

UNITAS

SEMI-ANNUAL PEER-REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL ONLINE JOURNAL
OF ADVANCED RESEARCH IN LITERATURE, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY

Post-colonial Narratives of
Korean-Japanese Literature:
Ethical Issues for the
Displaced

INSEOP SHIN

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(1906) of Lope K Santos:
Reflections on the Problem
of Meaning

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Moreover, it has been multi-linguistic on the whole, allowing itself to evolve from a journal published purely in Spanish, and then in English, becoming bilingual eventually in the various issues in which articles are written in Spanish and English, or

as has been the case in the last several decades, in English and Filipino. And, of late, **UNITAS** has also published articles in other languages.

Apart from its disciplinary inclusiveness and crossovers, in almost 100 years of its existence, **UNITAS** has expanded the conceptual terrain of academic and topical coverage. It has published on cutting-edge and time-honored themes in which both established and emerging voices in research and scholarship are heard in articles that range across traditions, modernities, movements, philosophies, themes, politics, geographies, histories, musical types, architectural styles, gender relations, sexualities, government and non-government institutions, educational philosophies, media, forms, genres, canons, pedagogies, literary and cultural relations, and comparative studies, among others, in book review essays, critical commentaries, scholarly papers, and monographs. Such an expansiveness has allowed for establishing new lines of inquiry or exploring new lines of thinking about old ones.

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Although single-authorship of articles remains typical, **UNITAS** encourages the submission of papers that are co-written by authors working across multi-cultural and multi-linguistic settings, which have resulted from an inter-cultural, inter-regional or inter-national collaboration of researchers in an effort to internationalize knowledge production, circulation and reception.

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In This Issue

“Art vs Politics: Criticism on the Novel in Early Modern Korea” by Jinhyoung Lee traces the emergence of the novel as a distinct genre in the context of Korea’s colonial history. As the paper argues, it was paid at a price. While the novel had traditionally held so much power as a medium for critique, its new-found form in the modern period would blunt its political edge as it began to develop into an aesthetic literary genre all its own.

In “From Identity Formation to Social Transformation: A Dialogue on Filipino American Studies” by Jeffrey Arellano Cabusao and Michael Joseph Viola, two Filipino-American scholars from immigrant families engage in a conversation about growing up in the US, the state of Filipino-American Studies, the works of Carlos Bulosan—a Filipino-American immigrant author best known for his semi-autobiographical novel *America Is in the Heart*—to which they find themselves implicated, as people of color living in the US. Through all their experiences, they reflect upon “the social responsibility of Filipino American intellectual life” and realize that their social commitment “must not be restricted by the boundaries of the academy.”

In “Translating *Banaag at Sikat* (1906) of Lope K Santos by Bayani Santos, Jr., the translator reflects on his English translation of “Sa Batis ng Antipolo,” the first chapter of the canonical Tagalog novel by L.K. Santos. His translation of the chapter, B. Santos, Jr. discovers, is illustrative of specific challenges in translation practice, including, understanding the socio-cultural context of the source text, sensitivity to the nuances of characters and characterization, the use of the “original code” in the translation if a particular expression is without an equivalent in the target language, the need to navigate conflicts in literary traditions in the translation, the struggle to achieve “vernacular accuracy,” among others.

“House of Cards: The One-and-a-Half Story House in Kisapmata” (1981) by Tito R. Quiling, Jr. is an analysis of *Kisapmata* [Blink of an Eye] (1981) by Mike de Leon, in which the film’s setting, as the article argues, is personified into a character. Produced during the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, the film’s depiction of the domestic space is revealed to be repressive due to “limitations set by authority figures,” “suffocating” the inhabitants. The analysis focuses on how, in *Kisapmata*, the “prison-like space” is rendered distinctly in the language of film.

In “Saling-wika / Saling-diwa: Paano Isinalin ang Kasarian sa mga Piling Tula ni Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta” by Imelda P. De Castro, translation becomes not only a linguistic space of gendered subjects but itself a “gendered” space for negotiation by subjects across languages. In itself, translating the works of Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta from English into Filipino presents difficult challenges enough for translators owing to her works’ literary fullness and critical breadth which must be carefully negotiated. But as the essay discusses, the gender inflection of her works marks not only the aesthetic of form but the very gender-identity of her poetics.

“Post-colonial Narratives of Korean-Japanese Literature: Ethical Issues for the Displaced” by Inseop Shin discusses the genre of Korean-Japanese literature and its “special place” in the study of modern Japanese literature from the beginning of its development. By analyzing several significant works, the study underscores its very special place within modern Japanese literature today. A product of the post-colonial experience, it is characterized by “the internalization and transfer of physical and psychological wounds from one generation to the next inflicted by the territorial, cultural, and social disruption under Japanese colonial rule.” As a genre, as the paper points out, “Korean-Japanese literature embodies the post-colonial traumas inflicted by the colonial ravages, and their implications today.”

“The Quest for Peace in the Literatures of Mindanao” by Christine F. Godinez Ortega discusses the folk literatures of Mindanaoans from which they draw lessons about war and conflict in order “to achieve peace.” The author points out that although armed conflict does take place “sporadically” in Central Mindanao, it rarely does so, and that generally, “Mindanao is peaceful.” In studying the literatures of Mindanaoans, this paper expresses the hope that there will be a greater understanding of the complex realities of Mindanao.

“Ryszard Kapuściński as Nomad: De-imperializing the Contemporary Travel Text” is a product of the effort of UNITAS to encourage the research of emerging scholars and facilitate the publication of emergent scholarship which this paper by Jose Monfred C. Sy exemplifies. Submissions being considered for this initiative build from various platforms including completed graduate school theses or dissertations, conference presentations or seminar lectures which have been developed into full papers, rounded out academic essays from ongoing research, and so on, especially by young scholars. In Sy’s paper, through a close analysis of nomadic subjectivity and spatiality, the two reportages by the Polish journalist, Ryszard Kapuściński, *Imperium* and *Shadow of the Sun*, are revealed to be as energetically journalistic as they are powerfully political and luminously literary.

Post-colonial Narratives of Korean-Japanese Literature

Ethical Issues for the Displaced

Inseop Shin

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Abstract

Diasporic literature depicts the migratory lives of people that have moved to other countries. Written in either their own mother tongue or in the adopted language, this “genre” of literature portrays the incompatibility between the lives of the newcomers and those of the native residents. Korean-Japanese literature—Zainichi Korean literature—is a genre within Japan that captures the discordance between experiences of migrants and those of residents which was pioneered by Korean immigrants who had crossed over into Japan. Together with their descendants, they have depicted through the Japanese language the issue of identity crisis, a postcolonial problem which began in the modern era in Korean history—a postcolonial problem that had emerged in the early 1930s. Beyond simply being considered a type of literature about foreign immigrants, the genre of Korean-Japanese literature as a literature of diaspora has revealed the extreme fissures that are experienced in everyday life as a result of immigration.

The difficulties represented in this genre which are rooted in post-colonial realities, characterize the modern history of Korea. It involves the internalization and transfer of physical and psychological wounds from one generation to the next which were inflicted by the territorial, cultural, and social disruptions under the Japanese colonial rule.

As such, this study examines the literary works across a few generations of Korean writers in Japan with the aim of understanding how the genre of Korean-Japanese literature embodies the post-colonial traumas inflicted by colonial ravages, and their implications in contemporary society.

Keywords

colonialism, post-colonial narrative, Korean-Japanese literature, Zainichi Korean literature, diaspora literature, ethical issue

Korean-Japanese literature—or “Zainichi Korean” literature which refers to the literature written by Zainichi Koreans who are ethnic Korean residents of Japan—can be traced back to the Japanese occupation of the Korean Peninsula between 1910 and 1945. After their liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Koreans who were unable to leave Japan were faced with the plight of becoming refugees who had lost their homeland. There are various reasons why they could not return to their homeland, but the most notable was that they had become financially dependent on Japan. The decision about whether or not to return to their homeland was further made complicated by the confusion that ensued after the division of the Korean Peninsula and the outbreak of the Korean War. The origins of Korean-Japanese literature can be found in the aftermath of the Japanese imperialist invasion. In order to understand the works produced by Koreans that remained in Japan, it is first necessary to understand the historical terrain that engendered their loss of homeland, and how their status changed from immigrants to refugees in Japan.

In this context, this paper focuses on the problem of “the drifting outsiders” represented in Korean-Japanese literature which was an outcome of the turbulent history of modern Korea and Japan. The phrase refers to people who, like refugees, have lost their homeland and the descendants of such people. Even after they settled in Japan, they still experience a sense of instability about their lives in that they always feel as if they are ‘on the move’ rather than settled.

This aspect would help to clearly show the nature of Korean-Japanese literature as a form of postcolonial literature. Beginning with the first generation of Zainichi Korean writers who wrote in the Japanese language, Korean-Japanese literature has progressed into the current third generation. This paper will be discussing the text and context of the major authors of each generation so that we may have a greater insight into the development of Korean diasporic literature in Japan that was born out of the colonial experiences of Zainichi Koreans.

Immigrant writers of the first generation include Hyuk-joo Jang, Sa-ryang Kim, and Dal-soo Kim. Exhibiting their own unique style, these three writers depicted the confusion and diversity in the experience of living in the Japanese Empire. The Korean-Japanese literature produced by the second generation of immigrants represented the lives of those who continued to live in a post-colonial situation on the boundary between Korea and Japan.¹ While these aging, second-generation immigrant writers are still active, the third-generation writers are now receiving recognition in the Japanese literary world. A salient feature one can find in the third generation is their struggle to break away from the imaginary community that the second-generation writers had fabricated. They are aware of the political ideologies dividing their homeland and the discrimination stemming from Japan's ideology of a single-race nation. Yet, they dream of a utopia in which they are freed from such burdens.

This study examines the literary works across generations of Korean writers in Japan with the aim of understanding how the genre of Korean-Japanese literature carries the wounds of post-colonialism and the suggestive nature of their depictions of the irregularities of life. By and large, Korean-Japanese literature has depicted the realities of the absurd conditions of human life brought about by imperialism and has been dependent on the framework of national and ethnic narratives. It also brings forward the possibility of escaping such boundaries.

II

The literature of diaspora captures the lives of migration of those who have moved to other countries. Written in either their own mother tongue or in the adopted language, such literature portrays the incompatibility between the lives of the newcomers and those of the native residents. What is called "Japanese-Korean literature" consists of those texts that possess such features within Japan. Korean-Japanese literature was originally written in the "Japanese language" in the early 1930s by those who migrated from Korea to Japan in the early twentieth century and their descendants. During

this period, literary works in colonial Korea (called “Joseon” at that time) still appeared in the Korean language, but as the colonial rule became stronger, Japanese became widely adopted as the language of intellectuals. This led to the creation of literary works in the Japanese language. As will be discussed in the next section, Hyuk-joo Jang, Sa-ryang Kim, and Dal-soo Kim planted the roots of Korean-Japanese literature.

In the early twentieth century, the Koreans living in Japan numbered to only a few hundred. However, it increased up to about 10% (estimated 2.4 million people) of the population of Korea by 1945, the year in which Korea gained freedom from the Japanese rule. (The Committee for Writing the History of Korean Residents in Japan, 8) The large-scale movement of Koreans to Japan was mainly driven by Japan’s exploitation of the economy of colonial Korea. The Koreans who lost their land in their own country were seeking jobs in Japan and Japan needed low-wage labor force as its empire expanded. Historically speaking, since the 1930s, Japan has supplied a large number of Korean workers to the mainland of Japan by means of “forced manpower draft” (46), which even today, is a cause of controversy over the human rights of Koreans in the Japanese colonial era.

The curse of the colonial history continued even after Korea gained independence. After the turmoil sweeping the Korean Peninsula, which led to the division of the country into South and North Korea and subsequently the Korean War, some Koreans in foreign lands became stranded there. Many people had returned to their homeland, but many others had to remain overseas because the circumstances were not favorable for their return. By that time, there were about 600,000 Koreans staying in Japan who were still considered as “Japanese nationals” as they had been under the Japanese imperial rule. However, the Treaty of San Francisco, which was signed in 1951, changed the status of ethnic Korean migrants living in Japan to “foreigners” and hence, the Koreans in Japan became “de facto refugees” (11). Zainichi Koreans are defined as “those who migrated to Japan as ‘Japanese’ in the old colonial period and their descendants.” In the “history of their formation,” they are different from the “foreigners” who have simply moved in from other countries (78). In the San Francisco Treaty, there is no consideration

of the fact that unlike “foreigners” who had moved to Japan on their own free will, Zainichi Koreans had come to live in Japan as a result of the Japanese colonial system.

These “refugees” had to choose their nationality in accordance with the foreign regulations of the Japanese government but they were not allowed to become Japanese citizens by naturalization except in very rare cases. Therefore, the choice left for them was to choose between Joseon and Republic of Korea (South Korea). Since North Korea did not have diplomatic relations with Japan, those who chose North Korea wrote down “Joseon” on the government paper, which essentially refers to North Korea. Those who supported neither South nor North politically could not help but also put down “Joseon” on the paper as it was the name of their homeland when they were staying on the Korean Peninsula under the Japanese colonial rule well before the South-North division. If Korean residents in Japan declare their nationality as “Joseon”, they cannot get a passport issued by the South Korean government. In addition to their unstable status as people living in Japan, there were restrictions on their movement overseas. For instance, as they did not have passports, it was very troublesome for them to travel abroad or in some cases, they feared that they might be denied re-entry into Japan.

It is worth noting here that some of the intellectuals who chose “Joseon” as their nationality claimed that “Joseon” was the name of the country in the pre-colonial Korean Peninsula. Most of them were from the southern part of the land, but were reluctant to choose South Korea as their nationality as they thought it would, after all, be an act of approving the territory distorted by colonialism, i.e., the divided homeland. However, the act of choosing “Joseon” meant that he/she took a hostile stance towards the South Korean government, which in turn, would prevent the person from going over to his hometown in South Korea to meet his family and relatives as well as visit and pay respects at his/her ancestors’ graves.

In essence, Korean-Japanese literature tells the story of the immigrants who faced various irregularities caused by post-colonialism including the problem of “Joseon nationality”.²

Korea is currently the only nation in the world divided by ideology and continues to grapple with ideological conflicts despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the East-European communist bloc. The roots of the situation go back to the two chapters in Korean history that still define Korean society today. The first is the narrative of liquidating the vestiges of Japanese colonial rule. The second is that of the two Koreas and the anti-communist discourse and reunification discourse that come with it.

The narrative of abolishing all remnants of Japanese colonialism is a critical discourse that claims that the majority of the establishments that took power after independence were dependent upon the intellectual, economic, and human resources that were formed in exchange for their cooperation with Japanese colonial rule. This is the issue as formulated by the progressive forces in Korea which still remains a popular subject in the progressive media. Progressive intellectuals and media point out that South Korea has yet to fully cleanse itself of the vestiges of Japanese colonialism. They claim that the class that served under the regime of Japanese imperialism has taken over the old power after Korea's independence to become the new ruling class of South Korea.³

Anti-communism and the drive for reunification are like the opposite sides of the coin in the narrative of South and North Korea. It was an ideological construct frequently utilized by the conservative governments in South Korea to secure the legitimacy of their rule ever since the independence from Japan.⁴

Recently, however, negotiations for peace and reconciliation are underway in the Korean Peninsula. The inter-Korean summit in the spring of 2018 is only one small step towards a series of agreements on North Korea's denuclearization. However, the détente mood is certainly encouraging enough to make us imagine the unification of the Korean Peninsula. Behind this progress is the decline of anti-communism, which is the remnant of colonialism.

They warned the people in the South of the potential danger of a North Korean invasion, using anti-communism as a strategy for maintaining power, although the countless cases of human rights abuse during this

process speaks for itself. With the suppression of the progressive intellectuals and accusations of espionage,⁵ anti-communist ideology also became a means of prolonging the regime. The two national narratives of liquidation of pro-Japanese remnants and of anti-communism originate from the division brought forth by the occupation of the peninsula by Japan (1910-1945) followed by the Korean War (1950-1953). The loss of sovereignty to the Japanese empire had created a narrative of loss that still resonates within the politics, economy, and culture of Korea.

This is due to the fact that the internalization of the negative perception of the colonial experience continues to be passed on to the next generation through the national narrative of the loss of sovereignty. The liquidation of colonial remnants is still a diplomatic issue and such colonial and neo-colonial legacies continuously affect economic and cultural exchanges.

The two aforementioned narratives are linked to the postcolonial situation of Korea in which there has been a collective movement of the people. Deprived of their nation, the people of Korea migrated to Japan, China, and Russia during the colonial period to avoid political persecution and economic deprivation. With such a large-scale national movement, many people left their homeland, never to return. Such was the tragic product of Japanese colonialism.⁶ Many narratives in Korea-Japanese literature feature characters with disruptive and unstable identities making for a compelling framework for the understanding of the postcolonial movement of people. This literature, which lies in the boundary between Korean and Japanese literature, is characterized by increasingly sharp representations of the severity of post-colonial traumas that the national literatures of both countries fail to register in themselves individually.

III

During its domination of the Korean Peninsula, Japan not only exploited Korea economically and forcibly drafted manpower but also seized the people under a powerful assimilation policy. At the core of this assimilation policy was the education of the Japanese language. When Korea was part



Hyuk-joo Jang

of Japan's territory, Korean writers were also expected to adopt Japanese as their new native language. From the perspective of many of the writers, Japan's iron grasp upon Korea saw no likelihood of disappearing. Hence, writing in Japanese was a logical choice that promised to extend their careers as writers. Three writers may be considered the pioneers of Korean-Japanese literature during the colonial period: Hyuk-joo Jang, Sa-ryang Kim, and Dal-soo Kim.

In April 1932, Hyuk-joo Jang (張赫宙, 1905-1988) won the second-place prize from the Japanese literary magazine *Kaizo* for his novel *Gakido* (餓鬼道) which was written in Japanese.⁷ The reason why Hyuk-joo Jang's *Gakido* appealed to the Japanese readers can probably be found in the fact that the novel vividly represented the poverty-stricken life in the colony. *Gakido* depicts the plight of poor farmers who live from hand to mouth as follows:

For the past three years, the womenfolks have been digging up grassroots for food. Severe droughts hit South Korea, so they planted millet instead of

rice in the paddies and fields. But even that did not ripe properly. The millet and beans harvested in the autumn were confiscated by the landowners and the farmers were compelled to sun-dry the leaves of radish and Chinese cabbage, red pepper, and bean leaves for food. Oftentimes they could not get these enough either. So, they wandered through hills and hillocks to find grass roots. Each year, debts were incurred for farming costs. Household items that had any value were sold until there was nothing valuable left. If the grass roots in the fields had owners, the farmers would have starved to death and no one would have survived. (Hyuk-joo Jang, 2006)

Due to the good reception of this narrative of the devastation of so many people in the colony caused by famine, Hyuk-joo Jang moved his home from Korea to Tokyo in 1936 and became earnestly active in the Japanese literary circle. He was trying to achieve success with novels written in the Japanese language because his Korean works were not well-received in Korea. But whenever he wrote the way the Japanese writers did, he was not well received in the Japanese literary world. The Japanese literary world had a high opinion of Hyuk-joo Jang only to the extent that he provided the exotic taste for the colonies that Japanese readers found interest in. Unaware of this, Hyuk-joo Jang tried to assimilate into the empire by imitating the Japanese literati who were “in close contact with the literature of the mainland,” (Nakane 272) caught between having to prove his worth as a writer by writing about Korea once again, and singing praises about Japanese imperialism. Ultimately, after the liberation of Korea, he was naturalized in Japan and lived the rest of his life as a Japanese citizen.

Sa-ryang Kim (金史良, 1914-1950) took a different path from Hyuk-joo Jang and was a more recognized writer than Jang in Japanese literature. Like many other Korean intellectuals and writers, Sa-ryang Kim went to Japan to study during the Japanese colonial rule. There, he wrote novels in Japanese, and his work *Into the Light* was nominated for the prestigious Akutagawa Prize. He was ranking with the mainstream Japanese writers. (Jooyoung Kim, 235)

Into the Light succeeds in its portrayal of the struggle faced by a colonial intellectual who goes to Tokyo Imperial University for study and dreams of being incorporated into the imperial order. As can be seen in the following

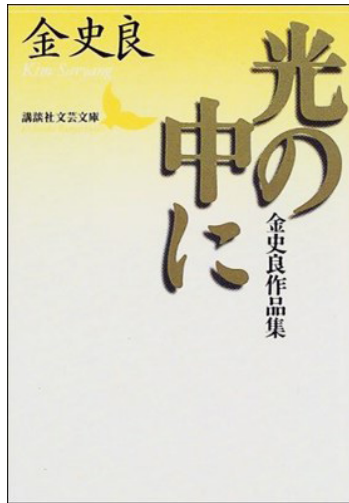


Sa-ryang Kim

quote, the protagonist experiences a serious identity crisis through his conflict between using a Japanese surname and a Korean surname.

I don't know when, but I passed for Minami (南) sensei within the association. As you may know, my surname should be pronounced as Nam (南), but for various reasons, I was known by a Japanese name. Above all, it must have been because my colleagues called me so. It weighed heavily on my mind at first. But later on I thought to myself that it might be better this way for the sake of playing together with these innocent children. *And so I used to repeat to myself time and time again that I had no inclination towards hypocrisy neither had I a reason to be servile.* Certainly, I found myself preparing an excuse that if there had been a Korean child in this class, I would have forcefully asked him to call me by the name Nam. And that would have had a bad emotional effect on both the Korean and the Japanese students. (S. Kim 7, italics mine)

As we can see from the quotes, the hero could not free his desire to be called by a Japanese surname without having to go through the pain of providing a justification for it. What distinguished this main character from



Into the Light by Sa-ryang Kim

those found in the novels of Hyuk-joo Jang was that the colonial intellectual who entered the empire contemplates about the ethical problem relating to his identity in the first-person.

It is common to describe one's own inner world in the first person point of view, but in this novel, the protagonist reveals the subtle ethical problems involved in living in a colonial reality by objectifying the image of himself in the act of pandering to imperialism. This characterizes the ethical dilemma felt by the writer himself who also wanted to assimilate into the empire by writing novels in the Japanese language.

Sa-ryang Kim reflects on his pro-Japanese activities just as Minami does in the novel, and turns away from his past when he cooperated with imperialism to move towards a nationalist stance instead. Immediately before Korea's liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, he sympathized with North Korea's nationalism, which can be regarded as a kind of atonement for his pro-Japanese career.

Unlike Hyuk-joo Jang, who ultimately remained in Japan, he joined the movement for the communist revolution of Korea in 1945 and, after the

division of the Korean Peninsula, wrote novels in North Korea that glorified the proletarian revolution. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, he enlisted as a war writer and presumably died during the conflict. (Jooyoung Kim 236)

Hyuk-Joo Jang and Sa-ryang Kim undeniably experienced the same identity crisis as colonial intellectuals. The colonial situation of this time could not have helped but set the stage for the development of such ambiguities. The two writers both lived in Japan during the colonial period. However, the story of the third writer, Dal-soo Kim (金達壽, 1919-1997) who made his debut after Korea's independence, takes on a different path.

