making the case against the well oiled, slick, monied machines of English Only, et al. The arguments made by our panelists are telling and need to be actively disseminated. To these I would stress several other points, based on my own background as a political scientist interested in comparative politics.

First, I would ask our panelists to direct their attention to much of the large and growing literature on cultural pluralism to bolster their arguments against English Only. Research on ethnic pluralism abroad provides substantial evidence that language, as a single variable, does not carry with it the results purported by EO spokesmen. Language diversity does not lead inexorably towards civil unrest. When and if language is a factor in group mobilization in politics it is invariably only one of a large number of conditions leading to group solidarity. By itself it means nothing. Our own national experience, in fact, Boseker shows, actually bears that out. But placing the U.S. situation in comparative relief is valuable, especially since EO proponents are fond of making improper and unsubstantiated analogies to Quebec, Africa, and these days, the Soviet republics. The cultural pluralism literature shows that cultural identities tend to become activated only where they are used to exclude or discriminate against others. That, of course, is what the EO agenda will accomplish, in fact, if successful. What they really mean to do is use the language issue as a condensation symbol to obscure the multiple sources of social conflict, rooted in inequality and injustice.

Second, I would encourage our panelists and other opponents of the EO agenda to emphasize the historic importance of cultural pluralism in the United States, and its essential grounding in our constitutional framework. As Torres aptly and rightly observes, the basic tendency in constitutional development in the Untied States is towards expanding, rather than restricting, individual liberties. Even if judged as a desirable goal, assimilation as such has no real constitutional standing. The EO agenda would change that.

Third, it needs to be stressed that demographic change is in the offing, but that such change is in the national interest as it has often been in the past. We are facing major shortfalls in our labor markets, in our fund of intellectual capital. Immigrants and minority groups are our promise of coping with these basic structural problems. The material costs of failing to make adjustments--learning English, for example--are such that few groups and individuals will foreswear them in the long haul. In the meantime, the accommodation of diversity is critical to our national success.

Fourth, and last, I would echo Boseker's objection to the claim that English is somehow under assault, or in peril. Resisting the cultural imperialism of the English speaking world has been a major concern of most third world nations since the global community assumed its modern organizational form. One only has to travel abroad, to Mexico City, to understand the pervasiveness of English as a cultural form. In an important sense, perhaps one that an internationalist and comparativist would best understand, the EO folks have the problem exactly backwards; English is on the march, and English is actively penetrating the global community. Its institutional standing for the rest of this century and the next is not in doubt. The marginal economic and social advantages, however, will accrue to those of us who are fluent in more than one language. And that is anathema to EO, whose proponents fundamentally fear minority participation and empowerment.

SESSION XI: **"Race, Ethnicity and Equality Before the Law."**
Chair: Catherine Udall, Arizona State University.
David Hood, Norwich University, and Jon R. Harlan, Pullman, Washington. **"Ethnic Disparities in Sentencing and the Washington Sentencing Reform Act: The Case of Yakima County."**

This study examines the impact of the Washington Sentencing Reform Act (SRA) on sentencing disparity. The purpose of the statute, among others, was to establish equal punishment for equal crimes, i.e., impose similar punishment for the same offenses. Thus, the SRA was to reduce the potential for ethnic/racial bias in the criminal justice system. We investigate the SRA's success in achieving this objective in Yakima County, comparing sentencing among Hispanics, Native Americans, and whites who have been convicted of a particular class of crimes labeled "violent."

Noel Kent, University of Hawaii at Manoa. **"Minorities, Social Justice, and the New American Political Economy."**

Since the early 1970s, a restructuring of the political economy of the United States has occurred under the impress of global economic corporatism. In the political realm, the Reagan period has seen a partial dismantling of public services and protections for lower income Americans. Major American corporations acting within a sympathetic political environment, abandoned the social contract with organized labor, and effectively constructed a new hierarchical labor market on a global scale. This has been accompanied by a dramatic shift from goods production to services employment and a changed opportunity structure for young entrants into the labor force. Ultimately, the new U.S. political-economy has functioned to intensify and to further rigidify ethnic stratification. Because of their location in the class ethnic hierarchy, blacks and Hispanics have been especially and negatively affected by the new political-economy. Deeply-rooted racist patterns of employment, education and housing have exacerbated this.

Respondent: P. Rudy Mattai, SUNY College, Buffalo.

SESSION XII: **Language, Tradition, and Ethnic Identity, Part I."**

Chair: James Williams, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

Silvestre J. Brito, Universidad de Colima. **"Raza or the Cosmic Race."**

The purpose of this presentation is to better understand the socio-political use of the term Raza by both the Chicanos in the U.S.A. and the Mexicans in old Mexico. It can be postulated that the use of this term creates a paradoxical state of affairs for both communities. On the one hand, it serves as a socio-cultural umbrella to ideally unite the Chicanos as well as serving as a unifying unit in old Mexico, the national unity of one people. On the other hand the use of this term tends to fall short of representing significant points of a personal state, as a form of individual or group identity and world views of a minority in both of the above cited countries. This study then, attempts to identify and explain the basic factors which create this paradoxical state of socio-cultural relations within the U.S.A. and old Mexico.