Dal-soo Kim's *The Street of Descendants* (1948), which he began writing in 1946 shortly after Japan's defeat in the Second World War, illustrates why and how he was so symbolic as a pioneer of post-colonial Korean-Japanese literature.⁸

The Street of Descendants by Dal-soo Kim is unusual in that it includes reflections on the colonial experience of the first-generation Zainichi Korean writer. After working as a newspaper reporter in Japan, the main character returns to his colonial homeland to become a reporter for the official organ of the Japanese Government-General of Korea in which Japanese was used as the 'official language,' and hence, the paper's language.

The story revolves around the young man who returns to his homeland from Japan and finds himself blending easily into Japanese culture even though he is resistant to the colonial rule. What is of particular interest here is that the story narrates the anxiety that the protagonist suffers as a result of the fact that he can no longer speak his mother tongue unable to use it especially for literary expression. Obviously, this is a case of an author who brings the contemporary historical context into his work as fictional material. *The Street of Descendants* was the starting point for the awareness of the linguistic dimension of the problem of the literature of Korean writers in Japan who were writing in Korean and not in Japanese rendering the status of the Korean writers in Japan at that time somewhat peculiar and complex. Hyuk-joo Jang and Sa-ryang Kim belonged to the generation of Zainichi Korean writers who wrote in the Korean language. After a while, Dal-soo

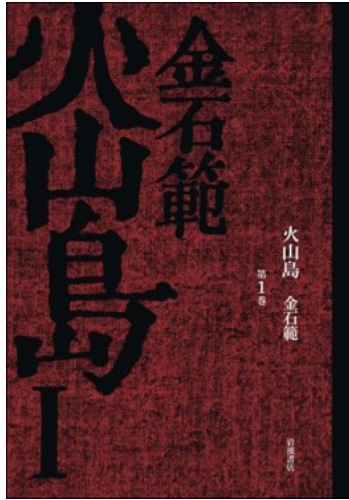
Kim and most of the second-generation Zainichi writers wrote in Japanese. Before and after the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule, ethnic Koreans who had grown up in Japan found it very difficult to speak Korean above the level of everyday conversation caused by the discrimination against Koreans and the lack of Korean educational institutions in Japan.

The apparent anxiety of the protagonist about the well-being of his own folks and the guilt about his inability to speak the national language (his mother tongue) are not only internalized but also externalized, coming to the surface of his consciousness, and making him “feel out of place” (Hayashi 12). Such a feeling was triggered by the fact that the Zainichi Korean writers had to write novels in Japanese. Even though they abhorred the colonizers, they were forced to acknowledge that they were fully acquainted with the language of their very rulers.

IV

Suk-bum Kim (金石範, 1925-) was born in Japan when Korea was under Japanese rule. He came to Jeju Island, Korea, where he lived until 1946, a year after Korea’s Independence from Japan. That year, he smuggled himself into Japan, planning to stay there only for a short time. However, the “Jeju Uprising” broke out on the 3rd of April, 1948. In the turmoil that ensued, Kim had no choice but to remain in Japan. He has lived there ever since.⁹ “The Jeju Uprising”, which is sometimes called “the Jeju Massacre” or “the Jeju 4.3 Incident,” can be traced back to the time when police fired into demonstrators on March 1, 1947 during a collision between the Korean police and the people of Jeju Island.¹⁰ Numerous innocent civilians were killed in the armed conflicts. Interpretation of the incident is still a controversial matter.¹¹

The South Korean government was established after the US military occupation of South Korea. Dal-soo Kim¹², who remained in Japan as a first-generation emigrant, and Suk-bum Kim, who moved to Japan just before the Jeju Uprising, declared the South Korean government to be anti-nationalist. They supported Il-Sung Kim’s regime of North Korea, believing it to



Volcanic Island Suk-bum Kim

be closer to the nationalist ideology. However, most Korean writers in Japan were native to South Korea but due to their outspoken support of North Korea, they were considered enemies by the South Korean government. The road to their homeland was closed off.

Suk-bum Kim opposed anti-nationalism because he abhorred the US military government in South Korea and the Syngman Rhee regime that triggered the Jeju Uprising. Yet, this was not to say he sympathized with the communist regime of North Korea. Suk-bum Kim's epic novel *Volcanic Island* (1957-1997), based on the Jeju Uprising, depicts a divided nation exercising force over a fragmented people. Kim believed the unified, homogeneous nation of "Joseon", before it was colonized by Japan, to be his homeland. Therefore, when the time came to choose his nationality, he did not acknowledge the division of the country into the North and the South. He became stateless and remains so to this day. Living in Japan, he owns neither a North nor a South Korean passport. However, he claims to be of "Joseon nationality", but the country of "Joseon" does not exist. This was a terrible ethical punishment brought about by post-colonialism upon the nationalist

writers of Korean-Japanese literature. Seeking atonement for the guilt he feels from fleeing to Japan during the Jeju Uprising, Kim forbids himself from visiting his homeland.

This tragedy is not unique to the writers of Korean-Japanese literature. Within Japan, Korean residents are divided into two groups: those that are pro-Pyongyang and those that are pro-Seoul. This division was the source of ceaseless political, economic, and cultural confrontation and conflict among the Zainichi Koreans¹³. The discord quieted only in the late 1980s and early 1990s when they witnessed the collapse of communism worldwide, and the miserable reality of the North was exposed to the world. As the North Korean regime increasingly became a personality cult, Korean writers in Japan gradually turned away from their support of the North to embrace the South. Even during this process, the ethical conflicts and confrontations did not cease to exist. As for Suk-bum Kim, he never intended to support the North, nor could he support the South where the military regime continued to rule. Acquiring South Korean nationality was nothing more than an act of betrayal to his beliefs. The second generation of Korean Diasporic writers in Japan were faced with the bleak reality of post-colonialism that forced them to make ethical choices regardless of their will.¹⁴

When faced with ethical conflicts and confusion, people make moral choices by establishing principles based on subjective and objective criteria. However, as for the second-generation of Zainichi Korean writers, when they make choices based on their conscience, they will be bound to repress their basic human rights to return home and meet their family. If they choose to follow through with their right to return home, they will be faced with conflicts that could only betray their beliefs. This situation makes their decision an ethical one, but the ethical choices concerned did not originate in their actions but were in front of them from the outset. Nevertheless, there are still some writers like Suk-bum Kim who have chosen their beliefs.

There are writers like Kaisei Ri (李恢成), Suk-bum Kim's contemporary, who are burdened by their fathers' sins. Born in Sakhalin, now part of Russian territory, Kaisei Ri moved to the Japanese mainland when Japan lost

the war, and has lived there ever since as a writer. In 1972, he became the first Zainichi Korean to win the Akutagawa Prize.

Kaisei Ri's work would be found in the description of the guilt associated with his father.¹⁵ Choonsoo, the protagonist of his magnum opus *Watershed Above* (1992), recalls an incident when his father cooperated with Japanese colonialists, but still ran away in secret with his family as Japan lost the Second World War and relates how he resents the father who he thinks is the cause of the problems within the family.

The protagonist reacts very sensitively to his father's actions and feels guilty that he has fled and left behind his relatives. The guilt stems from his rumination that he himself was an accomplice to this immoral action. His father betrayed his compatriots by cooperating with Japanese imperialism, but Choonsoo feels that he himself was no different despite being but a child back then. His remorse is directed towards his 'self' who was convinced of the victory of the Japanese empire during his childhood in Sakhalin. There would have been no way for a child to have known anything about the empire, Japan, or Korea.

Therefore, it might be an excessive form of self-censorship to regret his childhood. However, this is also an example of how difficult it is for the second generation of Zainichi Koreans to form a diasporic identity. For them, the idea of fatherhood has a negative connotation in that the father is the cause of the son's life as the rootless outsider. As a son of such a father, when trying to define himself he finds nothing but a negative self-image. He is mindful of this negativity surrounding himself because he faces internal turmoil due to the discrimination in Japan and the conflict caused by the division of the Korean Peninsula.

The case raises an ethical issue that Korean residents in Japan face when they try to establish their own identity. The struggles arise from the conflict between their relationship with the homeland and the fathers who are to be blamed for their situation.¹⁶

Just like the original sin, this situation threatens to smother the characters and is conveyed through the scenes depicting the father's fits of violence.

Let's take an example from *The Sorrow of the Land* by Hak-young Kim, a second-generation Korean-Japanese writer:

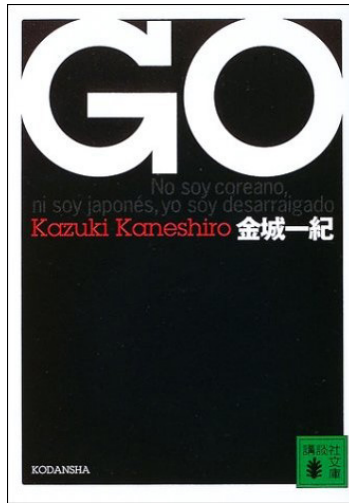
My father often beat my mother. Ever since she married my father at the age of 21, my father has beat her repeatedly hundreds and thousands of times. He seems to think that afflicting her with physical pain was a form of education. (. . .) "I don't even know how many times I have taught you. Regardless, the attitude of women doesn't seem to see any improvement." But this was a perverse claim. My father was uneducated, illiterate, and ignorant. He did not have enough rational control of himself to suppress his temper, and merely wielded tyranny blindly and impulsively. Just as he had once beaten me almost to death, propelled by a blind impulse unbeknownst even to himself, my father continued to beat my mother, driven by this very same impulse that he could not control. (309)

The violence of the father, especially one that is directed at the mother, is a scene that often appears in the works of second-generation Korean-Japanese writers. The gaze of the son, who is the narrator and protagonist, is cold. The father in the eyes of his son is not a fearful man, one that is uneducated and incompetent. We see a man who has lost his moorings and wields impulsive violence to hide his complexity.¹⁷

V

The father figure represented in the novels of third-generation Zainichi writers is of the second generation of immigrants and does not wish to pass on to the next generation the burdens he has shouldered. He wishes to contain it within his own generation. On the other hand, the writers among the third generation of emigrants desire to liberate themselves from the instability of their identities through various experimentations. They seek to establish their identities in the borderline between the Korean and the Japanese.

With the thawing of the Cold War and the introduction to an era of globalization, the writers of the third-generation migrants in Japan desire to walk their own path seeing themselves to be situated across national, generational, and cultural boundaries. For them, Korea may be the home-



GO by Kazuki Kaneshiro

land of their grandfather but it is not their own. They are not naturalized as Japanese citizens, but neither do they wish to define themselves as being Koreans. There lies a conflict in their dream of a utopia—which shows them in a possession of a distinct identity as Korean residents in Japan rather than have a certain nationality. They are more engrossed in their own personal problems than with issues of nationality.

In this regard, Kazuki Kaneshiro's novel, *GO* (2000) is a typical, third-generation Zainichi Korean literature that pursues individual freedom rather than ideological or nationalist values. *GO* not only won the prestigious Naoki Prize but is also significant in that it is a novel by a Zainichi Korean writer that became a bestseller. The novel shows a young Korean man who is no longer tied to the ideology of nation and race. This novel suggested a new direction in Korean-Japanese literature by humorously portraying the serious national and ethnic subject that restrains individuals.

The work portrays a family in a fierce conflict which was frequently dealt with in second-generation Zainichi Korean literature. The father, who is a former boxer, beats his son, but the son fights back with his fist.

We no longer see a timid weakling of a son suffering from a tyrant father. Nevertheless, the father is a gentle husband to his wife, and a courageous father who, hitherto a staunch adherent of the political ideology of North Korea, abandons Marxism to secure his son's freedom of travel.

I mentioned earlier how selecting South Korean nationality over the North Korean nationality causes a significant ethical conflict in second-generation Zainichi writers. However, third-generation writer Kazuki Kaneshiro does not approach it from an ethical standpoint, but turns it into a matter of personal choice. In other words, the father's conversion is an effort to get out of the legacy of colonialism by eliminating the possibility of such a burden falling on the son.

The main character, now free from the possibility of the conflict, falls in love with a Japanese girl. In the novel, there is also an episode in which he confesses that he is a Zainichi Korean and embarrasses the Japanese girl. Most Japanese residents in Japan use Japanese names, speak Japanese, and are educated in Japanese. Therefore, their identities are not easily exposed except when they choose to unveil themselves, or when there are certain occasions such as employment, marriage, overseas travel, and issuing of official documents. In giving a solution to these ethnic issues, *GO* was different from the works of second-generation writers.

Even more crucial is the point that the main character, the Korean boy, does not define himself either as a Korean or as a Japanese. He wants to turn away from the issue of nationality in order to live as an individual pursuing his personal happiness. More important than the discussion of the feasibility of the utopia of the young man is the fact that the imagination in Zainichi Korean literature moves away from the trauma of imperialism towards the pursuit of happiness of individuals.

I would like to remind you that the novel was published in 2000. Due to the ease of movement and the demand for multiculturalism brought about by globalism, traditional issues such as the diplomatic problems in Korea-Japan relations and the isolation of the North Korean regime fail to exert their power as factors that bind individual lives. By boldly propounding this new

phase, *GO* can be regarded as the first step in the healing process of the scars of colonialism in the field of literature.

To be sure, political and economic discrimination in the lives of the colonized directly or indirectly affects their formation of self-identity. Interestingly, the characters exposed to postcolonial oppression not only vent their hate for the perpetrators but are also often linked to the moral issue of their own victimization, exacerbating their instability further. The Zainichi Korean writers amongst the first-generation migrants in Japan represented the diasporic situation in their condition of being drifters of a ruined nation. Whilst yearning for their homeland, they often agonized over the hypocrisy and helplessness they felt in being forced to pretend to be Japanese. In a situation not unlike Orientalism, in which they internalized the scrutiny of the people of the far-advanced Japanese culture, these writers could not help being tormented by the incongruity of their identities as colonial subjects.

On the other hand, the works of the second-generation Zainichi Korean writers frequently address the issues of the helplessness, rebellion, and resistance to the discriminatory life forced upon them. They often attribute their anger for their unstable identities to the violence they experienced from their fathers at home. This was because the father was the very person who compelled the son to suffer discrimination. The depiction of the violent father and the poor suffering mother by second-generation writers delves into the gender issues of diaspora and intensifies the identity crisis they endure. Faced with the predicament of being unable to assume either the Japanese identity or their father's, they found solace by sympathizing with the patient suffering weathered by their mothers. The works of the second-generation ethnic Koreans in Japan are also characterized by a representation of the unresolvable political friction between North and South Korea, and how it made their life in Japan much more arduous.

With the thawing of the Cold War and the introduction to an era of globalization, the writers of the third-generation ethnic Koreans in Japan view themselves being situated on national, generational, and cultural boundaries, and as such, they desire to walk on their own independent path.

For them, Korea may be the homeland of their grandfather but it is not their own. They are not naturalized as Japanese citizens, but neither do they wish to define themselves as being Koreans. They dream of a utopia on the borderline between the two identities. In the narratives of third-generation Zainichi Korean writers, the main characters tend to prefer the separate identity of being Korean-Japanese (Zainichi Korean) rather than having a certain nationality. They are more engrossed in their own personal problems than the issues of nationality, ethnicity, ideology, and politics. Furthermore, they are more keen on the solidarity of the minorities.

Notes

1. In fact, the literature of such second-generation immigrants is the core of Korean-Japanese literature because they express 'HAN'. 'HAN (恨)' is a word used to express a particular sentiment that is difficult to express beyond the Korean language. The word embodies the deep-set pain of bitterness, remorse, grief, and distress. It is the pain felt by those that were forced to live in a foreign land without the ability nor the choice to leave. It is a sentiment embodying a fateful bitterness stewed from a prolonged and accumulated suffering. Koreans imagine that the sentiment subconsciously flows within their people. (The following example may help to understand the implications of 'Han': 'I cannot close my eyes for the Han that I feel in not being able to meet my mother again due to the separation of Korea'.) Although Korea and Japan are in close proximity to one another, the sea called the Korea Strait between the two nations has proven to be a great barrier to the Korean residents in Japan. In connection with this, the literature narrates some of the absurd circumstances faced by the Korean Japanese during their involuntary residence in Japan. Moving beyond simply being a literature of foreign immigrants, Korean-Japanese literature will reveal the characteristic of demonstrating the extreme fissures that appear in daily life from the result of immigration.
2. This is an important subject that embodies the aberrations of post-colonialism beginning with the first generation of immigrants up to the current generation. Caused by the destruction of their land, culture, and society under Japanese colonial rule, the physical and psychological wounds internalized in the lives of the Korea residents in Japan could not help but surface in Korean-Japanese literature.
3. Politically, the progressive governments under the presidencies of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun worked to liquidate the legacy of Japanese rule. However, this process was slowed down during the presidencies of the opposing party when Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye were in office. For instance, President Roh Moo-hyun put into place the Presidential Committee for the Inspection of Collaborations for Japanese Imperialism (PCIC, 2005-2009) to brush away the footprints of colonialism. However, the effort fizzled out in the conservative regimes that followed.
4. The Rhee Syngman and Park Chung-hee governments exploited the political ideology to maintain their dictatorial power.
5. The anecdotes of Gyung-sik Seo and his brothers, second-generation Korean intellectuals living in Japan, will hopefully provide a glimpse of this situation. Gyung-sik Seo is a theorist who writes for the solidarity of the minority by

expanding the historical experience of Korean residents in Japan to the discussion of Diaspora. In 1971, his two brothers who were studying in South Korea were accused of being communist ideologists and arrested for thought crimes on the basis that they visited North Korea, an act that was forbidden under South Korean law. After seventeen years of imprisonment under false accusations, Jun-sik, Gyung-sik's second eldest brother, was released. Seung, the eldest, served nineteen years. While being tortured, Seung tried to commit suicide and suffered severe burns on his face. He served out his time as an unconverted long-term political prisoner. Jun-sik Seo finished his sentence of 7 years, but had to serve additional 10 years because he refused to turn away from socialist thought. (Seo, 70)

6. Millions of Koreans in China and Russia were completely deprived of their opportunity to return due to the ideological rifts of the Cold War era. Only with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reforms of China did they regain the opportunity to visit their homeland.
7. Hyuk-joo Jang and Sa-ryang Kim were authors who embodied what Homi Bhabha refers to as 'ambivalence' and 'hybridity' of colonial intellectuals (Jiyoung Kim, 19). If the above-mentioned two writers were colonial literary figures, each of whom formed a hybrid self between the identity of the empire and the identity of the mother country, Dal-soo Kim, who wrote in Japan after Korea's independence from Japan, pursued a strong nationalist streak.
8. In 2006, *The Collection of Korean-Japanese Literature* compiled 18 volumes of more than 600 works of literature by 54 Zainichi Korean writers. Included in this collection are the works of Dal-soo Kim. There is a common perception amongst academics that Korean-Japanese literature starts from Dal-soo Kim.
9. As Suk-bum Kim was born in Japan, he is sometimes said to belong to the second-generation writers of Korean immigrants. But, it might be more accurate to say that he is of the 1.5 generation because he himself chose to go to Japan.
10. The delayed settlement of the incident and the intervention of the communist party (which was active at that time in South Korea) further complicated the problem. On March 3, 1948, a popular uprising took root. From that point until September 21, 1954, the uprising of the people of Jeju Island and the suppressive force of the Korean government violently clashed.
11. Differing viewpoints can be found between the progressive and conservative politics of Korea. The casualties of the Jeju conflict are estimated to be over ten times larger and much crueler in nature than those of the 1980 Gwangju Democratization Movement, a comparable uprising. Since the Gwangju Democratization Movement was a resistance against a dictatorship, the conservatives cannot help but acknowledge their mistakes. Applying an anti-communist angle to the incident is difficult as this would be a claim that communists

intervened in the conflict. The Jeju Uprising, on the other hand, was a clear case of conflict between the conservative and the progressive, between anti-communism and democracy. For the conservative faction, any communist intervention in South Korea, a nation divided by two antagonistic political ideologies, was unacceptable in the maintenance of the conservative regime.

12. In his magnum opus *The Korea Strait*, Dal-soo Kim strongly supported the North Korean line and portrayed Il-Sung Kim, now regarded by many as a notorious dictator, in favorable light.
13. Zainichi Koreans refer to ethnic Koreans who live in Japan. 'Zainichi' means 'living or residing in Japan'. In this paper Zainichi Koreans are alternatively referred to as 'Korean residents (living) in Japan' and similar phrases.
14. As such, Suk-bum Kim scathingly criticized Kaisei Ri (Hoesung Lee in Korean), who chose to acquire a South Korean nationality once the democratic government came to power with pacifist Dae-jung Kim at its helm as president. Undoubtedly, Kaisei Ri's decision was no simple matter. Kaisei Ri's acceptance of the South Korean nationality was an act of abandonment for his belief that the homeland could only be a unified whole. It was an acknowledgement of the aberrant state of post-colonialism. Regarding this, Suk-bum Kim condemned Kaisei Ri's defection in his "What is 'Nationality' for the 'Korean Residents in Japan' Now—A Letter to Mr. Kaisei Ri" (Suk-bum Kim, 131-142).
15. The following discussion of Kaisei Ri is from Shin, Inseop; and Kim, Jooyoung. "Ethics of Father and Son in Ri's 流域へ (Watershed Above) and Kaneshiro's GO." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 17.5 (2015), with some revision and the permission of the co-author.
16. In this novel, during his trip to the Soviet Union, he reflects upon his ethics using his father as a mirror. The ethical debt bequeathed to him manifests itself in the poignant self-criticism and self-examination of the protagonist. The core theme of the story is that, by reorienting himself in his relationship with his father the son is reborn as a responsible ethical agent in time for a new future to unfold with the end of the Cold War. The father's generation was that of the Cold War, but the ethical responsibility to settle the inherited debts is placed on the shoulders of the son.
17. This theme of patriarchal violence also appears frequently in the works of the aforementioned Kaisei Ri. The 'father' was the cause of ethical conflict for many of the second-generation emigrants. The work of Kaisei Ri depicts the identity crisis of the protagonist that stems from the connection between his change of nationality and the poor judgement of his father who strives to survive in the empire.

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From Identity Formation to Social Transformation

A Dialogue on Filipino American Studies

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Abstract

Jeffrey Arellano Cabusao provides an editorial introduction to his 2016 edited volume *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt: Critical Perspectives on Carlos Bulosan* (University Press of America, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield). This anthology gathers for the first time nearly sixty years of literary criticism by scholars in the United States and the Philippines on the first major Filipino writer in the United States – Carlos Bulosan. The editorial introduction will discuss how *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt* documents the unfolding of Bulosan’s radical literary imagination which straddle the colonial and neocolonial periods of U.S.-Philippine relations (from the pre-Pacific War period to the Cold War period). Six decades of literary criticism inventory Bulosan’s invaluable contributions to modern diasporic Filipino literature that, when historicized, reconceptualize concepts such as transnationality (border crossing), hybridity, and the binary opposition between Asian/Asian American literatures. In addition to discussing the significance of *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt*, the editorial introduction will reprint Cabusao’s dialogue piece (featured in the anthology) with distinguished Asian American scholars Lane Hirabayashi and Marilyn Alquizola on their groundbreaking research on

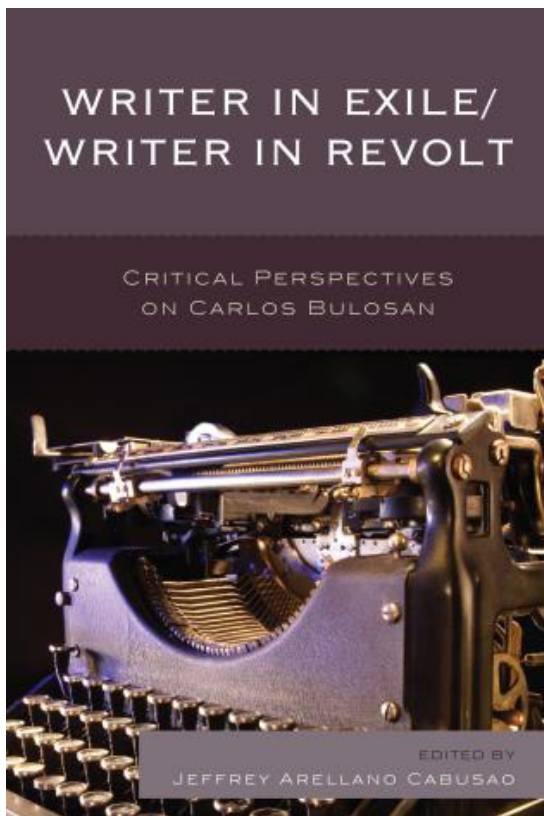
Bulosan's FBI files which reveal the transnational nature of political surveillance/repression and subaltern Filipino resistance that informed Carlos Bulosan's life and work.

Keywords

diaspora, exile, hybridity, identity formation, transnationality



Carlos Bulosan



Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt: Critical Perspectives on Carlos Bulosan (2016)

This is a conversation in process between two Filipino American academics/educators located on opposite coasts of the United States. In this piece, Cabusao and Viola talk to each other about their “coming to voice” as Filipino Americans and their engagement with the field of Filipino American Studies. Their conversation theorizes the formation of Filipino American identity and its connection to the emergence and praxis of Filipino American Studies in the U.S. academy. What is evident in their dialogue with each other is a deep respect for the histories of Filipino Americans and Filipinos in the Philippines and a commitment to connecting intellectual work with collective movements for social change. What is also evident in this conversation is a deep, mutual respect between Cabusao and Viola—they’re breaking bread Fil-Am style. In this piece, we bear witness to two Filipino American academics/educators of the hip hop generation engaging with each other in a way that produces a conversation that weaves between and oftentimes occupies multiple sites at the same time—the U.S. academy, the college classroom, hip hop music, Filipino literature, Filipino American communities, the Philippines, the Filipino Diaspora, the “internal” Third World of the United States, the Global South. Janus-faced, their conversation reflects upon the history of Filipino Americans while simultaneously anticipating new approaches to Filipino American Studies that can only emerge through the collective struggle for self-determination by Filipinos everywhere.

PART 1

Growing up Filipino American: Theorizing Racial Identity

Michael J. Viola (MJV): I think it is important to ground my relationship to the field of Filipino/a American Studies by sharing a bit of my personal history. My parents came to the United States from the Philippines in 1970. My father was a doctor and my mother a nurse so their professional status expedited their entry to the United States. They were working in various hospitals throughout the East Coast beginning in Philadelphia and then New

York City, and eventually moving to Limestone, Maine so that my father could open his own family practice. I was born in Maine in 1978 and would live there until I was 4 years old. It was at that age that my father became very ill and my parents decided that it would be best to move West so that my mother would have support of relatives to aid her in caring for my dad and watching over my older sister and myself.

We moved to California's Central Valley in 1982. Growing up in Fresno, California I have very little knowledge of the role Filipino/a Americans played in their contributions to the economic, cultural, and political contributions of the region I would call home. Growing up in public schools, I did not learn about the important struggles of farmworkers in the region and the multiracial alliance between Latino and Filipino workers in the formation of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union. I did not learn about important writers and organizers like Carlos Bulosan, Philip Vera Cruz, or Larry Itliong or the contributions of Filipino/a Americans in the creation of an entire academic fields such as ethnic and Asian American studies until after I graduated from college. It was hip hop music that provided me the avenue to explore more deeply a history of immigrant struggle in California.

As a graduate student in 2004, I participated in a study abroad program to the Philippines. It was through that program that I was introduced to the writings of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and Filipino American hip hop that has helped shape the lens in which I see the world. I began using Freire's critical pedagogy and Filipino/a American hip hop as conceptual tools to analyze my experiences as an immigrant youth, the neocolonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines, and social movements for radical global transformation. I started to explore the cultural work of Filipino American hip hop artists Native Guns and Blue Scholars in conversation with important Filipino intellectuals like Renato Constantino, Carlos Bulosan, E. San Juan, and Delia Aguilar. Before moving forward, I'd love to hear your own story of being a Filipino American.

Jeffrey Arellano Cabusao (JAC): Mike, thanks for sharing your personal story which resonates with the experiences of many Filipino Americans of

our generation. My father is from Alcala, Pangasinan. He joined the U.S. Navy after completing high school in the 1960s. His introduction to America was by way of being stationed in the U.S. south in the 1960s. Witnessing southern-styled racism against African Americans and other people of color combined with his own experience of racialized exploitation in the U.S. Navy (he worked as a cook, a barber, a driver) raised my father's consciousness (awareness) of the shared experience of racism between African Americans and Filipinos. My father petitioned my mother to join him in Hawai'i where he was stationed in the 1970s. My mother, whose family is from Camiling, Tarlac, was trained as a nurse in the Philippines. I was born in Tripler Hospital in Honolulu in 1975.

We moved around a bit because of my father's being stationed in multiple places. We moved from Honolulu, Hawai'i to Orlando, Florida to San Diego, California. I remember starting first grade in San Diego—where a majority of my classmates were kids of color (Filipino, Mexican, African American, and Samoan) with a sprinkling of working class whites. It was within this interethnic working class milieu that I developed my identity as a Filipino American (see Yen Le Espiritu's *Filipino American Lives* which captures the voices of some of the people I knew growing up). At home, I'd overhear my parents' conversations about painful experiences of racism at work compounded by the immense pressure to send money back home (to the Philippines) to support various relatives. These conversations were oftentimes punctuated by yelling or crying that oscillated between Tagalog and Ilocano. It took my mother nearly two decades to find a steady full time job as a registered nurse. Her prior experiences were working in a convalescent home and working as a private nurse for a wealthy white man. I remember this man's name, which was Bill, and his phone number written on the tiny chalk board on our kitchen wall next to the phone. He wanted only Filipina nurses to attend to him.

At an early age, I was struck by the specificity of racism directed at Filipinos which, simultaneously, revealed our common link with other working class communities of color in our San Diego community. Like you, I was also drawn to hip hop music of the 80s and 90s. This music, which

surrounded us young people in Southeast San Diego, became an outlet to articulate our rage at racial and economic injustice and our desire to move beyond the boundaries of race and class. There was no Filipino American Studies curriculum in my school when I was growing up. While I was lucky to learn a little bit about African American history every February in my elementary school in Southeast San Diego, my high school experience in North Park San Diego (a predominately white high school) was completely devoid of any literature by or about Filipinos or people of color (with the exception of two high school teachers who were sympathetic to incorporating an understanding of racism in their curriculum). Attending Oberlin College in the 1990s provided an opportunity for me to confront the psychological wounds (trauma) of racism I've accumulated from childhood through active participation in student organizations (Asian American Alliance, Third World House, Third World Co-op) that were committed to mobilizing for Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies. Through solidarity with other student organizations (Abusua/African American, La Alianza/Latina/o, Lambda and Zami/LGBTQ) our organization mobilized various rallies and teach-ins to address institutionalized racism (and its connection with sexism and homophobia). With kind support from our Multicultural Resource Center on campus, our campaign developed a speaker series of prominent Asian American scholars and activists. We invited Yuri Kochiyama, E. San Juan, Jr., Delia D. Aguilar, Evalyn Hu-Dehart, Peter Kwong, Ronald Takaki and others to campus. E. San Juan and Delia Aguilar nurtured the intellectual curiosity of young Filipino Americans on our Oberlin campus—encouraged us to think deeply about the social responsibility of Filipino American intellectual life that must not be restricted by the boundaries of the academy.

What is Filipino American Studies?

MJV: Filipino American Studies has its roots in the radical student movements of the 1960s that emerged through a wider context and conversation with an anti-war movement, the civil rights struggle, and the women's liberation movement. Asian American college students throughout the United

States were becoming politicized and identifying with the analysis and activism of the Black Power movement but also the Third World Liberation struggles in Asia. The Bay Area became an important geographical space for the incubation of radical politics as well as international and multiracial solidarities. For instance, Filipino/a American student and community activists at San Francisco State College found it integral to identify with the causes of the Third World liberation struggles in the Asian continent and took on the name of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF). A statement of goals by the Philippine American Collegiate Endeavour (PACE), one of the key organizations in the TWLF, acknowledges their understanding of racialized and immigrant communities and the commonalities with Third World peoples. They proclaimed their goal as “to fuse ourselves with the masses of Third World people, which are the majority of the world’s peoples, to create, through struggle, a new humanity, a new humanism, and a New World consciousness, and within that context collectively control our destinies.” Asian American scholars Gary Okihiro and Daryl Maeda have historicized the praxis of student activists in demanding that college education be directed toward the service of their communities and a mechanism in dismantling the structures of U.S. imperialism, racism, patriarchy, and a myriad of interconnected social oppressions (Okihiro, 2016; Maeda, 2009, 2011).

What has not yet been foregrounded is the role of Filipino/a Americans in this ongoing struggle.

Certainly, Filipino/a American studies began to emerge as an academic field from the material conditions and activism of the late 1960s, however, I think it would be a major oversight to frame Filipino/a American studies without a historical understanding of Filipino/a experiences and struggles prior to 1968. Understanding this history can further propel and equip Filipino/a American studies in further theorizing the ways that resistance can be coordinated with other racialized groups within the United States as well social movement forces outside of it toward recreating the world anew.

JAC: Mike, I appreciate your situating the emergence of Filipino American Studies within the mass movements of the 1960s—specifically the student

strike at San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University) in the late 1960s, which gave birth to the country's first School of Ethnic Studies. One of my favorite essays on this history is written by Asian American scholar-activist Glenn Omatsu—*The Four Prisons and Movements of Liberation*,"which is the lead essay in Karin Aguilar-San Juan's *The State of Asian America*. While Omatsu's essay primarily focuses on the development of the Asian American Movement, Asian American Studies, and Asian American political consciousness, it also sheds light on the central role Filipino American students played in the Asian American Movement and the creation of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State. I love your quoting the PACE statement on connecting Filipino American experiences with the masses of the Third World and in the process creating new forms of consciousness. What strikes me about the history of Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, and Filipino American Studies is that, at their inception, these fields of knowledge production had the following characteristics: 1.) they were informed by mass movements for social justice outside of the academy; 2.) they began to explore the experiences of people of color within the United States within a shared historical, social, and economic context; 3.) they sought to develop a larger global perspective that enables one to see connections between the experiences of people of color within the United States and the experiences of the masses of people within the so-called "Third World" (now the Global South). What's striking to me are the ways in which the inception of Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, and Filipino American Studies paved the way for comparative methodological approaches and other key concepts within the field today such as diaspora and transnational. Here I'm reminded of one of Angela Davis's speeches from the 1980s on the "global meanings" of Ethnic Studies. She observed how Ethnic Studies has always been concerned with building bridges between people of color across the globe.

MJV: Jeff, your work on Carlos Bulosan is important. What role does Bulosan play in the history of Filipino American Studies (and Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies)?

JAC: Carlos Bulosan is a significant figure in the development of the overlapping fields of study mentioned above – Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, and Filipino American Studies. The Asian American Movement of the late 1960s and the renewal of anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment in the Philippines in the 1970s (against the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship) opened a space for the retrieval of Carlos Bulosan’s works which had been relegated to the dustbin of history by the 1950s. The retrieval of Bulosan was made possible by the intersection of the Asian American Movement in the United States and the revitalized mass movement for national sovereignty in the Philippines.

What’s interesting and inspiring about Bulosan’s retrieval by young Asian Americans and young Filipino activists and scholars is their being drawn to (and informed by) earlier periods of social movements for racial and economic justice in the United States and the Philippines. Bulosan’s now classic text *America Is in the Heart* documents the collective experiences of Filipino migrant workers in the United States from the period of the Great Depression to the outbreak of WWII. In addition to dramatizing the tortuous ways in which the Filipino peasantry are exploited in a U.S.-occupied Philippines and subsequently transformed into Filipino migrant workers in the United States where they are subjected to all kinds of racialized forms of violence and exploitation, the narrative brings our attention to the fierce militancy of Filipino migrant workers—their contributions to U.S. labor history from the UCAPAWA to the Committee for the Protection of Filipino Rights (see Michael Denning’s *The Cultural Front*). Filipino labor militancy of this period laid the foundation for the emergence of the United Farm Workers Movement in the 1960s (from Larry Itliong to Philip Vera Cruz).

Asian American historian Lane Hirabayashi, a scholar influenced by the student strike for Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State in the late 1960s, once shared with me that he is always inspired by the ways in which Filipino migrant workers during the first half of the 20th century cultivated and sustained a tradition of collective militancy against racism and economic injustice. This Filipino tradition of militancy laid the foundation

for the Asian American Movement. When tracing Bulosan's development as a writer and activist, we learn of the ways in which Filipino labor militancy from the 1930s was sustained in the midst of political repression of the 1950s. This is captured in his work as an editor of the *ILWU Yearbook* and his novel *The Cry and the Dedication*.

Bulosan's retrieval in the 1960s and 1970s not only enabled Filipino American activist-scholars to connect to the interethnic working class struggles and mass movements of the 1930s, but to also re-connect with a long collective Filipino memory of anticolonial struggle in the Philippines for self determination. When we examine the development of Bulosan scholarship, we'll notice that some of the sharpest analysis produced during its early stage was informed by the revitalization of anticolonial struggle in the Philippines during the 1970s. *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt: Critical Perspectives on Carlos Bulosan*, which I edited in 2016, traces the development of Bulosan scholarship from the United States and the Philippines over the span of nearly sixty years. It was a joy to include your piece on Bulosan and Filipino hip hop!

Mike, could you share some thoughts on the connection you see between Bulosan and the development of Filipino hip hop music? On Bulosan's continued relevance for young Filipino Americans?

MJV: Thanks, Jeff. Let me just say, your recent anthology on Carlos Bulosan as well as the special volume you edited with *Kritika Kultura* helps to center the Filipino/a immigrant experience for our sombering times providing an important opportunity for younger Filipino/a immigrants to revolutionize their collective memory. Your work in theorizing Bulosan's writings and life reminds me of what public intellectual Manning Marable once said, "You are not inventing models of social justice activism and resistance; others have come before you. The task is to learn from the strengths and weaknesses of those models, incorporating their anti-racist vision into the heart of what we do to resist global capitalism and the national security state." So I sincerely must say thank you for helping us to remember Bulosan so that we can radically build upon his anti-capitalist imaginary. In the piece that I contributed

to your book volume I placed Bulosan's socialist writings in dialogue with Filipino American hip hop artists of the early 2000s.

You and I have both stated that hip hop played a role in our politicization during the 1990s. Filipino/a American hip hop artists of our generation like Blue Scholars out of Seattle, Washington and the former duo Native Guns (Kiwi and Bambu) from California were making sense of their life experiences through spoken word and hip hop culture. I can't underscore the importance of Filipino/a American hip hop artists and cultural workers in nurturing a critical consciousness for myself and for our generation. It is exciting to see a new generation of Filipino/a American artists like Ruby Ibarra whose work conjure for me the sentiments of Amil Cabral who famously explained that "culture, as the fruit of history, reflects at all times the material and spiritual reality of the society." In light of the administration that occupies the White House at this moment, it is apparent that U.S. social relations have been mediated by the insatiable quest for profit and power. Hip hop certainly has played a role in reflecting this image of U.S. society. It presents an alternative image in honoring and borrowing from various sources to create new sounds and rhythmic compilations. I have said this before and I believe it to be especially true now that hip hop culture can offer us a window to a new culture that is struggling to be born. A culture that is the antithesis of American cultural imperialism, which appropriates and steals from various cultures of the world. It can reflect a language, culture, and struggle informed by larger objectives of realizing human needs and actualizing racial and social justice. Filipino/a American scholars and educators, like hip hop artists, are cultural workers and within our respective sites of the classroom and the academy we have a role to play in this collective project.

PART 2

Challenges and Possibilities of Filipino/a American Studies

JAC: While the field of Filipino American Studies is developing in new ways in the 21st century (in ways that connect Filipino American Studies

with other interdisciplinary fields such as Gender and Sexuality Studies, Performance Studies, American Studies, etc.), it seems that it is still in the process of becoming. What concerns me is the emergence of a sort of tension between the history of the inception of Filipino American Studies (rooted in the San Francisco State student strike for Ethnic Studies during the late 1960s) and the drive for institutionalization within the field. What I mean by the “drive for institutionalization” is the field’s burden of justifying its existence as a legitimate academic field within the U.S. academy. On one hand, the drive for institutionalization has provided the context for the production of a Filipino American Studies that produces nuanced cultural analysis and multiple perspectives on the intersection of race, gender, class, and sexuality within the Filipino American experience. On the other hand, class analysis and Marxist perspectives have been marginalized, silenced, read as reductive and economically deterministic. This is evident in the ways in which Carlos Bulosan is read in a particular way, marginalized, or silenced in contemporary Filipino American Studies. A pioneering and prolific scholar like E. San Juan, Jr. has been and continues to be marginalized within Filipino American Studies. This marginalization reveals the dominant class interests of the field itself... the class interests of the drive for institutionalization. The field may acknowledge and honor Bulosan but it remains to be seen whether the field will build upon and advance the contributions of Bulosan, San Juan, and other progressive Filipino intellectuals who laid the foundation for Filipino American Studies.

The drive for institutionalization begs the following question: for whom is Filipino American Studies produced? At its inception, Filipino American Studies (as an arm of Ethnic Studies) was envisioned as a field that would enable Filipino American students to “serve the people” (Omatsu “Four Prisons”). My concern is that the drive for institutionalization tends to privilege the professionalization of the field *at the expense of* honoring the liberatory goals of Filipino American Studies informed by the moral vision of Philip Vera Cruz—a vision that can be articulated by three keywords according to Glenn Omatsu: “compassion,” “solidarity,” and “commitment” (Omatsu, “Four Prisons”).

The drive for institutionalization within Filipino American Studies is symptomatic of the cultural turn within the U.S. academy which coincides with the dismantling of mass movements for social justice and the rise of neoliberal policies – a backlash against the gains of the various democratic movements for social justice in the United States (see Chomsky’s film *Requiem for the American Dream*). So it seems to me that the challenge of working within the field of Filipino American Studies today is engaging the tension between the field’s liberatory vision and the push for institutionalization within the U.S. academy. To engage this particular kind of tension requires that one operates beyond the confines of the conventional “academic” and engage a certain kind of praxis associated with the insurgent intellectual. We’re fortunate that we do have a tradition of insurgent intellectuals in various interdisciplinary fields that emerged from (or benefited from) mass movements for social justice during the 1960s and 1970s. To name a few who provide useful analytical tools for challenging the cultural turn and its various iterations (we’ve moved from postcolonial to transnational, from globalization/digital capitalism to planetarity), I’m thinking of the following: Teresa Ebert on post-ality in Women’s Studies, E. San Juan, Jr. on postcolonial approaches in Asian American Studies and Philippine Studies, Ellen Meiksins Wood on the retreat from class, and Vivek Chibber on the decline of class analysis in South Asian Studies as a result of the rise of postcolonial theory.

MJV: You are absolutely right. Insurgent intellectuals within the academy and beyond it can offer us conceptual and practical tools toward liberating ethnic studies and in particular Filipino/a American Studies from its confinement and containment within the academy. What you just shared reminds me of what the important Filipino historian Renato Constantino who said in *The Philippines: The Continuing Past*:

Activists have to be scholars and scholars have to be activists. Scholars can no longer be isolated and activists can no longer be untheoretical. Each must assimilate the virtue of the other in order to become more fruitful,

more creative. Only thus can they evolve a theory appropriate to our reality, and action appropriate to theory (290).

For Filipino/a American Studies to continue to evolve and grow we have to radically democratize it and consider ways to return its leadership back to the grassroot, youth, and immigrant organizations from which this field originally emerged. It was the leadership and praxis of radical youth and immigrant activists that created new terrains of possibility for teaching and learning within the North American university. As a result, our generation has greatly benefited in gaining wider access to historically exclusionary sites of higher learning and as a result a new breed of scholars (such as yourself as well as Robyn Rodriguez, Valerie Francisco, Amanda Solomon, Lorenzo Perillo, Daya Mortel, and many others associated with the Critical Filipino/a Studies Collective) have the ability to tell an important story of this country from the unique standpoint of the Filipino/a American experience. While we may have greater access to these institutions of knowledge production we certainly do not govern them. I believe that community power over the means of knowledge production, which includes our educational but also our media and cultural apparatuses, should be an objective for those who are invested in creating culturally relevant and radically humanized systems in which to learn, labor, and live.

JAC: Given the progressive history of Filipino American Studies and the rich body of work generated by artists like Bulosan, scholars like San Juan, and activists like Vera Cruz, Filipino American Studies has enormous potential to function in the following ways: 1.) repository of our collective memory of Filipino labor militancy; 2.) repository of our collective memory of the Filipino struggle for national sovereignty; 3.) vehicle for activating the collective agency of the Filipino Diaspora to address the racial-national subordination of Filipinos scattered across the globe; 4.) vehicle for enabling conscious (or “woke”) Filipinos to develop solidarity with other oppressed and exploited groups around the globe.

When we think of Filipino American Studies in this light, we realize that it's more than just a transgressive academic exercise to destabilize the academic industrial complex from within. In light of the four items I've inventoried above, we could shift our gaze from viewing Filipino American Studies as academic transgression to Filipino American Studies as a vehicle for social transformation. I'm encouraged by the work that you do with the Critical Filipina/o Studies Collective – engaging the tension between the liberatory vision of the field and the current pressures of institutionalization. This is why I was so happy to include your essay on Carlos Bulosan (co-authored with Valerie Francisco and Amanda Solomon Amorao) in a special feature for *Kritika Kultura* in 2014 (*Forum Kritika: Reflections on Carlos Bulosan and Becoming Filipino*). I wanted a piece that demonstrates a model of intellectual engagement informed by activist work with the Filipino American community at the grassroots. I think your joint essay with Francisco and Solomon Amorao provides an example of how to be located within and without the U.S. academy while, simultaneously, being informed by a larger commitment to a movement for Filipino self determination. I think the latter is key—being informed by and engaged with social movements for change provides fertile ground for creating intellectual work that moves beyond acts of academic transgression and into the realm of social transformation.

I'm reminded of Naomi Klein's interviews several months ago (on her recent book *No Is Not Enough*) where she explains that we must be able to envision a collective future beyond local forms of resistance within our current historical moment. She explains that she finds hope in the existence of various vibrant social justice moments (in which young people are at the forefront) —#BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName, immigrant rights, feminist movement, LGBTQ movement, economic justice movement, environmental justice movement, etc. (For an overview of these moments see *When We Fight, We Win!*—a documentation of “twenty-first-century social movements and the activists that are transforming our world.”) These movements, according to Klein, are not going away anytime soon. The development of these movement for social justice may create a new conditions of possibility for interdisciplinary fields such as Asian American Studies and Filipino

American Studies to reclaim its moral vision of “compassion,” “solidarity,” and “commitment.”