Brij B. Khare, California State University, San Bernardino. **"Asian-Americans in California: The Case of South Asians."**

According to one estimate, there are more than ten million people of Asian Indian origin living in different parts of the world. More than a million are now in North America. A large number of these were brought as indentured laborers by their British masters and other European colonials beginning in the first part of the nineteenth century. In recent times most of the emigrants have been either the displaced persons from Africa or the students and professionals who tend to be somewhat resourceful, diligent, and singularly concerned with their success and survival in a new and alien land.

The early migrations of South Asians are fascinating because of the distance, coming from the other side of the globe, having a totally different cultural background, and creating ingenious devices to prosper against all odds. South Asians were still coming to California in the second decade of the twentieth century when the situation for Asian immigrants was unpleasant because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement that drastically curtailed Japanese entry into the U.S. What attracted these Asian Indians? How did they survive in this unfriendly Anglo-dominated society? What social and cultural innovations did they adopt to create a new pattern of life?

The early arrivals from South Asia were farmers from Northwest British India. They saw a similarity in agriculture, including the weather, and they wanted to farm here. Since they could not own land, they developed business partnerships with friendly Anglo landowners, lawyers, and even the bankers. They had no family. About the same time large numbers of Mexicans moved into California from Mexico and Texas. The agriculture brought the Asian Indians and Mexicans together. Often the Mexican families had unmarried girls who married Asian Indians. They lived along the dirt roads and canals of Imperial County in Southern California. These couples and the children they had were known as "Mexican-Hindus." By the end of the 1930s there were at least five hundred such families in the area. Some interesting questions arise out of this cross-cultural union. Who socialized the children? Were they Mexicans first or Indians first?

How were they treated in schools? How did they do in schools? In jobs? How did society treat them?

Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, SUNY, Cortland. **"Spanish Colonial Justice, Indians and Water: The Example of Puebla."**

Scholars have analyzed in great detail the Spanish legal concepts of justice within the colonial situation but rarely examine how judicial doctrines affected indigenous peoples in their everyday lives. Access to water is an inevitable necessity and one which was affected by the involvement of Iberian farmers in areas previously cultivated intensively by Indians. In Spanish America, hydraulic law gave the indigenous peoples an initial advantage in access to water through the doctrine of prior use. Yet, by the end of the colonial period, few Indian communities still held unimpeded rights to the rivers and streams that they used traditionally, This paper examines the judicial doctrines which governed water rights, the processes by which the Indian peoples of Puebla lost their control of water resources, and finally, the effects of this loss for the Indian communities of the region.

Respondent: David A. Crocker, Colorado State University.

Justice, whether a matter of ethics, laws, and institutions, concerns who gets what. More precisely, justice deals with the distribution of burdens and benefits within and among communities. Injustice is all too common in our world: the goods and bads of communal life are often unfairly allocated. The few get more benefits--sometimes much more--than they should have; the many usually get fewer benefits and more burdens than they deserve. Ethics, as a normative discipline, tries to formulate principles of justice and injustice. The law, often influenced by ethical ideas, has its own principles for determining fair and unfair distributions.

Ethnic identity is connected to the issue of justice in multiple ways. Most obviously, ethnic identity has often been used as the basis for unjust allocation of burdens and benefits. As Sonya Lipsett-Rivera shows in her informative paper, Mexico's Poblano Indians were often treated unjustly with respect to their ability to exercise or defend the legal water rights they had been accorded by Spanish law. Spanish colonialists deprived Indian villages and individuals of their rights. Being Indian (as well as being poor) was thought sufficient to treat this category of persons as less than full rights bearers. The sixteenth century Spanish legal code was surprisingly relevant to the protection of indigenous water rights. The Islamic influence in Spanish jurisprudence granted communities, and not just individuals, rights to water on the basis of the antiquity and an uncontested character of their possession. Consequently, Indian villages could and did appeal to the conquistadores' own legal code to defend their access to water. For who had better claim to prior possession than the Indians. Indians were not passive recipients of the extralegal injustice of those conquistadores who violated the law. The Indians also used the judicial system to defend themselves and survive. Khare also mentions that early South Asian immigrants to the U.S. created "ingenious devices to survive and prosper against all odds." Unfortunately, both legal and extralegal cards became stacked against the Indians. This became increasingly true when the reduction of the Indian population through epidemics enabled the colonialist to (legally) gain some water rights. Moreover, colonialists stole or destroyed Indian deeds. The colonials also managed to deflect Indian outrage from its proper target and get the Indian villages to fight amongst themselves for scarce water. Divide and conquer. Given these historical injustices described by Lipsett-Rivera, it would be interesting to ask whether there are (or should be) any recent Mexican efforts to compensate Indians for earlier abuses. Compensatory justice requires that communities rectify past wrongs just as distributive justice demands that they fairly allocate benefits and burdens.