MJV: I also think these U.S. movements you just mentioned are and must continue to be in dialogue with global movements abroad including the insurgent movement for lasting peace and popular democracy in the Philippines. I think it is important for Filipino/a American Studies to embrace and further theorize the connections for social transformation in the U.S. and the linked project for sovereignty in the Philippine homeland. The ideas you expressed for Filipino/a American Studies to be in intellectual and material solidarity with other oppressed groups around the globe makes me think of E. San Juan’s writing in his book, *On the Presence of Filipinos in the United States*, where he maintains, “ultimately Filipino agency in the era of global capitalism depends not only on the vicissitudes of social transformation in the U.S. but more crucially, on the fate of the struggle for autonomy and popular-democratic sovereignty in the homeland” (24). In light of this important discussion, I’m noticing one area we have not really touched upon and that is the matter of teaching! A question that we have not yet addressed is the actual challenges and opportunities of teaching Filipino/a American Studies?

Filipino American Studies: Pedagogical Reflections

MJV: I must be honest. I can’t speak from my own direct experience of teaching a course dedicated in its entirety to Filipino/a American Studies. I find myself infiltrating the classes that I teach with Filipino/a American Studies content when the subject matter allows it, for instance, when I’m teaching a unit on globalization or immigration. Another way that I teach Filipino/a American Studies is to mentor students and collaborate with them in the development of workshops or particular projects. For instance, I’m working with a group of four graduating seniors at my institution to create an interactive exhibit that highlights Filipino/a American Radicalism from 1965 to present. Through oral histories of Filipino/a American activists and primary research we will tell “a story” about the presence of Filipino/a

Americans presence in U.S. social movements. Elements of our history that we will document in this exhibit include: the first wave of Filipino immigrants to the U.S. (e.g. Manong generation); the role of Filipino/a American immigrants in the California Grape Strike and United Farm Worker movement; the role of Filipino/a American college students in the formation of Ethnic Studies (e.g. Third World Liberation Front); the radical activism of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP) against martial law in the Philippines and the Ferdinand Marcos Dictatorship; as well as the reestablishment of the national democratic movement in the United States during the 1990s and 2000s. It is amazing to collaborate with such dedicated and engaged students, yet they pursue this work as a “side hustle” alongside the various other responsibilities they must complete on the day-to-day such as work, taking care of family members, and completing the requirements of the formalized college curriculum. As my students near graduation, I sense a deep heaviness as they navigate a rapidly changing world burdened with college debt. While this is true for a great number of college students, my Filipino/a American students (often as the first generation to attend college) are also burdened with managing the expectations of their family to acquire high paying jobs in a landscape of economic precariousness as well as struggling to maintain their dignity through a climate of escalating intolerance and xenophobia.

JAC: The work that you do to integrate Filipino American Studies into your courses is inspiring! I love how you encourage your students to recover the history of Filipino American activism—as you eloquently state, “the presence of Filipino/a Americans in U.S. social movements” against racist exploitation in the United States and U.S. neocolonial control of the Philippines. I also integrate Filipino American Studies into my literary and cultural studies courses. Unfortunately, I don’t have many Filipino or Filipino American students on my campus. Over the past ten years, I’ve had the opportunity to work with only three Fil-Am students in the literary/cultural studies classroom. I do find, however, that Filipino American Studies (when situated within a larger global context) has the ability to speak to students from various racial and ethnic backgrounds. For instance, when I assign Bulosan’s *America Is in the*

Heart, I find that students are intrigued by the ways in which the narrative is informed by U.S.-Philippine colonial relations. Many of my students have never learned of the U.S. colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the century. I encourage them to see how the U.S. colonization of the Philippines is interconnected with the histories of other oppressed groups at the turn of the twentieth century: Puerto Ricans, Cubans, African Americans. I juxtapose our reading of Bulosan's texts with images from *The Forbidden Book*—political cartoons from the turn of the century that document the emergence of U.S.-Philippine colonial relations. Bulosan's text is also useful in introducing one of the major contributions of Filipino *Manongs* to U.S. history—a tradition of interracial working class solidarity and militancy. This framework enables non-Filipino students in the classroom to engage the text through a lens of interracial solidarity which is generated for us as readers by Allos's developing class consciousness throughout the narrative. When I center our discussions on Allos's evolving class consciousness (about various "isms" ranging from colonialism/racism to heterosexism), I find that a space is opened in which all students are able to engage with Bulosan's voice. These moments in the classroom always fascinate me because it challenges the notion that Ethnic Studies (in this specific case, Filipino American Studies) is only for students of color or that Ethnic Studies is based on the politics of exclusion. Our *Manongs* organized and developed a politics of multiracial solidarity with oppressed and exploited groups in the United States and abroad. I find that this historical framework as well Bulosan's eloquent and beautifully accessible language/writing both create a space that invites non-Filipino students to imagine how they're connected to the Filipino American experience. I've had several white students express interest in concentrating or majoring in Ethnic Studies, a program that is still in development on my campus.

PART 3

Filipino/a American Studies: Diaspora and Social Transformation

MJV: I find it quite hopeful to be in conversation with you as I'm inspired by your commitment and imagination in teaching Filipino/a American

Studies and creating spaces for white students and a diverse many “others” to engage and feel connected to Filipino/a American experiences. It will take committed educators like yourself who continue to theorize as well as create the means to teach how global capitalism historically has fed upon and remains dependent upon racial oppression, making much more transparent what political power seeks to keep hidden.

JAC: I think there are hopeful signs for the future of Filipino American Studies. The requirement to teach Filipino American history in the educational systems of California (the 2013 passage of Assembly Bill 123 and the 2015 passage of Assembly Bill 7) introduces the contributions of Bulosan’s generation (the *Manongs*) to U.S. labor history. The growth of the Filipino American community in the United States (Filipino Americans are now the second largest Asian American group in the United States and the largest Asian American group in the state of California) will provide new opportunities in the future to develop and advance Filipino American Studies at a variety of educational levels—from PreK to Grad. I do think the liberatory potential of Filipino American Studies can be unlocked when it is situated within a particular framework that enables one to 1.) gain an understanding of the specificity of the oppression and exploitation of Filipinos worldwide (the racial-national subordination of the Filipino people) and 2.) grasp how our collective experience is interconnected with the experiences of other oppressed and exploited groups (politics of solidarity).

Here I’m thinking of a recent essay by E. San Juan, Jr. that examines the ways in which the concept of the Filipino diaspora could be productive for developing the future of Filipino American Studies. In *Gathering the Filipino Diaspora: ‘Over our dead OFW bodies’*, San Juan’s comments enable us to situate the growth of the Filipino American community within the ever-expanding Filipino diaspora—nearly twelve million Filipinos dispersed around the planet. Approximately three to four thousand Filipinos leave the Philippines each day as a way to survive the poverty of the Philippines. Between three to five Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) return to the Philippines in coffins. This traumatic picture of daily departures and returns of Filipinos is symp-

omatic of the ways in which the intensified poverty in the Philippines is rooted within the unequal neocolonial relations between the United States and the Philippines. According to San Juan, the framework of Filipino diaspora enables us to do the following:

Reorient our vision/sensibility regarding our individual responsibility in society. It is to initiate a re-thinking about ourselves as a people and as citizens of a nation-state with a specific history. It is to rekindle a conscientization of our minds and *loobs/souls*.

MJV: In this particular moment of heightened xenophobia and barbaric expressions of white supremacy in the United States, Filipino/a American Studies can offer an important optic to understand the connections between racialized and oppressed groups and critically examine the historical specificity of Filipino/a American racial formation. The concept of racial formation that I have in mind also builds upon the work of E. San Juan—who I would argue intellectual-activists (or activist-intellectuals) must more sincerely engage and build upon his theoretical insights to advance Filipino/a American Studies as a relevant and transformative site of knowledge production.

For me it is exciting to read the work of E. San Juan whose work has helped me to understand the roots of our present conditions as racialized Filipino/a immigrants and project with theoretical soundness tangible possibilities for our future. His anti-racist writing while grounded in the historical, social, and cultural context of Filipino immigrants I am finding much alignment with a new breed of insurgent intellectuals whose thinking is informed by the experiences of African American and Native American radical activism and grassroots organizing. For instance, drawing upon the insights of indigenous social thought informed by the specific struggles within the Dene Nation to the recent mobilizations of Idle No More, Glen Coulthard in his text, *Red Skin White Masks* builds upon Marxist social thought (ranging from Karl Marx to Frantz Fanon) in arguing that “for indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die” (Coulthard, 2014). Likewise, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor in her important book, *From #BlackLivesMatter*

to *Black Liberation* extends black Marxist arguing that “without a struggle against racism, there is no hope for fundamentally changing this country.” She elaborates, to claim that racism is a consequence of capitalism is “not to deny or diminish its centrality to or impact on American society. It is simply to explain its origin and persistence. Nor is this reducing racism to just a function of capitalism, it is locating the dynamic relationship between class exploitation and racism oppression in the functioning of American capitalism” (Taylor 2015). These authors are all quite clear that realizing social justice and anti-racism requires much more than the production of radical, anti-racist scholarship. While certainly instrumental toward such a project, racial equality is an ongoing political project born of collective struggle. Our victories and successes for racial justice must enter into genuine dialogue with larger democratic and multi-sectoral organizing of historically marginalized peoples. The labor that intellectuals and educators create in their writing and within the walls of their classroom is a form of praxis that must be struggled for as our intellectual work is essential in constricting just as it may extend the possibilities for social change.

Of particular interest is E. San Juan’s dialectical articulation of state policies, discriminatory practices in civil society, and popular resistance to racist social policies and practices that foreground Filipino/as in the United States and across the global diaspora. E. San Juan argues that Filipino/a American history “and material conditions seem incommensurate with African American, Chicano, American Indian and so forth; or with our brothers and sisters in the Philippine neocolony.” What E. San Juan is saying here closely aligns with Constantino who argues “without understanding one’s own history and concrete realities” we Filipino/a Americans run the risk of “being mere copy-cats neglecting the duty to be creative and innovative for our own time” and societal context (*The Philippines: The Continuing Past* 286). I think E. San Juan and Constantino are important figures that can ground Filipino/a American Studies and offer both theoretical and practical tools toward aligning institutions of learning with larger societal goals of human and ecological liberation and radical social justice. Therefore, articulating Filipino/a American Studies through an interdisciplinary lens (that

must include historical materialist social thought) can offer not just analytical insights to what racial oppression looks like but also offers possible tools with which to understand how we can effectively combat it in the United States and throughout the Philippine Diaspora.

JAC: The framework of Filipino diaspora also enables one to develop an analysis of the construction Filipino gender and sexuality as they are situated within U.S.-Philippine relations—as is the case of sexual violence against Filipino women (both cis-gender and transgender) due to the U.S. militarization of the Philippines. An emerging terrain in Filipino gender and sexuality studies is the experience of LGBTQ OFWs—specifically the ways in which they not only create communal spaces for affirmation (see the film *Paper Dolls*) but also mobilize against racialized and sexualized exploitation of labor.

While the notion of the Filipino Diaspora might seem quite recent given the rapid proliferation of Filipino populations around the globe, the idea of a Filipino global consciousness is not necessarily new. A global consciousness and the idea of international solidarity with all oppressed peoples are both present in the work of Carlos Bulosan and the militant history of his generation—the *Manongs*. Perhaps Filipino Americans will be able to imagine new ways to sustain connections with several million Filipinos around the globe by reconnecting with our collective working class history in the United States. One of the devastating consequences of assimilation for Filipino Americans is a disavowal of our collective working class history. My father was named after one of his three uncles who were migrant farmworkers in the United States during the 1930s/1940s. The stories of these uncles, who were part of the *Manong* generation, were never really passed on to my father. He remembers receiving fragmented stories—that his eponym was constantly moving from one location to another in California as a migrant farmworker and would send money to the Philippines to support family. Now we're in the process of reconstructing their stories, which are part of my family's history and simultaneously integral to the collective Filipino diasporic experience.

Mike, it's uplifting to be in conversation with you—to be reminded of how Filipino American Studies has the potential to be a site of nurturing Filipino global consciousness grounded, as you mentioned earlier, in a historical materialist social theory. Thinking about Filipino American Studies in a way that moves beyond the confines of the academy, we're able to see how Bulosan, Constantino, San Juan, and Vera Cruz continue to be relevant for our lives especially at this historical moment in the United States and the Philippines where we are witnessing the emergence of anti-democratic neo-fascist rule and a vicious backlash against progressive nationalist democratic forces in the Philippines. These are times that demand our being firmly grounded in a politics of hope nurtured by creativity, intellectual and moral courage, and collective organizing. I look forward to continuing our conversation—our way of breaking bread (*pan de sal*) Fil-Am style... “breaking it down” (drawing on hip hop vernacular) in solidarity!

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House of Cards

The One-and-a-Half Story House
in *Kisapmata* (1981)

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Abstract

This paper looks into the undercurrents of the one-and-a-half story house in *Kisapmata* [*Blink of an Eye*] (1981) by Mike de Leon, where the domestic space becomes a character in the narrative. An adaptation of Nick Joaquín's "The House on Zapote Street," the film relays the events in the sparsely populated area of Makati City in 1961. The subject of the research is part of a longer body of work that centers on selected domestic structures during the Martial Law years. In underlining the characteristics of the domestic space, this study anchors on phenomenology with variations in cinema and in architecture.

At street-level, individuals could identify the ambience projected by the house; see the extent of security, maintenance, and assume the dynamics inside. In this vein, the sense of comfort and safekeeping tread on the reinforcements installed by the homeowners, including the limitations set by authority figures. Yet, some precautions can be suffocating for its inhabitants, also affecting how they move within the house. Looking at the one-and-a-

half story house in the film, how does it render itself as a prison-like space? The subject of the research is part of a longer body of work that centers on selected domestic structures during the Martial Law years.

Keywords

cinema, architecture, domestic space, house, phenomenology

Introduction

Kisapmata showcases de Leon's astute treatment of a psychological domestic drama that critiques Filipino society by outlining particular behaviors that lead to social degradation. This venture into people's invisible activities was influenced by American and European arthouse films which started in the 1970s. This contemporary approach by filmmakers stood in contrast to the formulaic storytelling practiced in the film industry. Nestor Torre recalls how these films were "characterized by a strong sense of irony, as filmmakers took a critical look at society, and occasionally even at themselves" (55). Mike de Leon was regarded as the most consistent, and while his body of work may not be as extensive, his films are constantly praised. Prior to his directorial debut with the psychological drama *Itim [Black]* (1976), de Leon worked as a cinematographer for Lino Brocka's *Maynila, Sa Mga Kuko ng Liwanag [Manila in the Claws of Light]* (1975), where de Leon's polished knowledge of cinematography was lauded, as it contributed in the improvement of the films produced during the period.

When Martial Law was nominally lifted in 1981, the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines (ECP) was created by virtue of Executive Order 770, following the first Manila International Film Festival. The ECP primarily served as a venue for promoting artistic films that were commended by critics. While their works were not as heavily-controlled by the Board of Censors, the ECP was later indicted by many for producing "bomba" (sex drama) films, which eventually led to its closure in 1986. Presidential daughter Imee Marcos served as the organization's head in the ECP's brief period of operation. Even with the stern censorship guidelines, socially-conscious artists managed to work around the restrictions under Martial Law.

When the Marcos regime intended to take control of all the local media outlets, films expressed their opposition against the government. It was hypothesized that "the Marcoses ultimately decided that, in order to answer foreign criticism of martial rule's repressive policies, Philippine cinema would act as their showcase of cultural democracy" (David 231-232). Films deemed "subversive" by the Board of Censors for Motion Pictures (BCMP) were immediately censored. Two of de Leon's internationally recognized

works—*Kisapmata* and *Batch '81*—were subjected to the Board’s scissors. In the uncut version of *Batch '81*, the interrogation scene of the fraternity neophytes boldly addressed if Martial Law was beneficial for the country. This sequence was deleted and as a result, tapered a significant macro-level representation of the time period and a firm statement of the film.

The Marcoses’ idea of a “New Society” focused on moral restructuring, as the President intended to eradicate what he considered “sick” in pre-Martial Law Philippines. However, there had been statements from Malacañang Palace insiders that reported how the President engineered these disturbing affairs. In one article by film scholar Joel David, there were reports of “bomb attacks against the political opposition, assassination attempts against his own Cabinet officials, and possibly an extremely permissive film policy that enabled the *bomba*, the first descriptor in what has since become a recurrent trend of mainstream pornographic releases” (230). These suggested scenarios illustrate how a public figure manipulates certain incidents to get his desired result, even at the expense of including himself in the melee.

Permutations

The representation of power relations stand parallel to the changes in domestic architecture when the American Occupation began in 1898, conveyed by a new thrust in architectural tradition. In contrast to the Spaniards whose form of control was through religion, the Americans constructed grand buildings for public services, academic institutions, and leisure. Notable structures include the Philippine Normal School (now the Philippine Normal University, 1901), the Philippine General Hospital (1907), the Manila Hotel (1912) and the derelict Paco Railway Station (1915). Most of these buildings were constructed in the neoclassical style under the direction of William E. Parsons, who was assigned to carry out the city plans made by fellow American architect and urban planner, Daniel H. Burnham.

From the 1910s to the 1930s, domestic architecture broke away from the classic orientation of the *bahay na bato* (a stone base and upper floors enclosed in wood)—home of the elite and the *bahay kubo* (a wooden house on stilts). Rodrigo Perez notes how as the city expanded, Parsons’s design

principles were observed (qtd. in Tiongson 25). With urban reconstruction, residences of the post-war period developed into the **tsalet** (chalet), an unadorned house that was considered more practical. This dwelling space has a broad porch and some have T or L-shaped stairways made of wood or concrete that lead to the front door of the house. This type of residence accompanied the rise of the middle class, whose flexible economic standing allowed them to make changes to their dwellings whenever possible. At the time, the **tsalet** became a status symbol that “represented the Americanization of the Filipino house” (Perez, “The American Colonial and Contemporary Traditions” 27) and a standardization of the suburban setting. Following the popularity of the **tsalet**, living in a *California bungalow* became the trend. The *lanai*—a roofed or an open-sided veranda which originated in Hawaii, was a prominent feature with a garage space that can fit two to three cars or to be utilized as a storage area or a covered porch.

The third type of middle-class home is the *one-and-a-half story* house, which consists of two sections: the first story includes the kitchen, living, and dining room that allows seamless access across the entire floor, while the bedrooms of its occupants are on the second story. However, some one-and-a-half story houses do not follow this roofing system, since there are detached roofs for the one-story and two-story sides. Moreover, some homeowners would have the front part of their houses repainted or have their yards landscaped, others install more rooms, additional floors, and fix protective features. These physical changes in the homes of the middle class illustrate the fluidity of their economic position. However, the projected neutrality of these domestic spaces is only a veneer, as it conceals clandestine activities and disconcerting images.

Fixtures

In cinema, views are manipulated by the camera, anchoring on the character’s body as a vessel. Audiences witness events through viewpoints held by the characters in a film. Referring to architectural components in experiencing a film, a character’s movement can be mapped as the camera goes through the domestic space. Filmic narratives are rendered as the purported “phenomena”

in the world onscreen. In classical phenomenology (the study of the structures of experiences through a specific viewpoint), Edmund Husserl underscored the crux of phenomenology as “the reflective study of the essence of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view” (qtd. in Smith 305), where subjects and objects react upon each other in this world. As individuals then interact with their environment, perception becomes the key to understanding the dynamics of a place. Similarly treading on place sensitivity, Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945) followed Husserl’s work on the structures of consciousness, reiterating that perception holds a substantial role in engaging and experiencing the world.

Kisapmata is examined using two phenomenological strains to augment the features of the one-and-a-half story house. Phenomenology in architecture contends how built environments and atmospheres reveal the qualities of a space. Gaston Bachelard (1994) looks at the “phenomenon of dwelling” where a dwelling space influences an occupant’s worldview. Similarly, Juhani Pallasmaa (2001) emphasizes multi-sensory experiences both in cinema and in architecture where people gauge their partiality or dissonance to filmic spaces. In *Kisapmata*, Michel Foucault’s (1979) idea of the *panopticon* becomes evident in the narrative, as the rendering of the one-and-a-half story house builds on the visibility and invisibility of an authorial figure. In this vein, the home stands as an extension of the father’s surveillance.

By anchoring on the senses to articulate filmic experiences, the phenomenology of film views moving images in two-fold—as a subject and an object of viewing. Merleau-Ponty’s notion on perception as a device in experiencing the world is expanded by Vivian Sobchack (1992), who contends that the cinematic world can be experienced through our senses. In watching a film, our eyes have a grander duty in delivering the value of the other senses. Echoed by Laura Marks (2000), the viewers’ eyes are able to “touch” the objects and subjects in the film given the extent the work’s technical components. Audience members also experience cinema through concepts in film theories that work around the metaphors of the body such as seeing, hearing, and touching. Thomas Elsaesser and Malte Hagener (2009) jointly express that between the spectator and the screen, there is a union between

the mind and the body when watching a film. In addition, Elsaesser and Hagner suggest structures referring to the audience's immersion in the events onscreen: window and frame, door and threshold, mirror and face, the eye look and gaze, skin and touch, acoustics and space. Elsaesser and Hagner's shared proposal point to cinematic representations by alluding to the house and its fixtures that mirror certain parts of the human body. These dualities relate to the viewers' aesthetic experiences in the filmic world. Such concepts pertaining to the camera's eye and the narrative as the phenomena can be used as a structure in exploring the morose environment within the one-and-a-half story house.

Incarceration

The film begins on dark Sunday night in November. A family of three gathers in the living room, where most of the surfaces are garbed in knitted runners. The mother, Adelina (Charito Solis) silently attends to her sewing as Mila Carandang (Charo Santos) nervously informs her father Dadong (Vic Silayan) that she is getting married to her boyfriend, Noel Manalansan (Jay Ilagan), a fellow bank employee. The subdued lighting and the soft glow from the table lamp adds to the foreboding atmosphere. When Mila confesses that she is pregnant, the mood turns acidic, complemented by a quick cut of the parents' reactions. Dadong appears to be indifferent. Adelina asks Mila about her decision to which Dadong gives her a sharp look. She quickly gets up and sidesteps her husband to get an ice pack from the kitchen. Soon after, the father roars at them to go to bed and both women quickly follow his order. The dwelling space reflects the dismal acoustics of their household, filled with silences than two-way conversations. Despite the mother being present, the daughter only addresses her father. Adelina's role in their household as an ancillary figure demonstrates Dadong's absolute power. Whenever she wants to speak, Adelina has to be wary of her replies to avoid upsetting the overbearing patriarch. There is a wordless direction going on, with Adelina frantically adhering to Dadong's orders.