Ethnic identity also becomes a moral (in the widest sense) issue in that any group is continually engaged in the process of deciding who they are and what counts as being an insider and an outsider to the group. Khare helpfully portrays the recent explosion of various kinds of Asian immigrants to the United States. They not only bring their bags but their Asian beliefs, values, and practices. In the Mexican-Hindu families of California, one Mexican stream flows together with one South Asian stream. And these two streams are themselves composed of

various and changing currents. The Mexican-American current in California differs from the old Mexican current in Mexico, itself a unity of Spanish and various indigenous streams. (We have already seen how the sixteenth century Spanish identity was an amalgam of Iberian and Islamic influences.) Brito explores how the one concept of "la raza" has enabled both Mexican-Americans and old Mexicans to form their self-identity. In the former case the concept links Chicanos to Mexico and in the latter case it contributes to Mexican nationality. In all these cases we see communities having to answer a question that other creatures in social evolution have created for them: How should we integrate our past culture with the new culture in which we find ourselves? What does it mean for one group to "do better" (Khare) in a new (or changed) social context? Two answers seem ethically problematic if not factually impossible: (1) Communities can turn their backs on the new culture and try to maintain their old culture or return to a "pure" past (which was itself an amalgam). "Doing better" means more effectively holding on to the past. If this is even possible, it is undesirable as an absolute. For it prevents the transplanted to take up and incorporate good ideas from their new environment. (2) Transplanted (or old) communities can sink their roots so deeply in the new soil that they lose the enduring values of their traditions and/or uncritically take on the bad as well as the good of their surrounding culture. here "doing better" means assimilation and adaptation to the new environment. The challenge for every community, seen most dramatically in immigrant or conquered communities, is to ask who we are and want to be. The best answers will be those that maximize the good and minimize the bad in both the old and the new.

Justice and ethnic identity come together in a final way. It is ethically important that the identities which communities forge are constrained by distributive and compensatory justice both within their own bounds and with other communities.

SESSION XIII: **"Language, Tradition, and Ethnic Identity, Part 2."**
Chair: Larry Estrada, Western Washington University.
David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University, and Hanna R. Gradwohl, Iowa Area XI Education Agency.

Following World War II, many Latvians fled their homeland on the Baltic Sea. Among the Latvian "Displaced Persons" was a contingent who settled in Lincoln, Nebraska, where--during the early 1950s--they established two churches, a newspaper, a youth group, and other communal organizations based on their common national heritage. Ethnicity is also expressed in mortuary behavior. Most deceased Latvian-Americans have been buried in Wyuka, Lincoln's largest cemetery; some burials have occurred at Fairview Cemetery and Lincoln Memorial Park. During the summer of 1989, we conducted a preliminary survey of Lincoln's Latvian-American gravestones. Assisting us in an interdisciplinary approach were Herbert and Elsie Thomas, respectively an artist and a library archivist, who were born in Latvia and came to Lincoln as refugees in 1952. Of particular interest on the gravestones are Latvian epitaphs, references to place of birth, and folk art motifs. The particularistic Latvian designs have origins in Iron Age contexts and continue as familiar embellishments on jewelry, textiles, ceramics, paintings, and wood carvings. Folk art motifs with ancient religious connotations include the Sun, Morning Star, Tree of Light, and Goddess of Destiny. In Lincoln, the epitaphs and designs on Latvian-American gravestones represent significant material manifestations of on-going ethnic identity.

Akbarali Thobhani, Metropolitan State University. **"Reservations in South Africa and the United States, A Comparison."**

This presentation examines the comparative history of the development of reservation systems in the United States and South Africa by exploring the relevant legislation, rationale, territorial divisions, relocation of population groups, and economic conditions in the reservations.

Johnny Washington, Florida Atlantic University. **"What is in a Name: "African,' 'Afro-American,' or 'Negro'?"**

Respondent: Deborah Martinez Martinez, University of Southern Colorado.

Ethnic identity is the pervasive theme which binds together not only these three presentations but also the people and nations they explore. Despite their

diversity, Thobhani's comparison of United States Indian reservations and South African Homelands, Washington's discussion of the terms "Black" and "African American," and Gradwohl's survey of Latvian-American grave markers, these papers have cut to the core of ethnic identity. In their diversity, this grouping of presentations may yet prove to point out the urgent need for further discussion about ethnic identity and its impact on self identity and national identity. These scholars have demonstrated that the challenge for American society, beginning with academia, is to integrate the American love/hate relationship with ethnic identity into the very fabric of our institutions.

At the center of any discussion on ethnic identity is the issue of self image and self chosen labels that reflect pride or shame, that reflect a winner or a loser, a survivor or a victim. It may be an over-simplification of the discussion theme, but pride or shame will ultimately determine an individual's accomplishments and his or her contributions to the society as a whole.

Washington asserts that a people constantly undergo ethnic transformations. His assertion may be powerful and disdainful at the same time; after all, it is difficult to study ethnic identity knowing that it's changing even as we discover its implications and terminology. For example, by the time the Southwestern United States has accepted using the term "Black" in all references, those on the coast are gaining wide acceptance for the term "African American." This constant change is particularly important to consider when scholars review the ways in which a people ascribe meaning to terms or symbols as the Gradwohls' work expresses.

Thobhani also relates that the terminology ascribed to a people, the blacks of South Africa, is important in political posturing. It is interesting to note that he uses the term "blacks" as opposed to "South African" or "Black South African" when referring to the people of the South African Homelands.

Cultures are constantly and uncomfortably undergoing change as Washington, quoting the philosopher Locke, repeatedly states. Change is part of the human condition and should be accepted as such, he asserts. however, our American culture is experiencing a significant difficulty with such acceptance of change as a commonality of the human experience and this difficulty affects the struggle to isolate "ethnic identity" as "yours, mine or ours."

Gradwohl demonstrates that ethnic identity is manifested in many ways in daily life and death as with the grave markers in this Latvian-American community's cemeteries. These people, the "displaced persons," chose to retain cultural identity through their lives and to their final resting places. These designs reflect light and life and a positive self-image.

Washington states that the African American is now *choosing* to retain cultural identity with Africa. The key word is "choosing.". He notes that other terms of ethnic identity were given, and indeed were forced upon the people of color in the United States.

In conclusion, we may note that these scholars assert that the tag, the label, is a matter of comparison, of change, and of ongoing research. Research has yet to be definitive about the human need to communicate with others and self through the use of ethnic identifiers. Scientists have yet to present their analysis about what happens to people when they lose or forfeit their ethnic identity. Indeed, can the loss be measured?

SESSION XIV: **"Western Washington University Minority Achievement Program."**

Chair: Gretchen M. Bataille, Arizona State University.

Presenters: Maurice Bryan, Jr., Ronald Martinez, and Saundra Taylor, Western Washington University.

In January of 1987, Western Washington University launched a new program to more systematically recruit, retain, and graduate ethnic minority students. The program is called the Minority Achievement Program (MAP) and has the following goals:

1. to increase the enrollment of Afro-American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latin American, Native American students to the University from 4.5% to 13% of the student enrollment;

2. to increase scholarship and financial aid support;
3. to provide faculty and peer mentor support;
4. to increase availability of academic advising services.

A Presidential Task Force was commissioned to design and implement this program. Three of the members of this Task Force analyze the outcome of two and one-half years of operation of the programs.

SESSION XV: **"Intercultural Issues in Education."**
Chair: David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University.
Gretchen M. Bataille, Arizona State University. **"Intercultural Communication on an International Project."**

For almost one year now students at Arizona State University have been working together to translate computer educational materials from Tandem Computers, Inc. into French, German, Spanish, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese. Because of the nature of the task, the students selected to work on the project must be bilingual. Most of them are foreign students who have come to study at Arizona State University. During the fall of 1989, twenty-eight students from twelve different countries were participating in the project. Only three of the students are American citizens. The principle investigators, the project director, and the secretary to the project are all white Americans. The project has provided a mini-laboratory to study interaction among different cultural groups and interaction between students and the project staff. This paper presents examples of specific incidents which have occurred during the project. Some of the examples demonstrate linguistic differences; others are clearly representative of different cultural expectations. Strategies for lessening tensions created by cultural differences will be presented as part of the paper. These examples and strategies are not limited to international students, however. Racial and ethnic tensions in educational settings in America continue to exist, and these examples might provide some new solutions to on-going problems.

Terry Huffman, Northern State University. **"Prairie, Perceptions and Prejudice: Campus Racism and the Northern Plains Indian."**

This paper is a discussion of campus racism and the educational experience of Northern Plains Native American college students. The conclusions are part of an on-going research project on the subjective perceptions of Native Americans on their college experience. The paper addresses: the extent and nature of racial prejudice, the perception of prejudice versus the overt expression of racism, and the consequences of racial prejudice.

Glen M. Kraig, California State University, San Bernardino. **"A Study Comparing the Differences in the Levels of Achievement of Tenth Grade Anglo and Hispanic Students in One- and Two-Parent Homes."**

The problem of this study was to determine if significant differences exist between the degree of academic achievement of tenth grade students who currently reside in one parent/guardian homes as compared to those who reside in two parent/guardian homes when students are grouped by sex, total family income, and ethnicity. Subproblems were to determine if significant differences in academic achievement exist within the various groups consisting of the students in the single parent/guardian group and the two parent/guardian group dependent upon the ethnic identity of the student and if significant differences in academic achievement exist within the various groups consisting of the students in the single parent/guardian group and the two parent/guardian group dependent upon the sex of the student.