The one-and-a-half story house sits on a substantial sized lot enveloped by a lawn. The outer walls of the house are painted in off-white and pastel

colors. The ground floor on the right side of the lot contains the living area, the dining room, and the kitchen. There is a mournful tone upon entering. The furniture of the middle-class is neither as elegant nor massive, but they are spotless and polished. Next to the living area is the dining room, where a wooden table for four stands in one corner, and which can be expanded to accommodate six people. A hallway connects the three areas. From the living room, one passes by the dining area and into the kitchen. The room is arranged on a modular side, where appliances such as the stove, the refrigerator, the sink, and the dishwasher are found. From the kitchen, a narrow hallway leads to the back of the property and eases into the rest of the lawn—a supposed breathing space. The upper floor is bounded by a long wooden balcony that stretches from the couple’s bedroom, the bathroom, and to Mila’s. Standing in the living room, the upper story has an unobstructed view of the comfort room and the bedrooms. If someone is in the hallway on the half-story, they can look down on the living and the dining rooms. Even with the medium-sized windows giving access to natural light, the spaces on the ground floor are distinctly melancholy.

The one-and-a-half story house is protected by a corroded steel gate and cement walls decked in barbed wires—reminiscent of a jailhouse. Underneath these reinforcements, the overprotected perimeter reflects the terror inside the house held by one character enviously guarding its household. Following the family’s strained conversation, Noel pays Dadong a visit to talk about the Manalansans’ *pamamanhikan* (request for a blessing). When the day arrives, Noel’s father, Peping (Ruben Rustia) offers pleasantries to Dadong, but with discretion. The table is heavy with dishes and drinks. Five occupants are seated together, with Dadong maneuvering the conversation. In this scene, their household help Onyang (Aida Carmona), experiences the father’s hostile nature by getting yelled at for another glass of beer, to which she nervously obliges. Dadong’s request for a Php 10,000.00 dowry surprises Mila and the Manalansans, who promise to supply the amount. Mealtime with visitors should project a positive atmosphere. Instead of being a jovial affair, their dinner is loaded with apprehension. In addition, the table acts

as the stage for imposing power where there are no reciprocal discussions. Only Dadong's interrogation of the cautious Manalansans is heard.

The sound of a revving car sees the father and son driving away, as Dadong observes them from their bedroom window—a predator watching his prey. Heavy footsteps reveal Dadong entering Mila's room. Finding out that her daughter is upset with his request, he tries to console her by putting his hand on hers, only for Mila to swiftly avoid his touch. In this moment of tactile exchange, we remember that a touch carries a multitude of memories (Marks, 2000). A sense of comfort stems from the relief brought by a touch from one's family member. Whether it is a tap, offering one's hand for respect, a kiss on the cheek, a comforting embrace, such gestures conjure memories of assurance and safety. In the film, tactile memory is filled with negative connotations when Mila avoids Dadong's hands. The sense of touch does not entail a calming emotion, but the discomfort is evident, marked by a jolt of alarm. Following this brief interaction, Adelina notifies Dadong of his bedtime, who barks at his wife. Reluctantly, Adelina retreats into their bedroom—a lingering eye on her daughter's bedroom door.

A montage shows the couple and their parents looking at potential homes. Dadong is upset when Noel proudly shows off their prospective bedroom. Dadong transacts for the couple—from the city hall to sending an application for their nuptials, choosing a bridal dress, and their sponsors who have administrative positions: one is a colonel while the other, a mayor. An interesting note in Joaquín's piece shows the actual wedding godparents which include the wife of a Cavite governor and Senator Ferdinand Marcos. One night, Mila dreams of going down the flooded stairs to light a candle before entering a confessional box. In this sequence, water becomes a metaphor for cleansing which is difficult for Mila to attain. As the house fosters the dreams of its inhabitants, therefore "dreaming inside homes reveals one's innermost desires" (Bachelard 15). In the one-and-a-half story house, the staircase allows continuous movement from one level to another. Its vital function refers to holding up the entire house, similar to how a spine functions in a body. Moreover, the similar purpose between the staircase and the spine represent people's "pathways of consciousness" (Pallasmaa 68). As

perception is rooted in repeated experiences, individuals are not conscious of their use as time passes by. Therefore, movement becomes a natural act. To continue, according to Pallasmaa:

Ascending a stair implies exiting from the social stage and withdrawal into privacy, but it may also signal a passage into an entirely private and prohibited realm, or the final journey to disclose a secret. Descending a stairway expresses self-presentation, joining a group and entry into the public sphere. (68)

These “pathways of consciousness” are influenced by one’s experiences. Some occupants prefer to “nest” inside their rooms, while others are open to socializing in communal spaces. Mila’s bedroom is directly across her parents’ room on the second floor with a door-less communal bathroom in between. Mila’s room lacks a doorknob, signifying that others can intrude anytime and she has to interact forcibly. The functional significance of the doorknob in allowing privacy and of the lock as a mental threshold are both ignored by the father. From the stairs in front of the parents’ room, the living room is an open space devoid of corners as seen from the kitchen. The telephone is placed beneath the parents’ room, making it nearly impossible to walk from one part of the house to another, even to use the telephone without Adelina or the father hearing. The space is configured as a panopticon, to use Foucault’s notion (1979) that some architectural spaces operate as a type of “social quarantine” which generates perpetual surveillance. In this regard, power functions as collective and individualized forms of control. In the film, there is no need for chains, heavy locks, or bars to enforce one’s rules.

Dadong’s brashness puts another level of strain on the family when the young couple is married. Their church wedding is filled with tension despite the festive environment; the discomfort is clear during the reception when the Carandang decide to leave after Adelina promptly faints. The father’s scheming continues when he forces them to stay in his house after the wedding and Mila obliges. Noel remains apprehensive about this decision. Upon arriving, Noel tells Onyang not to lock the gate because they will head out. Onyang dryly responds that Dadong has instructed her to close the



Figure 1. Mila's dreams of water cascading on the staircase (Source: Bancom)

gate as soon as they come home. The clanging of chains and clicking locks symbolize their confinement to the house, in which the father has successfully herded them. There is sustained silence inside the house and between its occupants. After closing the main door, Noel greets his father-in-law when he sees him on the stairs, but his gesture falls on deaf ears. Dadong turns off all the lights and retires to their bedroom, leaving Noel on the dark hallway. With the extended silence, the camera moves from the bedroom door of Adelina and Dadong, to Mila's, and back.

The morning after, Mila apologizes to Noel for persuading him to stay at the house. Noel tries to understand his wife's anxiety and manages to calm her down. He notices that there is no lock on their bedroom door. Mila nonchalantly replies that it is broken. In fact, there seems to be no locks in the rooms of the house, apart from the gate and the front door. The set-up in the Carandang house alludes to a penitentiary. The next day, during breakfast, Dadong orders that the newlyweds stay because Adelina is sick and will only feel better with Mila's care, who agrees with a heavy heart. She also asks Noel to get Dadong's permission to leave for the day. Following Dadong's consent, the couple is seen going into a drive-in motel to consummate their marriage. When the couple reaches home, Dadong barricades the front door and tells them to go straight to their room. This is another indication that

their stay in the house takes on a routine—arriving then following his orders. From the front gate’s lock and chains, the barricade underlines Dadong’s organization of the house’s protective features. But, against who?

The next day, when the couple heads out for a movie, Dadong comes along, much to their dismay. From their bedroom, Adelina sees their vehicle leave the garage. She quickly takes her husband’s pistol from under his pillow and relocates it to the bedside table. Recalling Bachelard, “wardrobes with their shelves, desks with their drawers, and chests with their false bottoms are veritable organs of the secret psychological life” (*The Poetics of Space* 78). Specific furniture hold the excesses of one’s life, referring to the details of an individual’s activities. Aside from the depressing environment inside the house, furniture reinforces the amount of undisclosed characteristics of the household. Dadong’s extensive terrorizing of the household tries to be hidden by Adelina as a form of control on Dadong, whose authoritative approach towards the members of his family is felt by Noel, a newcomer to the Carandang household.

Later that evening, Dadong tries to extend his control over Noel, asking the young man to drink with him. The ambiance in the living room is similar to the opening scene, filled with tension. Even with Dadong’s constant prodding, Noel politely declines and proceeds to look after his sick wife. His refusal pushes Dadong to mock him labelling Noel as weak and unfit for his daughter. Noel’s naïve foray into the family’s carefully arranged status quo further agitates the father. Dadong’s obnoxious manner of talking is heard sparingly inside Mila’s room, where the mother and the daughter talk about the couple’s plan to relocate and finally leave the house. Noel meets up with a friend, Ernie (Juan Rodrigo) to disclose his uneasiness at the Carandang residence with Dadong’s irrational control. Noel confesses that each day, he is more petrified of his father-in-law. When Noel comes home late, he finds the gate locked. Seeing lights inside the house, he expects that someone will open the door. The scene illustrates the power relations through the camera angles. A low-angle is directed towards Dadong standing by his bedroom window, unremittingly guarding his home. The windows become a malevolent set of eyes, whose owner looks at a figure outside his house. In a house,

lights indicate activity and a sense of life. Its presence allows the house to take on a human quality because: “It sees like a man.” (Bachelard 5). Some residents leave their lights on when they are away, behaving as guardians and temporarily occupying the home. A house that has a light on appears to be waiting for someone. But the lights of the Carandang house mock Noel, who continues to wait.

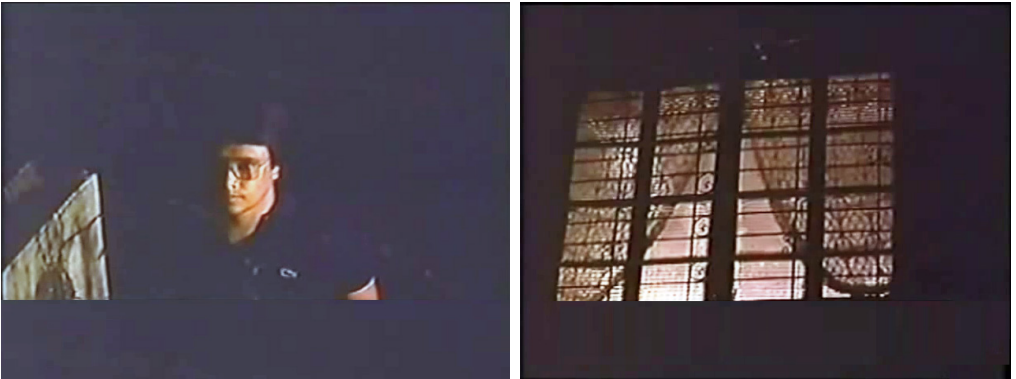


Figure 2. Dadong looks down on Noel from his room (Source: Bancom)

Noel looks in the direction of their room nervously. His reaction to viewing the window shows the domestic space taking on the characteristics of its occupants, the window now possessing an unsettling quality. Pallasmaa (2001b) asserts that the window opens certain characteristics that “a room can be terrifying or peaceful, aggressive or calming, imprisoning or liberating, dull or vivid, solely by means of the nature of its window” (124). The appearances of windows indicate the nature of the house. Windows fitted with heavy iron and grillwork indicates cautiousness about external factors that will threaten their safety. After watching Noel momentarily from their bedroom window, Dadong purposely turns off the lights. Domestic spaces should stimulate people to explore their private and public selves by promising security for its inhabitants. As Noel confronts Mila about getting

locked out the previous night, he continues by telling her that can no longer stand living inside the tension-filled house. He suggests that they move out, as his presence incites more changes in the father's scheming nature. Noel expresses that they are imprisoned in the house with Dadong's surveillance. Leaving his distraught wife who refuses to leave, Noel calls Dadong, who firmly declares that Noel cannot do anything about Mila's confinement. In a fit of rage, Noel leaves.

The Carandang gather in the living room once more. There is a sustained heaviness in the air, with Adelina sewing as a warm body in the conversation between Dadong and Mila, who inquires about returning to work. When Dadong disagrees with Mila, the girl shouts back, asking why he keeps meddling in her affairs. Surprised by his daughter's boldness, he slaps her. Back at the bank, Noel receives news that Mila has extended her leave. At the Carandang house, Mila hears the telephone ring, but Dadong and two police officers are drinking in the living room. He does not pick up. Later that night, Mila sneaks out of her room to call Noel, pleading to get her out of the house. The persistent misery in the Carandang house causes a heightened sense of alertness in the space where other senses come together in recognizing danger. Mila senses a presence at the top of the stairs. Quickly, she puts the receiver down and sees Adelina. In a series of reverse-shots, the mother and daughter declare their pent up anger and jealousy at the foot of the staircase where they unintentionally risk getting overheard by Dadong. In this scene, the two women are clothed in darkness, only their faces are illuminated.

In their conversation, it is revealed that incest takes place in the house. Adelina has full knowledge of the situation, but since she cannot act on Mila's behalf, she allowed it to continue. The father's relentless display of his power is beyond the archetypal parents, holding the best interests for their only child, as the revelation of incest explains Dadong's controlling nature. Adelina discloses that she has no one else to turn to but Mila retorts that their common-law union has no power over her. Dadong does not follow societal norms and by virtue of experience, he does not consider Mila's marriage to Noel as a chance to escape his grip. Their marriage is taken by

Dadong as an insult because his daughter is now with a man whom he sees as inferior. Adelina declines her daughter's invitation to leave with them. Mila closes their encounter by saying she has never felt at ease in the house, wondering how her mother is able to live inside a prison-like environment. In addition to the exterior of the one-and-a-half story house, their home is shrouded in darkness. The lack of adequate lighting allows the other senses a heightened function—a sensitive ear to listen to footsteps and the screeching of a swinging door, the significance of touch to grope one's way in the dark or react to another person's grip and a sharp sense of smell to pick up on the distinctive scents of other household members.

The next day, Noel comes to the house and is greeted by his mother-in-law, who replies that Mila is out of the house. Their interaction is witnessed by Dadong from their bedroom on the second floor. A recurring perspective, his view stands as the eye of the film, piercing through the grill-work on the window and the barbed wires on the gate. His eyes survey Noel, where a non-verbal confirmation is exchanged. Later that evening, Dadong steps out of their bedroom. With the house sleeping, he creeps towards his daughter's bedroom. In the silence surrounding the hour, Mila awaits an unfortunate ordeal. The girl hears footsteps as she tries to suppress her whimpers. Dadong enters her bedroom and Mila's cries fall on deaf ears. This scene highlights the disturbing secret within the one-and-a-half story house. Remembering that *Kisapmata* was subjected to the BCMP's "myopic censorship" during the Marcos Era, film scholar and historian Nicanor Tiongson, in *Censuring the Censors*, describes a deletion from the film's final cut:

The daughter helplessly waits for her father to come into her room to abuse her once again, Mike de Leon's camera, representing the daughter's point of view, focuses on the knob of her bedroom door as it turns and opens, then follows the father's pajama's fly as it approaches the daughter menacingly. (20)

Had the scene made it to the screening copy, a more powerful disclosure of the father's assaults could have been presented. In increments, we see Mila avoiding his touch, to conversing with her mother about permitting this

domestic abuse, to seeing the ordeal through Mila's standpoint. In this scene, Pallasmaa's (2001b) notion fits, how "a door is simultaneously a sign to halt and an invitation to enter [...] The door silences, but it is simultaneously a sign of the concealed voices both outside and indoors." (131) The act of going through the threshold is two-fold: closing off a memory and creating a new one. For the Carandang household, having no locks on their doors is a disadvantage they deal with regularly and it is Dadong who benefits from this set-up. Dadong disregards the door's function to separate himself and his daughter, as the door acts as a divider between the adjacent rooms of the house to Mila's bedroom, which becomes a space for his frequent assaults. The non-existent locks on the doors match Dadong's involvement in both personal and shared businesses within the domestic space. However, some features present the disparity of the occupants' mindset, such as the altar and photos of Christ. The father nonchalantly passes by these items each time in their living room while Adelina and Mila faithfully depend on these to sustain what is left of their sanity.

Following the assault, Mila cries in front of the altar before feigning sickness to be taken to the hospital. Determined to get away, Mila slips past her father and calls Noel, asking him to pick her up. Finding out that Mila is missing, he gets on his jeepney and drives off. He returns home and roars at Onyang to open the gate. Dadong runs to their bedroom where he retrieves his pistol. Mila and Noel escape to the town of Los Baños. Dadong then scares off the Manalansan's helper when he brandishes a pistol, screaming for Noel and Mila. Upset by their departure, Dadong is reduced to tears. As Mila and Noel plan their life in the sleepy town, Peping advises them to make amends with Dadong, and they concede. Bachelard (1994) spoke of memories being sorted out in one's mind through dreams. In another dream sequence, Mila and Noel are in their wedding attire. Noel closes the front door on Mila, who approaches an ambulance and finds Adelina strapped to a stretcher inside. Noel closes the garage door and they get on the jeepney now surrounded by fire. The lethargic movements in the dream sequence indicate the pace of their lives and the ominous tone is heightened by the fire. Mila's nightmare is a painting of recent events, where even as they try to get away

from Dadong, his presence remains searing on their trail. Noel wakes up Mila and they plan on returning to the house. As they pray, the altar gives off a faint light and the image of Christ dissolves into Dadong's face. The predator sits in front of the window, the shadow of metal bars clear on his stoic face, his eyes possessed. These cuts are contrasting images of carrying faith and losing sanity, holding onto the guidance of the eternal father figure and the irony of the patriarch as a constant threat.



Figure 3. Juxtaposing the image of the father's face and Christ (Source: Bancom)

Windows serve as the eyes of the house and these “may be benevolent or inviting, or cruel or threatening” (Pallasmaa 71). The activities behind these windows supply the changing characteristic of windows and from the outside; others may deduce what the person is doing inside once the outside world cannot enter. In previous scenes, Dadong's surveillance through the windows shows how the fixture is filled with malevolence affecting the other occupants. While the father's eyes dominate the film's vision, we are also looking at the father preying on his subjects. For Sobchack (1992), “neither the camera nor the projector mediates between the perceiving act and its intentional object” (204). Reality is experienced by the viewer and the filmic world. The actualities in the celluloid environment are delivered in first-person viewpoints, most of which are inclined to identify with a character in

witnessing events. Sets of eyes merge and viewers directly experience a character's consciousness. In *Kisapmata*, the audience is able to switch between the standpoint of the predator and his prey. Moreover, the audience anchors on the emotions delivered by the characters.

The couple follows through in their plan of returning to the city, where they stay at the Noel's. Later that night, a tight shot shows Dadong bidding his time. At the Manalansan's house, the telephone rings and Noel answers. It is Dadong calling for Mila, who uses Adelina's sickness once more to bid for their daughter to come home. The couple then returns to the Caradang residence, falling into the father's trap. Save for the light in Mila's bedroom, the rest of the house is veiled in darkness. Adelina pleads for them to stay and stresses that their father has gone mad. Dadong enters the room and begs for his daughter to stay. With fear surrounding the meeting, he reinforces their incestuous relations and declares that he has the right to Mila's child. However, Mila remains defiant and Dadong leaves, retreating into the shadows.

Adelina continues to delay their departure. As they were about to depart, Dadong returns with a pistol. The couple retreats into a corner of the bedroom. This sequence displays the core of the film—the predator finally closing in on his victims. His preys stand mute at his arrival and their horror-struck expressions confirm that they are aware of their fates. He draws the weapon and shoots Adelina twice in the chest then turns the barrel on Noel. A horrified Mila drops the cross from her hands as Noel falls on top of her. Dadong shoots his daughter point-blank before turning it on himself. The room falls silent and the camera looks around the carnage, showing Dadong's corpse sprawled on the floor while a lifeless Adelina is slumped on the bed, and the young couple lie stiff in a corner—silence ringing throughout the house.

Transgressions

In *Kisapmata*, the house is inhabited by anxiety-ridden characters illustrated as ordinary, middle-class citizens living in a suburban area who all meet their death at the patriarch's hands. The apparent normalcy in their lives is only

a projection because the house is occupied by a character that is adept in portraying a strict but good-natured father. Centering on the one-and-a-half story house in the film, how is it rendered as a prison-like space?

When Mila Carandang decides to marry Noel Manalansan despite Dadong's disapproval, the secrets contained within the house start unraveling. For Mila, her primary objective is to break free from Dadong's chains. The image projected by their household is misleading with the tame decorations and the docile nature. Some fixtures of the house stand as body parallels. In the film, the windows serve as the eyes for Dadong who constantly surveys his visitors, while the doors are the arms which let him tramp on other people's privacy. The lack of doorknobs inside illustrates the occupants' helplessness against Dadong's actions. While the ideal image of home connotes positive meanings, it can also evoke memories of abuse, fear, and isolation.

From the archetypal image of a domestic space as a symbol of security, the home becomes a representation of threat. What is more unsettling is that danger can come from inside the house. The Carandang house is configured for the father to watch his family without any strain. The one-and-a-half story house adopts the prison's layout (a panopticon), with the family members as the prisoners who cannot easily see their observers. Power is demonstrated as one enforces the disciplinary act, while the other has no choice but to submit to being observed. In a family-oriented country, taboos such as common-law unions and incest are rallied against. Both are committed by the Carandang. With the shifting times, some take a more casual approach in social norms while others have unashamed indifference. As rendered in de Leon's film, the Carandang's one-and-a-half story house is not a sanctuary but a penitentiary. The affairs of the household are strictly arranged by the father, but like a house of cards, the removal of a key element led to the collapse of the family. Rather than losing his beloved Mila, Dadong chose demise for all of them. Masked by an ill-omened atmosphere, they all meet their macabre ending inside their home: the briny scent of death on the blood-splattered walls and the one-and-a-half story house standing as a mute witness.

Postscript: The Suburban Home

Mike de Leon came across Nick Joaquín's article in November 1980, and was inspired to do a film with the working title *Blood Secrets* which focused on incest. Screenwriters Raquel Villavicencio and Clodualdo del Mundo, Jr. researched on cases of incest and wrote a storyline featuring Charo Santos as the mother and Snooky Serna as her daughter. As the project continued, Villavicencio suggested the title "Sa Isang Kisapmata" which eventually became "Kisapmata." Villavicencio shares that de Leon did not intend to do an adaptation. However, following several discussions, the three of them came to a decision in July 1981 to use "The House on Zapote Street" as the basis for Kisapmata (Lee 38). Perhaps even in its conception, it was a case of art imitating life (or life mirroring art) as certain similarities between the printed and cinematic narrative as well as the production became evident.



Figure 4. (Left) The facade of the filmic Carandang house where (right) a newly-constructed apartment complex now stands.

The setting of the Carandang house in the film is located in Quezon City, which formerly stood on the corner of Calamba and Cordillera streets on D. Tuazon, occupied by middle-class homes and commercial establishments. Similar to the actual home of the Cabadings, the house was oriented in the

prevailing domestic architectural style—a 1950s split-level suburban house. UP College of Fine Arts professor Cesar Hernando who worked as a production designer for *Kisapmata*, recounts that the real house of the Cabading family in Zapote Street in Makati City possessed an uncanny resemblance to the one in Quezon City:

[sic] When Nick Joaquin saw *Kisapmata*, he liked it very much and told Mike de Leon that the daughter and son-in-law was surprised to see the father sleeping under the daughter's bed. The other trivia that Nick told Mike that was not in his book was that the father shot himself in her daughter's bed. That would have been more apt and symbolical! (Personal Correspondence, 2015)

Hernando adds that the house they shot in was bare and the production design team had to fill it with furniture—from the sets of chairs, to the curtains and picture frames even installing the metaphoric barbed wires on the gate. These metal hedges intend to protect the household from intruders. But instead of keeping out trespassers, it became an obstacle for its inhabitants, and explicitly states their incarceration. Another interesting item inside the house is the taxidermied deer hanging in the living room which indicates the father's general haughty behavior towards people. On this note, the material is a trophy which also reminds them that he is the hunter, while the visitors and his family members are the prey. At present, the one-and-a-half story house in Quezon City has been replaced by an expansive Zen-inspired apartment complex. Interestingly, the apartment sets itself apart from the houses that are still in their original 1950s design, detached from the quaint neighborhood store on the street corner and its neighbors comprising two neutral-colored and unassuming bungalows.