Respondent: Alfonso Rodriguez, University of Northern Colorado.

After enumerating some of the difficulties encountered in the project, Bataille concludes that in spite of the linguistic and cultural diversity positive communication was achieved within the test group. This was possible because of the common goal the students shared, namely, the translation of the same materials and the relationships they fostered among themselves outside the work environment.

Since these graduate students were involved in a project of such magnitude and far-reaching implications, one of the most relevant questions to pose is with regard to their credentials to work in such a project. The first concern that comes

to the reader's mind is the area of specialization of these students. Were they all students of language and linguistics? Had they studied, or were they studying, their native language formally? Because of the nature of their work they had to be bilingual, but there are degrees of bilinguality. Most bilingual people tend to be partially bilingual, with dominance in one or the other language, depending on formal training and experience. Therefore, were certain procedures set up for selecting the best student translators? If so, what were they?

Another concern has to do with the translation skills of the students. Since translation is not only a skill but an art, this type of undertaking is extremely delicate. The fact that a person is fully bilingual does not necessarily mean that he or she is a competent translator. Finetuning translation skills takes a great deal of time, perseverance and practice. Only then can one succeed in minimizing the translation difficulties that seem insurmountable.

Other questions that came to my mind on several occasions during the reading of the paper were: Who are the supervisors and assistant supervisors? Are they also graduate students or are they instructors? Have they achieved the level of bilinguality that has equipped them for such a task? Also, what exactly was their role in fostering good intercultural communication among the members of the group?

Bataille observes that "this test group does not fit the paradigm of much of the research focusing on cultural differences and interpersonal communication." Are we to conclude, then, that the obstacles to communication and the successes attained by the group are not representative of a larger reality? Is it safe to assume that it is much easier to achieve intercultural communication among individuals within a university setting since one of the goals of being educated is to endeavor to understand and appreciate other cultures?

Of the three papers in this session Huffman's is the one that touches most directly the theme of justice in education. His approach and methodology are very well defined and his conclusions are very clear.

It is absolutely true that racism against Native Americans has received very little national attention. Over the years they have been, and still are, "an invisible minority," like the Chicanos were only a quarter of a century ago. Unfortunately, the Native American movement of the sixties and seventies lacked the force and the unity of the Chicano and Black movements. But, of course there are historical and other reasons for that phenomenon. Ironically, it would seem that the plight of Native Americans would receive more attention and the people more sympathy and support from American institutions if they were immigrants rather than citizens. This is not to say that immigrants from Third World countries are treated well in the U.S.

Racism directed against Native Americans, as was pointed out in the paper, is more subtle and lacks the violence and sensation associated with racism against other minorities. At times, it is simply described by means of euphemisms such as "cultural conflict" or "lack of social adaptation" which is nothing more than the age-old strategy of blaming the victim. Huffman's paper is very clear about the negative consequences of racism on campus against the Native American students. In light of his findings some very relevant questions must be posed: (1) Will Native Americans in higher education be able to overcome racism despite its stifling effects? (2) Will research projects such as this one have an impact on governing boards and administrations of institutions in higher education? (3) Will the making of new policies and the revamping of curricula prove to be effective means to stimulate in non Native American students an attitude of respect and mutual cooperation? All these goals are within the realm of the possible, and they are being put to the test in different places. That is, research on these kinds of issues is being placed at the service of social and educational change, because in a pluralistic society like ours this is a necessary and worthy endeavor.

The most important assertion that can be made from Kraig's study is that the determining factor in the academic success, or lack of it, among the students participating in the project at Fontana City High School is their socioeconomic condition. That is, the higher the income attained in each family, the greater the success of the child in school. If this assertion could be substantiated in a broader context through research, then perhaps the real relationship that exists between

poverty and justice in public education could be revealed more clearly. Or to put it in the form of a question: To what extent does poverty engender academic failure?

As I read Kraig's paper several questions arose in my mind, questions that, given the time and space constraints, could not be included. For example, was the group of Hispanic participants homogeneous or heterogeneous in terms of the students' degree of ethnic awareness and their experience of acculturation and assimilation into the larger society? Do they come from traditional families or from families that have adopted the values of the mainstream culture? What is the percentage of Hispanic students in relation to the total school population? In general, are relations between Anglos and Hispanics cordial or hostile within the school setting and out in the community? It seems to me that one of the merits of this type of research is that as certain questions are answered other questions inevitably arise that could be resolved through further research.

However, as far as this paper is concerned, perhaps some statistics could have been included for the sake of more precision and further clarification and interpretation of results, statistics relative to the total number of participants, and to the number of participants in each group, as well as the average income of each group. On the positive side, the paper contains an excellent review of the research that has been done by experts on the interrelatedness of one-parent home environment, socioeconomic status, ethnicity and academic performance in children and young people.

SESSION XVI: **"The Australian Aboriginal Experience."**
Chair: Emmanuel S. Nelson, SUNY, Cortland.
Arlene Elder, University of Cincinnati. **"Self, Other, and Post-Historical Identity in Three Plays by Jack Davis."**

The plays of Aborigine poet, actor, and playwright, Jack Davis, powerfully express the consequences for his people of the contrasting temporal periods he has defined as "history and neo-history. Before the coming of the white man and after the coming of the white man."[1] In this sense, it is by our concentrating not upon particular events or policies of the period of British exploration and conquest in Australia, but by our recognition of the clash between Self and Other, according to Jack Davis, that we can best understand that colonization. The Self and Other conflict represents two opposing concepts of human worth, one based upon the Aborigines' experience of the realities of their history and of colonialism, one upon the European assumptions leading to the invasion. Also of importance to Davis is the existence and development of conflicting psycho/temporal periods of Aboriginal history, European neo-history, and what I would like to call Aboriginal post-history. The complexity of imperialism demonstrates that the colonizer and the colonized live in the same time periods chronologically but in vastly different psychological realms. It is the oppressor's purpose to transform the self-valorizing realm of the suppressed into his own region of neo-history, and it is to exploring this psycho/political aspect of colonization that Jack Davis's plays, *The Dreamers* (1972), *Kullark* (1979), and *No Sugar* (1985) are devoted.

It is a tribute to the playwright's artistry that he utilizes the Self/Other dichotomy not only as a theme but manipulates this concept in a compelling aesthetic way by juxtaposing contrasting *formal* elements representative of the two opposing Australian cultures. In the face of officially-sanctioned genocide, whether by annihilation or assimilation, Davis's plays attempt to reinvigorate the culture of Aborigines' historical past in much the same way that their traditional pictographs served as mnemonic devices for bringing to the mind of the initiated various events in the stories of spirit beings whose actions were often reenacted, as well, in ritual and dance. Art is never anachronistic, and Jack Davis's plays may be contextualized as a contribution to the growing body of Aboriginal art drawing upon what remains of the orature of Aboriginal history in an attempt to educate audiences into the reality of that culture. Their intent is to transform the post-historical denigration of Aboriginal identity into the renaissance of a powerful sense of self.

[1]Shoemaker, Adam, "An Interview with Jack Davis," *Westerly* 4 (December, 1982):114.

Christine Morris, University of Queensland. **"Oral Traditions Under Threat: The Black Australian Experience."**

The "Black Australian Experience" addresses the encroachment of the written tradition upon the oral tradition of the Australian Aborigine. I put forward the argument that I see this move as a step toward another form of colonialism and the eventual extinction of a living culture. Within this argument I elucidate the special relationship between Aborigines and the land and how they see themselves as being "of" the land rather than living "on" the land. It is this special relationship I see as the axiom of the environmental harmony that has persisted in Australia since time began.

Emmanuel S. Nelson, SUNY, Cortland. **"Aboriginal Autobiographies as Oppositional Australian Histories."**

Autobiographical discourses are not only recollective narrative statements but they are also modes of interrogating history. Their quasi-documentary realism and semi-ethnographic character allow them to function as alternative, sometimes subversive, histories. They are, therefore, especially valuable texts when produced in colonized, historically silenced cultures. A close analysis of representative Aboriginal autobiographies reveals an oppositional version of Australian history--a version that poignantly and powerfully challenges the imperialist assumptions of white Australian historical discourses.

Craig Tapping, University of British Columbia. **"Memory as Difference in Aboriginal Fiction: Literary Reflections of Orality in Colin Johnson's *Doctor Wooreddy's Prescription*."**

This paper introduces an analysis of those aspects of the text which reveal Johnson's attempt to translate the range of conventions and breadth of *Enduring the Ending of the World.* Such "tracks" of an oral tradition and ancient, though neglected culture, chart one possible route into literacy, and out of the silenced past.

"De"construction, as practiced by theorists who are seldom on the margins, or in the fringes as it were, merely repeats the casual privileging of one kind of discourse. In contrast, this paper attempts to introduce a methodological practice which would allow us to begin to perceive the "re"construction of marginal discourses--the emergent "literary" traditions of fringe-dweller or Aboriginal cultures--through the appropriation of the tropes of dominant culture's "high" art and theory.

Such writing is the discursive practice of decolonization--the refutation of a language system which refers to an "actual" world where social, economic, racial and gender practices oppress those for whom this is at least a second, and historically imposed, language--and is thus directly political: a feature of new literatures which challenge the institution of literary studies itself.