As an indicator, the one-and-a-half story house stands around the eastern perimeter of the Quezon City campus of St. Theresa's College, an exclusive school for girls. More than the structural similarities, there is a significant variation in the house of the Carandang's in the film and the real home of the Cabading family. The large space under their bedrooms was used as a storage area because the Cabadings did not own a car. However, in the film,

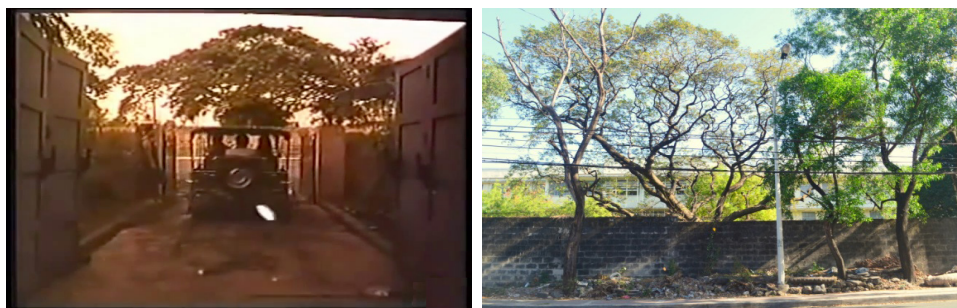


Figure 5. (Left) The acacia tree then and (right) now, a 35-year difference.

this space is presented as the Carandang's garage, where the vehicle's role is emphasized to ensure the father's surveillance on his daughter. Another marker in the landscape can be seen, as the young couple and Dadong head out in their owner-type jeepney, looking directly at the majestic acacia tree in the background, which is still standing inside St. Theresa's College. A few afternoon walks in this area and I observed how this suburban nook remains mellow despite its proximity to the hectic main street of P. Tuazon.

The area surprises the visitor with the sudden change in the ambiance within the vicinity, as its cadence becomes more subdued. If one stands on the sidewalk, the sounds of a revving vehicle and the rustling of treetops can be heard occasionally. Following the production for *Kisapmata*, the house was reportedly used in other film and television productions of the time, as long-time residents share how they used to see numerous set lights, private vehicles, and company trucks in the area. But many of them seem to be unaware, or perhaps have forgotten, that a landmark film was shot more than 30 years ago, which highlighted the experiences of a family caught in the machinations of a predatory father and the seemingly guiltless one-and-a-half story house that saw more horror than warmth.

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Saling-wika / Saling-diwa

Paano Isinalin ang Kasarian sa mga Piling Tula
ni Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta

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Abstrak

Si Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta ay isang tanyag na makatang Pilipino, nakapagsulat ng mga kalipunan/canon ng mga tula na hitik sa damdamin at interpretasyon. Hindi ito magiging kaganapan kung hindi maisasalin sa wikang Filipino. Naghahatid ng masalimuot na mga katanungan ang Pagsasalin kaya marapat na matugunan. Isa sa mga suliraning kaakibat ay ang kasarian ng manunulat at ng mga tagasalin. Ang pagtingin ni Dimalanta sa kaniyang paksaing poetika ay hindi maaaring ihiwalay sa kaniyang identidad bilang isang babae. Ang pagsasalin ng kaniyang mga tula ay nagbukas para lalong maunawaan at namnamin sa makabagong anyo bagkus maipakita ang makapangyarihang daynamiko ng kasarian sa Panitikan ng Pilipinas. Galalugarin ng papel na ito ang mga iba't-ibang isyu na nagbabanggan, nagkakasalungatan at pagdalumat sa konteksto ng pagsasalin sa mga tula ni Dimalanta. Bibigyang-pansin din ang parallel na isyu kung paano ang kultura, perspektiba at personal na identidad ay nabago at naayos sa transisyon mula sa isang midyum at isa pang anyo, na tunay na umaangkop sa naiibang kombensiyon ng naisaling mga tula.

Abstract

Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta, a famed Filipino poet, produced a body of work that has been observed to be rich in emotions, evoking complex interpreta-

tions. Written in the English language, her works—given their literary and critical plenitude—one imagines, might be served well by their translation into Filipino. In the process, what transpires is an exploration of the diverse issues which crisscross and collide within the text as well as a reflection on the very context of translation. In view of this, the essay, in general, looks into how matters of cultural perspective and personal identity in the source text are changed and reconfigured across linguistic media inevitably adapting to the unique conventions of the language of the target text. But in particular, the act of translating her works raises complex questions that need to be addressed directly. One of these issues concerns the gender of the writer and of the translator because her poetics are often marked by her gender. Therefore, in translating her poems, it is evident that Dimalanta’s treatment of poetic subjects is inseparable from her identity as a woman. Therefore, the result of the translation process echoes not only an understanding of the richness of her poetics across languages, but also the complex power dynamics at play concerning gender relations in Philippine literature.

Keywords

gender, power dynamics, personal identity, native language



Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Indian scholar, feminist critic, author of *The Politics of Translation* (1992)



Ophelia Alcantara Dimalanta, a renowned Filipino poet.

We can begin to see that the project of translating culture within the politics of identity is not a quick fix.
-Gayatri Spivak

Panahon lamang ang nagtadhana nang matuklasan ng araling kultural ang sining ng pagsasalin. Dapat isaisip na ang globalisasyon ng kultura ay katumbas ng pamumuhay natin sa salin-saling daigdig, lahat ng karunungan natin ay kahalintulad ng ideya at estilo ng samot-saring pinagmulan, ang impluwensya ng teknolohiya at madalas na paglalakbay ay nakabubuo ng tagpuan ng iba't ibang kultura. Ang pagsibol at pagsusupling ng kakaibang kultura at kadaliang identidad kasama na ang kasarian ay pangunahing konsern ng araling kultural.

Sa kasalukuyan, ang pagsasalin ay kadalasang ginagamit sa araling kultural ng mga teorista bilang metapora, simbolong retorikal upang isalarawan ang dumadaming internalisasyong pangkalinanangang produksyon ng mga nakikipagtunggali sa pagitan ng dalawang daigdig at dalawang wika. Ang mga kababaihan ay patuloy na iginigiit ang kanilang sarili sa pagkakapantay-pantay ganoon din ang manlalakbay na isinasalin ang kanilang nakaraan sa kasalukuyan. Pagsasalin ang representasyon ng pagkakaunawa sa realidad upang malayang makapag-ugnayan sa pamamagitan ng wika.

Tatangkaing galugarin ng pag-aaral na ito kung paano at kung anong proseso ang kasangkot sa pagsasaling-kasarian sa mga piling tula ni Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta. Ang pagpapaliwanag kung paano ang kasarian ay nabubuo ay isang pangunahing isyu sa kontemporaryong pagtatalo sa feminismo at panlipunang teorya. Nais kong simulan ang papel na ito sa mga sumusunod na tanong: May pulitika ba sa pagsasaling-wika? Ano ang tunay na ugnayan ng wikang Filipino at Ingles? Paano isinalin ang kasarian sa mga piling tula ni Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta?

Politika sa Pagsasalin

Pinatutunayan na ang politika ng pagsasalin ay may sariling buhay kung tinitingnan ang wika bilang isang proseso ng pagbubuo ng kahulugan, at tunay na may politikang nagaganap sa pagsasalin. Bigyang halimbawa natin ang

wikang ginagamit sa bansang metropolitan at wika ng Ikatlong Daigdig, ang wikang Filipino. Ipinapakita ito ng mahigpit na pangangailangan sa lansakang panghihiram mula Ingles ng mga salitang pang-agham/panteknikal upang mapabilis na maisalin ang mga textbook at babasahing ginagamit sa paaralan. Sa relasyong industriyal tungo sa wikang paggawa, naging konkreto/tiyak ang relasyong wikang Ingles tungo sa wikang Filipino; nagmistulang pag-angkat ng mga produkto at kaalaman mula sa una tungo sa ikalawa. Pumapasok ang politika ng wika, ano ang wikang makapangyarihan, ang nananaig sa kasalukuyan, iyon ang lansakang ginagamit.

Ang politika ng naturang relasyon ay gawaing nasa bingit ng pagdomina ng wikang industriyal sa limitadong wikang paggawa. Patunay iyan ng ugnayang Ingles at Filipino sa kasalukuyan. Malimit mausisa ang panig pampolitika ng tagasalin. Lalo na kapag ang pagsasalin ay mula sa wika ng Ikatlong Daigdig tungo sa wikang makapangyarihan. Maraming awtentikong konsepto at pagpapahalaga ang maisasakripisyo kapag sapolitang isinalin ang isang akdang Asyano o Afrikano sa wikang Kanluranin; naaalis ang katutubong katangian, at ang isang kaisipan ay nalalapatan ng maling pagpapakahulugan. Ito ang tinutukoy na “karahasan” sa pagsasalin. Kaya’t hinihingi ngayon na tunay na isaloob ng isang tagasalin ang kultura at katangian ng isang mahirap na bansa; kailangang malabanan ang tukso at maliitin ito, para maidulot ang angkop na larawan nito sa wika ng bansang mayayaman at naghahari.

Nakatutuwang malaman na sa mga tangkang pagsasalin, maaaring mapanatili ang pagbaybay/ispeling ng isang salitang Ingles, at maaari rin baybayin ayon sa patakarang Filipino. Nangangahulugan lamang na may kalayaan tayong pumili ng proseso o sistemang magpakita kung tayo ay maka-Ingles o maka-Filipino.

Saling-kasarian / Identidad

Ano ang gawain ng identidad? Ito ay isa sa mga paksang binibigyang pansin ng mga tao. Dito nagmumula ang mga katanungang: Sino ba ako? Ano bang silbi ng buhay ko? Saan ba ako patungo?

Ang pagpapakilala ng sarili ay ayon sa kasarian kung saan ka nabibilang. Hinggil sa relasyon ng identidad at kasarian, ang tao ay isang paghihiwalay lamang, natatanging babae at lalaki lamang ang makatotohanan” (Chiland, 1988). Simula pa noon, ang isang bata ay nagsisimulang magdevelop ng sarili niyang konsepto ayon sa kaniyang kapaligiran (Winnicott, 1974). Ang pagkakaroon ng identidad ay nagsisimula sa mga bagay na napapaloob sa atin batay sa mga inaasahan ng ibang tao kung paano tayo dapat mag-isip at umasal bilang lalaki at babae. Ang identidad ay isang konsepto (Kelly, 1955) na ginawa ng isang indibiduwal batay sa kung ano siya noon, kung ano siya talaga at kung magiging ano ba siya o pinapangarap niyang maging siya.

Sa aking pananaw, ang wika ay maaaring maging isa sa maraming mga gawain na nagbibigay daan upang tayo ay magkaroon ng kamalutan sa mga bagay, sa ating mga sarili. Ang kamalayan sa ating mga sarili ay siyang bumubuo sa identidad. Nararamdaman ang paggawa ng identidad ay isang pansariling pakahulugan, hindi lang basta kahulugan, tila “pluralized” tulad ng isang patak ng tubig sa ilalim ng isang mikroskopyo. Isa lamang sa unang tingin ngunit kapag tinignan maigi ay binubuo ng iba’t-ibang bahagi. Masasabi na ang isang pagtingin ay hindi gawaing dapat makuntento lamang; sa labas ng etikal-pulitikal na arena, may kasamang “pagbubuo” ng kaisipan sa sarili. Ipagpalagay na ang identidad bilang pinagmulan ay maaaring hindi katanggap-tanggap sa etikal-pulitikal na arena rin pero ang pagkonsidera sa ganoong bagay ngayon ay magpapalayo sa ating mga hinuha. Ang isa sa mga daan upang mapagtanto ang mga ukol sa “identidad” ng isang tao ay tila isang paggawa ng expositoring gawaing pinaggugulan ang pamagat ng iba habang ang isa ay gumugol sa wika ng iba. Ito ang isa sa dinami-daming seduksyon ng pagsasaling-wika. Ito ay isang simpleng paggaya ng mga responsibilidad sa mga bakas ng iba sa loob ng sarili.

Ukol sa mapagpalayang kamalayan sa sarili, ako ay sumasang-ayong mga kahulugan ang naililipat sa pagsasaling-wika. At ayon sa ganoong pinagkayarian nais kong kunsiderahin ang gampanin ng wika para sa kinatawan, ang taong gumagawa, kahit na ang gawain nila ay hindi pa masyadong naroroon. Ang tungkulin na gawain ng nagsasaling-wika ay ang pagkonsidera sa wika bilang mungkahing di-tuwiran sa mga gawa ng

binigyang-kasariang sangay. Ang manunulat ay sinusulat ng kaniyang sariling wika ngunit ang pagsulat ng manunulat ay sumusulat sa sangay sa isang paraang maaaring iba sa babaeng taga-Pilipinas, isang mamamayan na may kasaysayan ng feminis mong Ingles, nakatuon sa tungkuling pagpapalaya sa kaniyang sarili mula sa imperyalismong nakaraan ng ating bansa, ang palagiang pagkakaroon ng diskriminasyon, pati na ang nakaraang panahon na may dominasyon ang mga kalalakihan.

Pagsasalang-wika Bilang Pagbasa

Paano nagagawa ng nagsasalang-wika na makatugon sa pagiging partikular sa wikang kaniyang sinasalin? May isang paraan kung saan ang retorikang katangian ng bawat wika ay nakagugulo sa lohikal nitong pagkakaayos. Kung pagtutuunan ang lohikal kaysa mga retorikal na hadlang, tayo ay mananatiling ligtas. “Kaligtasan” ay ang tamang termino, dahil tinatalakay natin ang panganib, ng karahasan sa midyum na nagsasalang-wika. Binanggit ni Gayatri Spivak:

I must overcome what I was taught in school: the highest mark for the most accurate collection of synonyms, strung together in the most proximate syntax. I must resist both the solemnity of chaste Victorian poetic prose and the forced simplicity of “plain English,” that have imposed themselves as the norm... Translation is the most intimate act of reading. I surrender to the text when I translate. These songs, sung day after day in family chorus before clear memory began, have a peculiar intimacy for me. Reading and surrendering take on new meanings in such a case. The translator earns permission to transgress from the trace of the other—before memory—in the closest places of the self (Spivak, 1992).

Ang wika ay hindi ang pangkalahatan. Ito lamang ay mahalagang mungkahing di-tuwiran kung saan ang sarili ay nawawala sa kaniyang hangganan. Ang mga paraan kung saan ang retorika o pigurasyon ay nakahadlang sa lohika mismo ay tumutukoy sa posibilidad ng hindi tiyak na pangyayari ng isang kaganapan, maliban sa wika, palibot sa wika. Ang ganitong diseminasyon ay hindi makokontrol. Ngunit sa pagsasalang-wika, kung saan ang kahulugan ay kumandirit patungo sa lunang walang laman sa

pagitan ng dalawang pinangalanang wika ang Ingles at wikang Filipino, tayo ay mapanganib na napapalapit dito. Sa patnubay ng retorika na nakahahadlang sa paraan, hindi kinakailangang magkakadugtong, nararamdaman natin ang pagiging buo ng wika sa estilo ng texto na nagbigay daan sa pagkakatupad nito. Bagaman ang bawat pagbasa o komunikasyon ay bahagyang ganito kapanganib na kahit papaano ay nagkakagulu-gulo, tungkulin ng tagasalin ang nagpapanatili ng kaayusan sa pangkalahatan maliban na lamang sa komunikasyon, pagbasa at pag-ibig. Dahil dito ay maaaring itanong saan ang lugar ng “pag-ibig” sa aspetong etikal? Ang tungkulin ng nagsasaling-wika ay mabigyang linaw itong pag-ibig sa pagitan ng orihinal na bersyon at anino nito, isang pag-ibig na pumapayag sa pagbabagong-anyo, hinahawakan ang ahensiya ng nagsasaling-wika at ang pangangailangan ng kaniyang imahe o aktuwal na nakakatunghay. Ang pulitika ng pagsasaling-wika mula sa teksto ng isang maka-Ingles na babae ay kadalasang hindi nagiging matagumpay dahil ang nagsasaling-wika ay hindi makaangkop o walang karampatang pakialam para sa pagiging retorikal ng orihinal.

Ang simpleng posibilidad na ang isang bagay ay maaaring maging makabuluhan ay napipigilan ng sistemang retorikal tulad ng may palagiang posibilidad ng pinsala ng lunang walang laman sa labas ng wika. Ito ang pinakakontrobersyal na antas at hinamon sa pagpupunyagi na magkaroon ng komunikasyon sa ibang posibleng nilalang sa espasyo. Ganap na kaibahan ang makikita sa mga nilalang maliban sa atin, gayon man, mayroong maliliit na pagkakapareho sa tao at sa maaaring magkaroon ng komunikasyon sa atin. Pero ang mas kilalang antas nito ay nangyayari sa dalawang pandaigdigang wika. Ang karanasan ng kontroladong kaibahan sa isang hinding kilalang wikang ginagamit sa iba’t ibang kultural na lunan ay misteryoso.

Isipin naman natin ngayon sa ibang wika, ang retorika ay maaaring makagulo sa lohika sa usapin ng produksyon ng isang ahente at ipinapakita ang pagkakabuo ng karahasan ng katahimikan sa paggawa sa loob ng retorika. Pinapahintulutan tayo ng lohika upang makatalon sa isang salita patungo sa isa pa sa tulong ng pagpapakita ng malinaw na pagkakadugtong-dugtong nito. Ang retorika ay dapat gumawa sa katahimikan sa pagitan at palibot ng mga salita upang matugunan ang kahalalahagahan nito. Ang sali-saliwang

relasyon ng retorika at lohika, kondisyon at epekto ng pag-alam, ay isang relasyon kung saan ang mundo ay gawain para sa ahente, upang ang ahente ay makagalaw sa etikal na paraan, isang pulitikal na paraan, isang pang araw-araw na pakikipagsapalaran; upang ang ahente ay maging buhay sa isang makataong paraan sa mundong ito. Hangga't walang nakagagawa man lang ng modelo na ganito para sa ibang wika, walang totoong pagsasaling-wika.

Sa kasamaang-palad madaling gumawa ng pagsasaling-wika kung ang tungkulin ay tahasang hindi pinapansin. Makikita mismo na wala nang ibang mapagpipilian sa pagitan nang mabilis at madali at sa isang iglap na pamamaraan, at mahusay na pagsasaling-wika na may kasamang kahirapan. Walang dahilan upang ang responsableng nagsasaling-wika ay magkaroon ng mas maraming oras sa paggawa. Ang preparasyon ng nagsasaling-wika ay maaaring maging mas matagal, at ang kaniyang pagmamahal sa teksto ay maaaring base sa kasanayan sa pagbasang nangangailangan ng pasensiya. Ang pagtanggap sa pagkakaiba ng pag-iisip at pagkakaunawa ay kinakailangan sa pagsasalin at pagsasalaysay ng ating mga pananaw at maging ang mga pananaw ng iba.

Saling-wika / Saling-diwa

Para kay Gayatri Spivak, “ang wika ay hindi pangkalahatan. Ito ay isa lamang mahalagang di-tuwirang mungkahi kung saan ang sarili ay nawawalan ng hangganan.” (Spivak, 1992). Sa Pulitika ng Pagsasaling-wika, tinunton ni Spivak ang tungkulin ng interpretasyon o pagsasaling-wika bilang paraan ng pagtanggap sa wika bilang di-tuwirang mungkahi sa mga gawain ng pangkasariang ahensiya. Para kay Spivak, ang kahulugan ay nakikita habang ang lokasyon ng nagsasalita ay direktang ilantad ang pinakaloob na gawain na naitayo sa makasaysayan at panlipunan na panandalian. Nakikita niya ang wika bilang nagbibigay ng di-tuwirang mungkahi na nagbibigay permiso sa atin upang mapasama sa lugar ng negosasyon o lugar kung saan ang komunikasyon ay nangyayari. Sa pamamagitan ng pag-pokus sa ganitong kayariangpang-espasyo, ang pulitika ng wika ay maaaring magsilbing paraan ng pagtatanggal ng gawain na lohika. Sa pagdedekonstrak ng wika, hiniwalay ni Spivak ang lohika at retorika. Para sa kaniya, ang lohika ng wika

ay nagbibigay daan upang makatalon mula sa isang salita patungo sa isa sa tulong ng malinaw na mga koneksyon, habang ang retorika nito ay naka-kaabala sa lohikang ito at gumagawa ng espasyo para sa contingency. Sa kaniyang pagkakarawan nito, ang retorika ay gumagawa sa katahimikan sa pagitan at palibot ng mga salita upang malaman ang hangganan nito. Ngunit para kay Spivak, ang pagsasalin ay hindi kumpleto para sa nagsasalita o nakinig, habang ang bawat isa ay may kaniya-kaniyang pagkakaintindi sa kaalamang ginagamit sa ganitong interpretasyon, at ang mahirap ay mapaloob sa pansariling may pinakamalapit na awtentikong karanasan habang inaalampang ang mapa ng kaalaman ay patuloy na babaguhin, sasalongatin at hindi maaaring maging perpekto.

Hanggang ngayon, ang halaga ay nakalagay sa katwiran, kaisipan, at sa mga nasabing mga salita, o ang tensiyon sa pagitan ng mga salita sa wika. Ang ganitong pag-iisip sa Kanluran na may kasamang pag-uusisa at ekspresyon ng ahensiya at / o mga ideya sa pormang pasalita na nagbubuo ng pag-aalala sa may-akda nito; ito ay katulad ng katwiran na may nasakop na katawan. Habang “nag-iisip na katapusan mismo,” pinaalala ni Dewey sa atin na “kahirapan sa pagninilay, ang kalungkutan ng meditasyon, ang kabigatan ng deliberasyon, ay lahat proverbial.” (Dewey, 1894). Tinitingnan sa tradisyonal na paraan bilang alternatibong radikal sa kaisipang Kanluran, kumpas, damdamin, emosyon, at kitang-kitang katahimikan ay hindi kapansin-pansin ngunit makapangyarihan at makabuluhan na mga gawa, na mapapansing wala sa bagong ideal na iminungkahi ni Endres.

Habang iniisip kung ano ang ibig sabihin ni Habermas sa “hipotetikal na saglit” bilang saglit kung saan ang posibilidad ng pag-unawa ay magagampanan, ang tanong ko ay “paano natin malalaman?” at marahil mas importante, “paano natin malalaman ang hindi pagkakaintindihan?” sa pamamagitan ng kognitiv na paradaym. Bilang pagpunan sa mga kakulangan ng “diskors” ni Habermas bilang etik para sa literasi at upang mapalawig ang tinatawag ni Spivak na retorika sa kaniyang pulitika ng pagsasalang-wika, ibinaling sa mga sinulat ni Dewey tungkol sa damdamin at emosyon upang makonsidera ang etik na may kakulangan sa pagbibigay ang ibang literasi paradaym.