Finally, the novel is read against contemporary models of orality, presenting the "other," and reading the land. The presentation suggests grounds for the comparative study of similar writings by other, formerly silenced native peoples.

Contributors

SANDRA E. BOWEN is a Faculty Associate of English at Arizona State University where she specializes in African American Women Writers and African American literature. She has taught at The City University in New York City and at Hunter College.

BAMIDELE J. BRACY is a professor of Pan American Studies at California State University, Northridge.

HELEN JASKOSKI is a professor of English at California State University, Fullerton and is editor of *Studies in American Indian Literatures.* She has published on American Indian and African American literature and poetry therapy.

G. LYNN NELSON is a professor in the English Department at Arizona State University. Nelson edits and publishes the *Peace-Letter* (a networking newsletter for teachers), and co-directs the Greater Phoenix Area Writing Project.

SUZANNE STUTMAN is an Associate Professor of English at Penn State University. The secretary of the Thomas Wolfe Society, her edition of Thomas Wolfe's unpublished novel *The Good Child's River* will be published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1991.

JOHNNY WASHINGTON is an Associate Professor of Philosophy at Florida Atlantic University and Chair of the Ethnic Studies Program. He is also president of the Organization of African Descendants. He is the author of *Alain Locke and Philosophy: A Quest for Cultural Pluralism.*

ASHTON WESLEY WELCH is an Associate Professor and Chair of History at Creighton University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Birmingham (England). He currently teaches courses in African and African American history and is coordinator of the program in Black Studies.

LINDA WELLS is an Associate Professor of Humanities at Boston University where she integrates issues of race, class and gender into the study of literature, film and philosophy. Her research interests rest in ethnic and women's studies. She is currently working on a study of working class women's writing in America.

You can't make sense of America without understanding Asian and Pacific Americans.

That's why each 150-page bookbound issue of ***Amerasia Journal*** offers you articles, essays, and perspectives impossible to find elsewhere on Asian American history, social issues, immigration, politics, economy, literature and culture, community studies; and Asian and Pacific Americans and Asia.

Thoughtful, informative, indepth. With viewpoints that challenge the conventional assumptions, superficial analyses, and the media distortions that short-change our understanding of Asian and Pacific Americans.

Published by UCLA's renowned Asian American Studies Center since 1971. Subscription Rates: $10.00 annually for individuals; $14.00 for institutions. Special two-year offer for individuals — $15.00. Single Issues: $5.00. *Double issues — $7.00 each.

AMERASIA JOURNAL

SPECIAL ISSUES:

12:2 (1985-86)
Contemporary Asian Population Studies.

13:1* (1986-87)
Filipino American Experience.

13:2* (1986-87)
Japanese American Nisei.

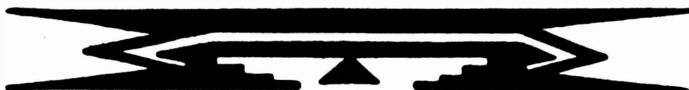
14:1 (1988)
New Ethnicity—Koreans and Hmongs.

14:2 (1988)
Chinese Americans—Rural and Urban Lives.

Asian American Studies Center Publications
3232 Campbell Hall
University of California
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1546
(213) 825-2968

AMERICAN INDIAN QUARTERLY

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL OF HISTORY, ANTHROPOLOGY, LITERATURE, AND THE ARTS



We invite your Subscription to the **AMERICAN INDIAN QUARTERLY,**
a publication of the
NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM, at the
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

To help keep abreast of the field of AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES, the **QUARTERLY** provides a forum for contemporary research and scholarship. Also included is an extensive and comprehensive review section of current books and publications.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

ANNUAL RATES: ☐ Individual $25 ☐ Institution $40

☐ New ☐ Renewal

Subscriptions outside the U.S. please add $5.00
Make checks payable to: American Indian Quarterly

American Indian Quarterly
3415 Dwinelle Hall
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

Name ______________________________

Institution ______________________________

Address ______________________________

City ______________________________

State ______________________ Zip ____________

News from

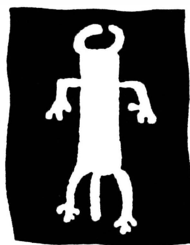
NATIVE CALIFORNIA

A unique quarterly magazine devoted to California Indians and featuring:

A calendar of events; articles on art, education, legal and political action, native foods, music, religion; first person reminiscences; historical and contemporary photos; and much more.

FOR SUBSCRIPTION OR INFORMATION:

News from Native California
P.O. Box 9145
Berkeley, CA 94709
(415) 549-3564



One year subscription (4 issues) $15.95
Sample issue $4.00.

canadian ethnic studies
études ethniques au canada

An interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, immigration, inter-group relations and the history and cultural life of ethnic groups in Canada.