Sinabi ni Dewey na “emosyonal na reaksyon mula sa mga pangunahing kagamitan ang ating mga sarili at ng iba.” (553-569). Hiniwalay niya ang mga damdamin makitid nitong pagkakaintindi bilang pandamdamin na stimulus, tulad ng nabibilaukan, hindi makahinga, at palpasyon ng puso, at damdamin o emosyon sa pinakamalawak nitong pagpapahiwatig na may “mukha-sa-mukhang ulirat nang halaga” at ang mga “nakondisyon noong may presensya ng imahe.” Upang magkaroon ng halaga ay nagangahulugang tayo ay naglalagay ng halaga sa ating mga damdamin. Ang kanilang presensiya ay pangangahulugan na ginawa at samakatuwid ay pangangahulugan ng wastong pag-uugali. Ipinaparating sa atin ang tungkol sa mga gawi, paniniwala, at ideals na nabuo mula sa tamang karanasan. Binubuo ng parehong pakiramdam at pag-iisip, ang mga emosyon ay makikita kung saan mayroong tiyak na tensyon o pagkakasalungatan sa pagitan ng imahe at sa pakiramdam ng emosyon... Ang mga emosyon ay kinasasangkutan ng pagkaabala at agitation. Sa bawat oras na may emosyon, mayroong pagkakaiba sa pagitan ng sense situation at image situation...patuloy na pagtaas-baba, patuloy na pagpapalit-palit sa pagitan ng imahe at pangkasalukuyang sitwasyon...Ang pagkasabik, pagkatapos ay ang pagkaabala ng karakteristik ng lahat ng mga emosyon na hinalo, ay dahil sa katotohanang ang nabanggit na sitwasyon ay inilagay sa pahinga laban sa ideyal.

Saling-wika, Saling-lohikal

Gayatri Spivak, kilala sa kaniyang mga teoretikal at kritikal na gawa sa postkolonyal na larangan, ay isang interesanteng kaso ng isang nagsasalang nag-aasym ng kaniyang pagkakatanaw at tumatalakay sa mga isyu ng estratehiyang esensyalismo. Laging sinasamahan ni Spivak ang kaniyang mga sinalin ng lipos na aparatong kritikal, kung saan, sa loob ng mga tulang nilikha ni Dimalanta at isinalin nina Bautista, Almario at Nadera ating sinuri para sa papel na ito, tulang Ingles tungo sa wikang Filipino ay may pagkakataon na nagkakaroon ng palitan ng kuru-kuro at paliwanagan ang awtor at mga tagasalin sa kadahilanang magkakaibigan sila sa lahat ng bagay. Kung saan lumalabas sa mga pag-uusap /diskusyon na gawain ng awtor ang pagkakathang-isip. Ipinagdidiinan nina Almario, Bautista at Nadera na ang

kanilang pag-aalala bilang tagapagsalin ay upang masinop na mapanatili ang tono ng diskurso ng kanilang isinasaling tula ni Dimalanta na makikita natin ang malaking pag-uukol ng paggalang at pagbibigay parangal sa awtor. Ang komunikasyon sa pagitan ng awtor at mga tagasalin ay isang aspeto kung saan tulad ni Gayatri Spivak ay inilalagay ang malaking halaga, bilang isang dayalogong nagbibigay sa kaniya ng feedback sa kaniyang pagkatha at pagsasaling-wika at literaring kritisismo.

Sa kaniyang afterword kay Devi, binibigyang diin ni Spivak ang tungkulin ng visibilidad sa proyekto ng pagsasalin, na ang layunin, sa lahat, ay tutulan ang makapangayarihang mga nosyon habang ipinagkakait sa lahat na hindi dapat makulong sa isang “espayo sa pagitan” inilalagay ang kaniyang sarili, samakatuwid, sa malinaw at makikitang paraan, bilang pagpabor sa cultural specificity ni Devi at ang mga values na ipinaparating ng kaniyang mga gawa. Iyon rin ang mga pagpapahalaga na kaniya, bilang tagapagsalin, ninanasang mailipat sa isang inaasam na salin. Sa pagsunod sa linyang ipinakita sa kaniyang “Ang Pulitika ng Pagsasaling-wika.” idineklara ni (Spivak, 1992) “Mula sa pangkalahatang gawi sa pagbabasa at pagtuturo ng tinatatawag na “Ikatlong Mundo” na ang lahat ay papunta sa hindi natugunang cultural relativism, ako ay sumusulat ng mga sanaysay na kasama ang aking bawat isinalin, sinusubukang makialam at baguhin ang ganitong gawi.”

Ano ang paninindigan ni Spivak sa tanong na paano isinalin ang kasarian sa pagsasaling-wika? Ano ang ibig sabihin ng maging feminis mong nagsasaling-wika, at ano ang kailangan para baguhin ang isinalin?

Sa kaniyang sanaysay “Ang Pulitika ng Pagsasaling-wika,” iginigiit ni Spivak na “hindi mga katawan ng kahulugan ang inililipat sa pagsasaling-wika” at bilang tungkulin ng feministang nagsasalingwika “ay kunsiderahin ang wika bilang mungkahing di-tuwiran ng pangkasariang ahensya.” Kahit na pangunahing iniaayon ni Spivak ang kaniyang pagsasaling-wika ng mga teksto mula sa mga babaeng hindi taga-Europa sa pamamagitan ng mainstream ng babaeng nagsasaling-wika ng Kanluran, sinasaalang-alang ni Spivak ang pangangailangang sumailalim sa rhetoricity ng orihinal na teksto upang mapanatili at gayahin ang bakas ng pagiging iba ng pagsasaling-wika. Sa pag-uudyok ni Spivak na ang nagsasaling wika ay dapat sumuko sa

“literarity at textuality at sensuality ng pagsulat” upang maiwasan “ang species ng neo-colonialist na pagbubuo ng hindi kanlurang tagpo” malalaman natin na sa pagsusuri ng tula ni Dimalanta sa wikang Ingles malinaw na sinuko ng tatlong tagasalin ang kanilang sarili sa sa pagsasalin ng tula na nilikha ng isang babae.

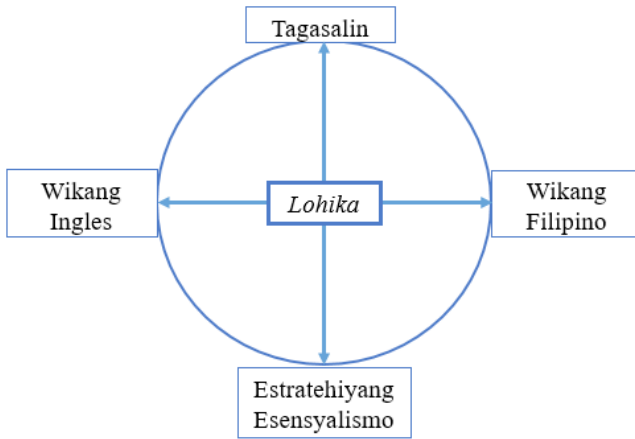


Fig. 1: Relasyon ng Lohika, Ingles, Filipino, Tagasalin, at Estratehiyang Esensyalismo

Pagkawala sa Pagsasalin

Paano matutugunan ng nagsasaling-wika ang katiyakan ng wika na kaniyang sinasalin? Mayroong paraan na kung saan ang retorikal na kalikasan ng bawat wika ay nakagugulo sa lohikal na systematicity nito. Kung bibigyan diin natin ang lohikal kapalit ng mga retorikal na mga balakid, tayo ay mananatiling ligtas. “Safety” ang tamang termino para rito, dahil pinag-uusapan natin ang panganib ng karahasan sa midyum ng nagsasalin.

Ukol sa maraming bagay ang sinasabi ni Spivak dito. Nilinaw ni Spivak kung ano ang kaniyang ibig sabihin kapag pinagsasalungat ang lohika at retorika: Ang post-structuralism ay nagpakita sa ilan sa atin ng pagpapalabas ng agent sa loob ng tatlong nosyon ng wika (bilang retorika, lohika,

katahimikan) (Spivak, 1992). Kahit na hindi direktang sumailalim si Spivak sa diskusyong tahimik, siya ay may malinaw na interes sa pagpapanatili (o pagpapabuti?) ng retorika. Ang pagiging matapat sa eksaktong kahulugan (lohika) ay maaaring makasira ng retorika na nagbibigay ng pagkamalapit sa gawa sa pamamagitan ng pagsira ng sistema nito. Ngunit, ang pagdikit sa retorika ay mapanganib, ang isa ay maaaring gumawa ng karahasan sa lohika ng teksto at sa reputasyon ng isa.

Ang panganib ay dinadala tayo sa ikalawang tema ni Spivak: ang krisis. Kahit na hindi siya nananatili sa posibilidad, ang sentral na motibo sa likod ng konsepsyon ni Spivak ng isang magandang pagsasalang-wika ay ang isa ay hindi namamahala sa krisis.

Ang pagiging ligtas ay laging pagiging komplisit. Ang nagsasalang-wika ng Ikatlong Mundong teksto ay kailangang mapanganib na umasal, pareho sa kapakanan ng teksto at sa mga taong laging nirerepresenta ng pagsasalang-wika dahil lahat ng mga teksto ay nagrerepresenta, kahit hindi nila intensyon, dahil marami ang nakasalalay.

Estratehiyang Esensyalismo

Ano ba ang konseptong estratehiyang esensyalismo? Alam ni Spivak na sa pangkasalukuyang takbo ng panahon madali nang mawasak o madekonstrak ang anumang teorya maski sa identidad/ kasarian at maaaring sabihin na hindi na ito napapanahon o lipas na at simpleng imahinasyon at binuo lamang. Ngunit ang tamang pulitika ay gumagana pa rin sa mga esensyal na identidad/kasarian. Tulad ng isang bansa na hindi natin alam na isang ilusyon lamang pala. Samakatiwid kung gusto natin magkaroon ng ganap na pagbabagong pulitikal, gumawa tayo ng mga bagay na positibo para mabago ang sistema.

Ang proseso ng muling interpretasyon at imahinasyon ay isang paraan ng estratehiyang esensyalismo sinabi Spivak na kahit may postmodern deconstruction ng kasarian-identidad, bilang patunay sa mga kababaihan, kailangang makasulat at makapagsalita ng nauukol sa mga kababaihan upang mapalaganap ang pulitika ng feminismo. Ang pagsasalita at pagsulat lalo na ang pagsasalina ng tungkol sa kababaihan ay ang pinakamahalagang

esensya ng estratehiyang esensyalismo sapagkat nilalagay sa pedestal ang responsibilidad at mahalagang papel na ginagampanan ng mga babae sa lahat ng sulok ng daigdig kahit sa panandaliang panahon lamang.

Kung susuriin natin ang mga tula ni Dimalanta sa ganitong teorya/paraang esensyalismo, naitaas na natin ang lebel ng kababaihan sapagkat ang mga kalalakihang manunulat ang nagsalin nito sa wikang Filipino. Sa kadahilanang kinakaikalangan na maparating ang mensahe ng tula ni Dimalanta, kinailangan niyang ipasalin ang kaniyang mga tula sa wikang Filipino. Dito makikita natin ang pagsuko ng makapangyarihang wikang Ingles sa local na wika ng Filipino. Sa ganitong sitwasyon mapipigil na natin ang unti-unting paglamon ng globalisasyon sa ating bansa at manunumbalik ang etnisidad ng ating pagkatao.

Ito ang malaking kadahilanan kung bakit ang konseptong estratehiyang esensyalismo ay dapat maunawaan na isang pagsasalin. Sa pangkasaysaysang pangyayari nabubuhay tayo sa dalawa o maraming wikang kailangan nating

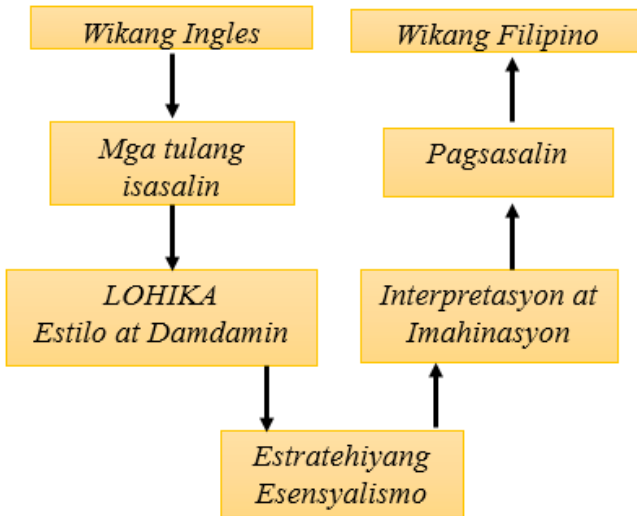


Fig. 2. Estratehiyang Esensyalismo

maunawaan: bagong bersiyon at makalumang anyo ng wika tulad ng Tagalog at Filipino at naririto pa ang Ingles. Sa pahayag ni Spivak walang tuwirang tumbasan ng dalawang wika tulad ng Ingles at Filipino kaya ang tanging solusyon ng pagkakaunawaan ay ang pagsasalin. Wala rin direktang ugnayan kung babae man o lalaki ang tagasalin sapagkat lohika ang isinasalin, kung mauunawaan at magkakaroon ng pagbabago sa mga mambabasa ang isinalin. Ang mahalaga naumpisahan nang bigyang pansin ang naisulat at nalikha ng mga kababaihan.

Ang nasa ibaba ay mga piling tula na isinulat ni Dimalanta kabilang ang salin, na inilathala sa kaniyang koleksyon na *Flowing On*, maliban sa “Isang Anyo ng Lagablab.” Ang una ay ang “Ouija” na tumutukoy sa buhay at kamatayan, tula na personal na isinalin ng sumulat nito.

Ouija

by Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta

Fingers pressed light
Over the glass move
Free-willing, willing free
Over the smooth surface
Of life's lectern.
Meanwhile, the god's grind
And churn their mills over.
Over. Do I, does he, will I,
Will it, will it. Will he, Please?

And see the glass crack, strain
Coax an answer, a mystic cord
Walling the other world away,
While passions are set dumb,
And secrets come off, ooze,
The mind spills over the bluntly
Talking board, blurting out

Words, shaping from the dark
Of you, Believe...and it is.

And so, more than just believing,
Will, and will dreams real.
Indeed this play for truth
Can set destinies a-right
Along the path of one's own
Prefiguring, and finger-driven,
Brain endorsed, love too, this soon,
This late, becomes quite.

Unbelievably, glass willed,
Pulse-moved, yes, possible.
Yes, yes, it says. Over.Over.
Otherwise, influences are cold,
And fingers stammer vague truth
And take a fuzzy route, over,
Over, inchling intentions
Never quite coming off.
Until a talking board gives
The flick of a go-signal.
Simply because one is afraid
To say, hear ye, hear ye!
I love. When one does.
You if you so deserve.

Legitimate or otherwise.
As if volitions were hand shackled.
And feelings mere make- believe.
Unless one wears his heart
On his fingers, touching gods
Of flesh or myths to the quick,

Then ouijas are for nothing,
Mere games of truth and consequence
Kids from eight up
Play to entertain the spirits.

Ouija

Translated by: Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta

mga daliring ubod gaan
ay nakapatong sa baso, kumikilos,
malayang umiikot, kusang gumagalaw
sa ibabaw ng makinis na
hapag-sulatan ng buhay...
habang ang mga diyos natin ay
patuloy sa kanilang paggiling,
paulit-ulit; siya nga ba ay...
gawin ko kaya–niya kaya–siya
nga ba, pupuwede kaya?

maya-maya’y makikitang biglang
babanat ang baso ng isang tugon,
bigla tayong mapapasaibang mundo
habang, ang ating mga puso’y
matutulala, mauumid,
mga nakapinid na lihim, biglang
maibubunyag, ang pag-iisip ay
aapaw sa ibabaw
ng tablang nagsasalita,
bubulalas ng mgakatagang
humuhugis sa karimlan
ng isa’t isa: maniwala ka,
at masusunod!

kaya nga, higit sa paniniwala,
loobin, at naising magkatotoo
ang mga pangarapin...kaya nga.
ilang larong ito na ukol sa
katotohanan ay maaaring mailagay
ang buhay sa kaayusan,
ayon sa pagnanais ng isa't isa.
ang kaisipan ay aayon sa puso,
ngayon man, ganito man kaaga,
o kahuli, ayon sa baso,
ayon sa pulso, oo maaari ito,
oo, sabi nga...paulit-ulit,

kung hindi, Malabo.
ang mga daliri ay magkakandarapa
sa pagsambit ng katotohanan.
tunay na Malabo.
mga lihim na maliliit na nasa,
mananatiling lihim, mananatiling nasa,
hanggang ang isang tablang nangungusap
ay magbigay ng senyas:
malabo... sapagkat ikaw
ay takot, takot bumulalas ng
makinig kayo, makinig kayo
ako'y nagmamahal, kung totoo.
Sa iyo kung ika'y karapat-dapat.
tama man o mali, sa mata ng tao.

para nga bang ang kagustuhan
ay sa kamay nakasalalay
at ang mga damdamin ay di tunay,
maliban na lang kung

ang puso ay sa mga daliri nga
nakahimlay, at kakanti-kantiin
ang mga diyos natin sa totoong buhay
o sa alamat; kung ganoon nga lang,
e di bale wala ang Ouija
magiging isa lang *truth and consequence*
na nilalaro ng mga bata
magbuhat sa walo paitaas
upang ang mga kaluluwa ay aliw

Maraming mga makata ang nilulunod ang kanilang sarili sa paniniwala na ang pag-ibig ay isang laro, isang sugal. Ang nagsasalita ay isang babae, at patungkol ito sa isang lalaki na ayaw “suotin ang kaniyang puso sa kaniyang daliri” (*wear his heart on his fingers*). Ang unang taludtod ay tinatanglawan ang laro ng katotohanan o ang kakambal na epekto nito sa mga nagbabasa. Ang nagsasalita ay nag-aalangan kung siya ba o iyong lalaki o sadyang pagkakataon ang magpapagalaw sa baso. Sa English na teksto, ang orihinal na gawa ay nagmumungkahi na ang nagsasalita ay nakikiusap sa lalaki na siya mismo ang gumalaw nito. Ngunit sa salin, kahit na ang unang taludtod ay nagpapakita ng direktang salin sa lenggwahe, ang mga huling linya ay nagpapakita na ang nagsasalita ay nagtatanong kung ang pag-ibig nga ba ay posible.

Sa pangalawang taludtod, ang nakabiting tanong ay natugunan ng mga bores na lumitaw sa pagbiyak ng baso, sa *mill of gods*. Kung saan ang panabayan ang silakbo ng damdamin, ang laro ay nananatiling pag-apaw ng mga pinigilang emosyon. Hindi lingid sa kamalayan na ang mga lihim ay unti-unting nabubunyag sa kabilang mundo. Ang salin ay nag-uutos sa ganitong *transcendental experience*, na maging totoo, kung hindi man ito pahayag ng isang ilusyon, sa paniniwala ng pagkalahad sa katotohanan. Paniniwala na ang mga pandama ay mapanlinlang at ang pagmamahal ay hindi kailangan ng pandama para mapatunayan ito. Sa orihinal na teksto, ang nagsasalita ay nagbibigay ng *aura* na ito ay tapos na, habang ang salin ay nagmumungkahi ng paulit-ulit na pagtatapos.

Lahat ng paniniwala ay dapat punan ng lakas ng loob, kung hindi ang mga pangarap ay mananatiling mga kastilyo na maglalaho sa hangin. Hindi sapat na ang pag-ibig ay maramdaman lamang. Dapat ay ayon ito sa ating kalooban, ligtas mula sa mga nagpupumilit na gusto tayo magkaroon ng biglaang kaugnayan. Ang pag-ibig ay hindi isang one-way na kaugnayan; ito ay isang tugunan ng pagkakaintindihan kung saan ang mga pangarap ay maaaring magkatotoo, na ang tadhana ay siyang magpapahintulot na ang mga daliri natin ay gumalaw kasabay ng pintig, kasabay ng tibok ng puso.

Ang pangatlong taludtod ay nagpapakita sa kabilang bahagi ng isang malabong sinsilyo. Kung ang pag-ibig na mayroon ang lalaki na pinatutungkulan sa tula ay hindi tiyak, ang mga katotohanan na binubunyag ng mga daliri ay katahimikan at hindi paniniwala. Ang nagsasalita ay malapit nang maabot ang kaniyang ultimatum hanggang nagsalita ang pisara upang itaboy ang pagtakot sa hindi pagkatanggap. Ang mensahe ng “I love,” ang argumento ay hindi kung ang lipunan ay ikokondena ang ganitong mga damdamin, kung hindi ay kung tatanggapin ba ito ng lalaki at tanggapin ang sansinukob na magtulungan para sa emosyong ito. Lahat ng mga emosyon ay totoo, dahil kung hindi ay lahat ng ito ay mauwi sa laro kung saan may nananalo at may natatalo.

“To Lady Polyester

by Ophelia Alcantara–Dimalanta

It is not poetry that

Kills one but life.

-Berryman

True, I am, as against your

Charge, pure silk, silken

And crumbly soft.

I need polyester for strength,

But only the right percentage

To insure against shrinkage.

And this one whirl of silk
Is febrile, tenuous, and remote,
Tearing badly at the slightest
Brush with sun and wind and rain,
Curl, fray at the edges
Under mere finger pressure.

And I, of course, need polyester
Strength for the right bounce,
The proper blend and weave,
Sun-pun, a healthy brune
Against this rose-ash dying.

To spread out, centripetal—
Opening, purely strong,
Strengthened by your nudging
Private polyester polyestrous
Blood, and wakened, thus—
Shaken from this twilight silken swoon.

“Kay Babaeng Polyester

Salin ni V.E. Carmelo D. Nadera Jr.

*Di tula ang pumapatay
kundi buhay.
- Berryman*

Totoo, ako, bilang salungat sa iyong
Bintang, ay sedang dalisay, sineda
At lugsuin sa lambot,
Kailangan ko ang polyester para sa puwersa.

Pero iyon lamang may tamang porsiyentong
Makapagpapasigurong walang pag-urong,

At itong isang ikot-sutla
Ay mahina, manipis, at malayo,
Nagigisian nang grabe sa pinakasuwabeng
Sagi ng sanating at ihip at tikatik,
Kulot, nisnis sa mga gilid
Sa konting kuriring–daliri.

At ako, talaga, ay nangingisda sa tatag-
Polyester dahil sa indayog na wasto,
Sa hustong halo at habi,
Inikit-init, sangkaliking kayumangging
Kontra sa rosang–abong paghihingalo.