Une revue interdisciplinaire consacreé à l'étude de l'éthnicité, de l'immigration, des relations entre groupes, et de l'histoire et de la vie culturelle collective au Canada.

SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE/NUMEROS SPECIAUX EN VENTE

1984, Vol. XVI, no. 3 — Ethnic Art and Architecture
1985, Vol. XVII, no. 2 — The Métis: Past and Present
1986, Vol. XVIII, no. 2 — Ethnicity in Quebec*
1987, Vol. XIX, no. 3 — The Chinese Experience in Canada
1988, Vol. XX, no. 3 — Atlantic Canada

RECENT REGULAR ISSUES INCLUDE/NUMERO REGULIERS RECENTS COMPRENNENT

1987, Vol. XIX, no. 2 — "Government Perceptions of Ukrainian Immigrants to Western Canada 1896-1902" by John C. Lehr

1988, Vol. XX, no. 1 — "Immigrants and Political Involvement in Canada: The Role of the Ethnic Media" by Jerome H. Black and Christian Leithner

1988, Vol. XX, no. 2 — "Blacks on Canadian Railways" by Agnes Calliste

1989, Vol. XXI, no. 2 — "Networking Discrimination and Multiculturalism as a Social Philosophy" by Manoly R. Lupul

$10.00 for individual issues: *$12.00 for Ethnicity in Quebec/$10.00 pour un seul numéro: *$12.00 pour Le Pluralisme au Québec

For all issues prior to 1988, enquire at the Calgary journal address below/pour les numéros avant 1988 disponibles adressez vos demandes au bureau du joiurnal à Calgary à l'adresse ci-dessous.

Issues also include book and film reviews, opinions, immigrant memoirs, translations of primary sources, books received, an index and annual bibliography.

Chaque numéro comprend des recensions de livres et de films, des opinions, des memoires d'immigrants, des traductions de sources primaires, livres reçus, et des bibliographies.

Subscription rates/frais d'abonnement:	One year/un an
Individuals/particuliers	$30.00
Students/étudiants	$12.00
Institutions/institutions	$36.00

Above rates include a newsletter and membership in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association/Les frais comprennent les bulletins et la qualite de membre de la Societé d'études ethniques au Canada.

Articles for publication, books for review and general correspondence should be addressed to CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES, c/o The University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4 Canada. Single orders and back issues can be obtained from this address.

Subscription orders and Inquiries should be addressed to CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W0 Canada.

Tous les articles, les recensions, et la correspondance générale doivent etre adressés aux ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA. University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4 Canada. Tout numéro courant et ancien de la revue peut être commandé à l'adresse ci-dessus.

Pour les abonnements et les informations prière de vous adresser à la SOCIETE d'ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W0 Canada.

Notes for Contributors

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is a multi-disciplinary, nonspecialized, international journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, methodological considerations, theoretical concerns, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. *Explorations* is a forum for the exchange of ideas.

The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts integrating theory and practice; the staff is equally interested in receiving manuscripts which are exploratory in nature. Contributors should note carefully the following procedures for submissions.

A. Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced (including notes) and are not to exceed twenty pages (including notes).

B. *Explorations* publishes neither bibliographies nor reference lists with articles.

C. Notes should conform to the humanities style as found in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, as follows:

Book	[1]Tomás Rivera, *Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra* (Berkeley: Justa, 1977), 55.
Journal Article	[2]Orlin Malicher, "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement, *Social Work* 18 (January 1973): 65-66.
Newsletter Article	[3]James H. Williams, "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness," *NAIES Newsletter* 5 (October, 1980): 19.
Newspaper Article	[4]"Robert Moses, Master Builder, Is Dead at 92," *New York Times*, 30 July 1981, Midwest edition.
Article in a Book	[5]Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in *Hand-book of Socialization*, ed. D. Goslin (New York: Rand McNally, 1969), 347-580.
Thesis/Dissertation	[6]Michael G. Karni, *"Yhteishyra'-or For the Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940* (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), 115-95.
Subsequent References	[7]Williams, 20.
Additionally	[8]Informational notes are acceptable.

D. Submit four copies of manuscript with author name(s) appearing on a separate page.

E. Clip proper postage to self-addressed envelope.

F. Authors must be members of the Association when their works appear in the journal.

G. NAES has a Style Manual available upon request.

All submissions for *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* are refereed by two or more persons, and it usually takes two months for the readers' reports.

Submit all materials to:

Gretchen M. Bataille, Editor
NAES Publications
Department of English
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 85287-0302

Patrons of the Association

Slovenski Raziskovalni Institute
Trieste, Italy

Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

Institut Za Narodnostna Vprasan
Ljubljana, Yugoslavia

Dr. Jerrold A. Hiura
San Jose, California

Mrs. Dorothy Hiura
San Jose, California

Ethnic Studies Center
Cal State University - Sacramento