Para ilatag, sentripetal—
Oripisyo, purong may tigas
Pinalakas ng iyong kumaskas
Na pribado polyester polyestrosong
Dugo, at binulaga, kaya—
Nagambala mula sa pandapithapon
Na itong sinutlang pagkalula

Ang salitang “text” ay mula sa Medieval Latin na salitang texus na nangangahulugan “to weave (maghabi).” Ang mga makata ay panday ng mga salita; sila ang naghahabi ng mga salita upang makagawa ng isang nakakamanghang likhain, parang damit. Ang mga salita ay naglalaman ng mga likas na mahika ng pagka-orihinal. Sa *epitaph*, nagmumungkahi si Berry na ang buhay ay mas walang saysay kaysa sa tula. Ang tula ay pinahayag sa *first person point of view*. Ang mga termino na walang direktang salin sa Filipino ay ginamit ayon sa pangangailangan ng tagasalin, tulad ng salitang “polyester” Ang salin ay nagbibigay ng pagmumuling-tatag upang masabi

ang hindi masabi sa mga espasyo ng orihinal na gawa nang hindi sinisira ang diwa ng lengguwahe na unang ginamit ng makata. Sa “Kay Babaeng Polyester,” kahit hindi lingid sa kaalaman ng mga nagbabasa ang pagkawala ni Dimalanta, ang nagsalin ay isang lalaki, pero kahit papaano ay napanatili niya ang babaeng boses ng tula. Bagama’t ang trabaho ng makata at tagasalin ay ipakita ang bakas sa bagong gawa, ang diwa ng kababaihan ay malinaw sa tono, sa lohika, at saka sa puso ng dalawang lengguwahe.

Ang unang taludtod ay kumakatawan ng *binary opposition* sa pagitan ng malambot na *silk* laban sa malakas ng *polyester*. Kung ang isa ay sumasalungat sa isa, ang tula ay ginamit ito upang magsilbing *supplement* sa isa’t isa at upang masiguradong ligtas ang magsusuot nito mula sa pag-urong. Ang dalawang magkaibang bagay na ito ay nagsisilbing *binding force*, na nagpupunan sa hina at nagdaragdag sa lakas ng isa; kapag masyadong madulas ang *silk*, mabilis itong madurog, kaya ang trabaho na *polyester* ay palakasin ito. Ang unang taludtod ay nagmumungkahi ng kalinisan bilang paksa at sumalungat sa *reconstruction*, o kaya’y *naturalization*. Ito ay parang wika; sa kaso ng Pilipinas, ang mga Espanyol ay ang nagturo ng Kastila, ang panimulang terminolohiya at bokabularyo, ngunit walang sinuman ang makakaangkin sa kadalisan at pagiging orihinalnito. Ang mga Espanyol na nagpunta sa bansa ay naging *naturalized* na ng pandama at laman ng lokal na kulay ng mga Pilipino. Nangyayari ang *naturalization*, tulad na lamang ng Taglish o Engalog na maaaring maobserbahan sa kapaligiran natin.

Ang pagkaorihinal ng gawa ay isang Platonic na ideya na hindi totoo, dahil bawat gawa ay mula sa isang inspirasyon, kahit pa man ginawa ito ng may malay o wala. Ang pagka-orihinal ay katakataka o gawa gawa lamang na nalulukot at nadudurog dahil walang bagay na talagang tiyak. Kapag masyadong marami ang isang elemento ay nagiging labis ito sa punto na maaaring maging bisyo. Dapat magkaroon ng “*golden mean*” na humahawak sa isang materyal, sa *work in the center*. Kung hindi, ang gilid nito ay masisira ng mga ibang sanhi tulad ng hangin at araw, at saka ng presyur ng daliri ng tao. Ang naisaling tula ay nagbibigay-diin sa imahe na nagbibigay ng pagkasira na matapat sa *epitaph* na nakuha mula kay Berry.

May sangay sa pagsasalin. Ang huling taludtod, na orihinal na ginawa bilang isa, ay binukod ng pagsasalin sa pagkamatay ng rosas. Mayroon ding pagkakaharap ng “fishing for the strength of polyester” (At ako, talaga, ay nangingisda sa tatag-Polyester) sa salin na nagbabago ng orihinal na sinasabi ng nagsasalita na nangangailangan lamang at hindi iyong pangingsda. Ito ay isang praktikal na pagpapakita na dapat ipalaganap ang salitang *polyester*. Ang talinghaga ng dugo mula sa pinapatungkulan ng tula ay nagpalakas sa polyester at nagpakita nang mabilis na pangangailangan upang ito ay linisan para gamitin kinabukasan.

“Coming to Grief” By Ophelia A. Dimalanta	“Dalamhati” Salin ni Virgilio S. Almario	“Pagdating ng Kalungkutan” Salin ni Cirilo F. Bautista
Mother’s coming to grief	Ang dalamhati ni Ina	Ang kalungkutan ni Ina
Is a black shroud flung	Ay isang luksang lambong	Ay itim na lambong na itinakip
Over vast spaces of the day.	Sa buong lawak ng araw.	Sa malalaking puwang ng araw.
It does not discriminate what	Wala itong pinipiling	Hindi nito pinipili
Corners for it to pall over.	Sulok na pamimighatian.	Kung anong sulok ang padidilimin
The entire house is a tomb.	Isang libingan ang buong bahay.	Ang buong bahay ay isang kabaong
All passages of escape have been	Sarado ang lahat ng lagusan	Lahat ng daan sa pagtakas
Blocked, all because this morning,	Ng pagtakas, dahil ngayong umaga	Ay hinarangan, dahil ngayong umaga,
Mother chooses to rehearse her grief	Nagpasya si Inang mag-ensayo	Iinsayuhin ni Ina ang kaniyang lungkot
In a role she and only she can play.	Sa dalamhating siya lang ang nakakaganap.	Sa isang papel na tanging siya lamang ang makakaganap.
And until she says, hear ye,	At hanggang di niya sinasabing makinig,	At hanggang di niya sinasabing, “Makinig kayo,
It is over, we ourselves	Tapos na ang lahat, lahat tayo’y	Tapos na,” tayo mismo ay hawang ng kamatayan
In death’s deepest grip	Matalik na sakmal ng kama-tayan	Habang tila tubig na kumakalat
As her grief spin falls over.	Habang bumabalong ang kaniyang dalamhati.	Ang kalungkutan ni Ina.
And until she stir from her	At hanggang di siya tumitinag	At hanggang di siya umaalis sa kaniyang

Own grim grave of grief,	Sa malagim na puntod ng dalamhati	Mabagsik na puntod ng lungkot
We are ourselves immobilized.	Lahat tayo'y nakapatda.	Tayo rin ay di makagalaw.
Till she herself comes to.	Hanggang siya'y makaraos.	Hanggang siya ay di nagk-kamalay.

Ang mga makata at tagasalin ay malaya na pumili ng tula na gusto nila. Nangyari lamang na ang dalawang higitang makata, isa sa Ingles, at isa sa Filipino, ay nakahanap ng *serendipity* sa *Coming to Grief* ni Dimalanta. Ang mga magagaling ay maaaring mag-isip nang magkatulad, ngunit palaging may magkakaiba sa pamamaraan. Pagdating sa pamagat, ang bersyon ni Bautista ay mas matapat, dahil ang pagsalin ay ginawa nang berbatim. Ang bersyon naman ni Almario ay mas payak, ngunit nagpapakita ng kaniyang sariling estilo. Ang dalawang salin ay demonstrasyon ng lengguwahe at mensahe ng salin.

Ang kagustuhan ni Dimalanta sa *Latinate polysyllables* ay hindi maaari maisalin sa *syllabic structure* sa Filipino, at bilang kabayaran ay napapanatili ang kayamanan ng simbolo. Hindi lamang sila nagsasalita; ito ay nagpapakita ng pagkakaiba ng maluwag na pagbigkas ng Ingles. Si Bautista, bilang isang wordsmith ng panulaang Ingles, ay matagumpay na naisalin ang tula ni Dimalanta na nagmukhang binigkas niya ito sa Filipino. Si Almario, sa kabilang banda, ay napanatili ang diwa ng sentimyento ng Filipino; ang kaniyang salin ay hindi berbatim, ngunit nilalantad kung ano ang hindi sinasabi ng panitikan: na ang pagmamahal ng isang nanay ay hindi kailangan ng lengguwahe na madaling mahanap sa mga tula ni Dimalanta.

May mga tiyak na pangyayari sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas na nagpapakita sa mga tula ni Dimalanta. Ang kasaysayan na tinutukoy dito ay hindi *static image*; kung hindi, ito ay nagiging proseso kung saan maraming pangyayari ang nagpapatong-patong sa isa't isa, kilala rin bilang *intertextuality*. Gusto ng mga makabagong mambabasa ang metaporika *nasophistication* na napanatili ang salin. Ito ay pagpatotoong nalampasan ni Almario sa pamamagitan ng pagbibigay ng respeto sa hindi maipaliwanag na *female presence* ni Dimalanta.

Ang salin naman ni Bautista ay nagkulang sa ganitong aspekto dahil naging matapat siya sa mga salita.

Ang bawat nagsalin ay gumamit ng kaniya-kaniyang pamaraan para maipakita ang natatanging nararamdaman/emosyon sa tula. Ang salin na matatagpuan sa *Flowing On* ni Dimalanta ay malaking ambag sa panitikan ng Pilipinas at sa alaala ni Lady Polyester.

Ang huling salin ay naghahatid ng isa sa mga pinakaprominenteng tula ni Dimalanta na isalin sa Filipino. Isang tagasalin, si Roberto Añonuevo, ay dalubhasa sa mga iba't ibang wika. Nagsasalin din sya ng prose poems mula sa iba't ibang basa sa kaniyang blog. Sa ibaba ay ang kaniyang salin na ipinaskil nang araw na namatay si Dimalanta (Añonuevo, 2011).

A Kind of Burning

it is perhaps because
one way or the other
we keep this distance
closeness will tug us apart
in many directions
in absolute din
how we love the same
trivial pursuits and
insignificant gewgaws
spoken or inert
claw at the same straws
pore over the same jigsaws
trying to make heads or tails
you take the edges
i take the center
keeping your fancy guard
loving beyond what is there
you sling at stars
i bedeck the weeds

straining in the song or
profanities towards some
fabled meeting apart
from what dreams read
and suns dismantle
we have been all the hapless
lovers in this wayward world
in almost all kinds of ways
except we never really meet
but for this kind of burning

Isang Anyo ng Lagablab

ito marahil ay sapagkat
sa isang paraan o iba pa
pinaiiiral natin ang distansiyang ito
magkalayo tayo gayong magkalapit
sa maraming direksiyon
sa sukdulang ingay
kung paanong ninais natin
ang parehong munting layon at
walang kuwentang bakbakan
pabigkas man o nakahalukipkip
kakayurin ang parehong dayami
tititig sa parehong palaisipan
sinisikap makuha ang kara o krus
doon ka sa may gilid
ako naman ang nasa gitna
kimkim ang kunwang tampo
umiibig nang higit sa tinataglay
tinutudla mo ang mga bituin
at pinapatag ko ang damuhan

nagpipilit na umawit o
nilalait ang kathang pagtatagpong
bukod sa arok ng mga pangarap
at binabaklas ng mga araw
tayo'y pawang naging kaawa-awang
mangingibig sa ligaw na daigdig
sa halos lahat ng uri ng paraan
maliban sa hindi tayo nagtatagpo
kundi lamang sa ganitong lagablab

Ang pagsasalin ay isang patuluyang proyekto na nagpapanatili at nagbubuo sa kultura; ang bersyon ni Añonuevo ng pagsasalin ay hindi lamang tapat sa iisang aspeto ng pagsasalin sapagkat kabilang dito ang wika at ang mensahe na hindi nalalayo sa gusto niyang iparating. Ang orihinal na wika na ginamit ni Dimalanta ay isang matinding boses ng isang umiibig na nagmamahal sa kaniyang kasintahan anumang pagsubok ang pagdaanan. Isang natatanging katangian ng pagsasalin ay kung ito ay nakasulat sa prosang patula. Ang simulang letra ng bawat linya ay hindi malaki, at wala ring mga tuldok at kuwit. Ang prosesong ito ay nakapagdadagdag ng kasaganahan sa literaturang Filipino at nagbibigay-pugay kay Dimalanta. Ang tula ay maaaring nilalabag ang ilan sa mga isinasaad ng aspetong gramatikal, kung saan nagkakaroon ng mga *run-on* na pangungusap. Ang mga manunulat, partikular ang mga manunula, ay mayroong karapatan nahindi sundin ang mga isinasaad ng aspetong gramatikal.

Bukod sa karapatan na hindi sundin ang mga isinasaad ng aspetong gramatikal, mas binigyan halaga ng mga tagasalin ng tula ni Dimalanta na maiparating sa pinakamalapit na paraan ang identidad ng orihinal na mga likha. Masasabi na matagumpay na naisalin ang mga likha ni Dimalanta sa kadahilanang napanatili nila ang nais iparating ng mga akda maging ito man ay nailipat na sa ibang wika. Ngunit maaring pagtalunan pa rin kung kasama ang damdamin ng mga akda ni Dimalanta ay matagumpay pa din kaya na nailagay ng mga tagasalin sa kanilang gawa. Ang mga mambabasa na ang makakapagsabi kung nagawa ba ito ng mga tagasalin o hindi.

Ang tagumpay ng isang tula ay makikita kung higit sa isang lebel ang kabilang. Tinatawag ito ng iba bilang *allegory* ngunit ito ang kabuuuan ng buhay, kabilang na rin ang kamatayan. Ang mga piling tula at ang kanilang mga salin ay ginagawa rin sa limang bahagi. Bilang pasimula, ito ay nagsisimula sa kaniyang sarili kabilang ang kaniyang sariling salin. Pangalawa ay ang kung ano ang sinasabi ng mga tao tungkol sa kaniya. Ang ikatlo at ikaapat ay nagpapakita kung paano ang ang mga kaisipan ay nagsasama. Panghuli, kapag naperpekto ang porma. Ang porma, gramatika, at ang wika ay maaari lamang makalimutan kapag ang manunula ay may sapat nang kaalaman sa mga dapat gamitin. Mananatili ang alaala ni Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta sa mga mambabasa, nakasalin man ito o hindi, *“For poetry never says; it unsays to say.”*

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Translating *Banaag at Sikat* (1906) of Lope K Santos

Reflection on Problems of Meaning

Bayani Santos, Jr.

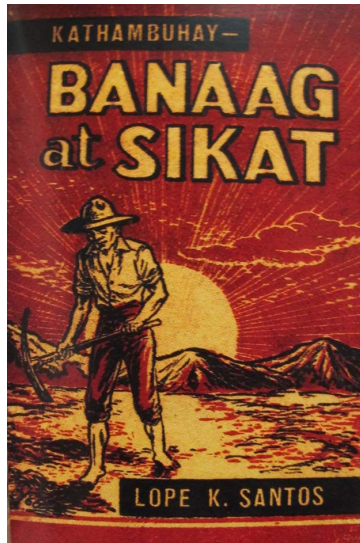
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I. The Challenges of Translating a Tagalog Classic: Issues of Literary Translation and the Socio-Political Environment

What the translator had initially thought of as mainly a job of linguistic translation, proved to be a more profound and problematic task, once the realization had sunk in that translation was not a mere shift of language code from the original tongue to the target language. Translating the first chapter of the Tagalog classic, *Banaag at Sikat* required a familiarity with the cultural context, the racial sensibility of the characters and of the author himself, the philosophical leanings of the author, his loyalties, the literary tradition to which the author belonged, and the prevailing literary standards.

Indeed, as one realizes now, the effort requires a reasonable knowledge of the original idiom, and an equal command of the target language of translation, in this case, English. The translator is perforce also an arbiter of literary sensibility who must make choices on the basis of preferred literary and linguistic theory. Such choices include: Should the work be as accurately mirrored in the formal tradition it came from, or should the work be re-fashioned or compromised according to the cultural context, idioms, and the formalist standards and conventions of the target language?

From a non-literary perspective, the translator should be well informed about politico-linguistics issues. An example is a popular anti-Islamic



Banaag at Sikat by Lope K. Santos

English idiomatic expression innocently dropped in many conversations, which should be translated without the religious slur in a prospective new translation. “If the mountains would not come to Muhammad, Muhammad would go to the mountains.” The context here is the Christian disbelief on the ability of the Prophet of Islam to prove his prophethood with miracles. A translator ignorant of or insensitive to the complex dynamics among religious groups in the present century would have to know that such an apparently innocent slur ought to be translated with political sensitivity (“correctness”). When Bacon used this quip in 1636, the Islam-Christianity polarity were continents apart, unlike today where nations and religions are digitally linked. Parenthetically, any reference to Islamic prophets like Jesus Christ (Issah) or Muhammad, or Moses (Musa) must be reverential in any translation, with the customary “Peace be upon him” honorific, in deference to the Islamic tradition.

In this light, the translator as a writer himself, cannot be impervious to the politics of his time. In the present essay, for example, the translator is

aware of the political and linguistic issues in Philippine art and culture, and should be cognizant of questions such as: Should the national language be the repository of national literature, or should the local literature, inclusive of those written or already with translations into the national language, be translated into English for world exposure? If they should be, why should the choice be, particularly or primarily, English? Should a select set of languages be prioritized: English, Spanish, Arabic, Bahasa, and Chinese?

Even the choice of which world language to translate Philippine literary and intellectual work is significant. Bahasa or Malay is a language that should be an important second language in the Philippines, and a Bahasa translation of revolutionary works of the propagandists, Rizal, Bonifacio, Mabini, and Recto among other Filipino intellectuals, would have strengthened the intellectual ties between the Philippines and Indonesia, a formidable combination of more than 250 million Austronesians.

Filipino should eventually become the language of education and communication of the Philippines, as mandated by the Constitution of 1987. The continuing tradition of re-creating the output of Philippine literature with English as the linguistic repository clearly contravenes such constitutional mandate. The effort perpetuates the Filipino Anglo-Saxonized sensibility (*la sensibilidad anglo-sajonada*) and its hold on Philippine literature and culture, a continuing cultural crisis that has been ignored by the English-educated Filipino literati. Dr. Zeus Salazar has described this national crisis as the Great Cultural Divide between two Filipino sub-nations: the *Bayan* and the *Nacion*.

The choice of English vis-à-vis Filipino or other translation language should be open to policy debates or at least, to challenge, to be resolved in a translation priority policy.

In the midst of the unquestioned hegemony of the *anglo-saxonized*, or more correctly, Americanized, Filipino literati, the question is: Should the nation be oriented to world literary traditions in English or in the language understood by a majority of the people? As a professor of literature, it has been this translator's experience that the teaching of world literature in English is a burdensome if not an impossible task for the majority of Filipino

students. This translator's research has consistently proved that Tagalog-translated works of Shakespeare are significantly better appreciated by his students than the original works in English.

For all those reservations, the author of *Banaag at Sikat*, Lope K. Santos himself, had wished for an English translation of his novel. His friend Carlos P. Romulo, then President of the University of the Philippines, had expressed interest in the translation, but was perhaps discouraged by the enormity of the translation work. In 1960, a graduate student at the UP Los Baños, Mariano Javier, used the novel as thesis for his master's degree, under the supervision of his thesis adviser Leopoldo Yabes, a staunch anti-Tagalog regionalist. Unfortunately, the student failed to give Santos, the author, a copy of his English translation. In retrospect, the translation did not seem up to par with the grand Tagalog style of the original, which the translator Javier himself has extolled for its "vernacular accuracy."

II.

The first chapter, "Sa Batis ng Antipulo" (In the Spring Rivulets of Antipolo), foreshadows the challenges to be faced in translating the entire novel into English, particularly, the twin challenges of capturing the vernacular accuracy and the deciphering of the novel's symphonic sensibilities. The first challenge involves diction or vocabulary, and the second involves capturing the philosophical, psychological, social and cultural surface or the literal, merged with the subterranean meanings, in lines after lines of the first chapter.

This translator who is 62 years old was humbled by the fact that Lope K. Santos, the novelist, was only 22 years old when he wrote the novel in 1906. That alone was intimidating, as there were passages in the novel in which one had to closely read through the author's complex intentions, as the translator realized that at a similar age of 22 he could not have been anywhere this level of Lope K. Santos' precocious intellectual and stylistic sophistication.

The novelist, in his simplest language in 1959, dedicated his 1906 *oeuvre* to teachers and the youth who were learning the National Language, when this novel was reprinted. To quote:

.... Isang babasahin itong napapanahon. Tigib ng palaisipang mabibigat sa pamuhay, malulubhang sigalot ng puhunan at paggawa, at saka ng likaw-likaw na suliranin ng pag-ibig ng dukha at masalapi.

[This is a relevant reading for our time. Redolent with significant riddles and thoughts on existence and living, the grave conflicts of capital and labor, not to miss the intricate complexities and problems of love among and between the poor and the moneyed.]

And the author was definitive on which tradition he proclaimed his writing should be classified, and by reasonable assertion, how the work should thereby be appraised:

Naalinsunod ang pagsasalaysay sa mga simulain ng wagas na panitikang Tagalog at naayon sa pangulong tuntunin ng palatuldikan at palabigkasa sa Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa; anupa't ang Aklat na ito ay magagamit sa patakaran at sanggunian sa wastong pagsulat at matatas na pagbibigkas ng Wika ni Balagtas.

[The narrative conforms with the primordial rules and principles of Tagalog literature, and the work adheres to the main rules of orthographic accentuation and fluent speech in the Language of Balagtas.]

The great Filipino writer-essayist in Spanish, Macario Adriatico saw *Banaag at Sikat* as the intellectual and literary product of a young author from the masses, impressed by the emergent thoughts in his time. Writing the first reaction to the novel, by invitation of the author, Adriatico's impressionistic critical essay is itself a showcase of turn of the century Tagalog grand style. He wrote:

Sinabi ko na. Ang ipinagkaganito ni G. Lope K. Santos ay sa pagkahilig ng loob sa mga bagong munukala.....muni-muni o panagimpan ng isang anak-bayang uhaw sa kalayaan at katwiran, na babahagyang ganapin sa sinupil ng yaman at puhunan.

[I said it. Lope K. Santos' leanings traced its roots in his attractions to new thoughts. moorings or vision of a son of the people longing for freedom and reason, which rarely happens to those who have been corrupted by wealth and capital.]

In this light, it would be imperative to consider the author's intentions when he wrote the novel. Obviously the present effort to translate the work into English, and Lope K. Santos' desire to have his work translated into English in the late 50s, might seem like an ironic reversal of his intent, as the author had clearly meant his work to be a contribution to the body of literature and the literary tradition of his choice. On the other hand, a translation into English would have made his thoughts known to Filipinos whose preferred language of literary reading was (is) English.

The translator's foray into translation of this Tagalog classic into English would seem like an affront to the ideological position that the national literature should be translated into Filipino rather than into the English language. Why should it be an affront? Because, to reiterate, the repository of local literature, including those in English written by Filipinos, and those works of non-Filipinos of world repute, should be in their national language.

An important possible benefit in this paradoxical conflicted effort is that such translation could be a modest contribution in helping elevate awareness of Tagalog writing at the turn of the century, outside of the national community, and into the reach of other people, which may also encourage translator-scholars to pursue translations of *Banaag at Sikat* into Spanish and other world languages like German and Russian, particularly the latter two languages, with which Tagalog shares a philosophical affinity that the scholar Epifanio San Juan, Jr. has elucidated in his critical essay, *The Radical Tradition in Philippine Literature*. The translator is of the firm opinion that *Banaag at Sikat* is a hallmark of Filipino grand tradition of writing in the league of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, Balagtas' *Florante at Laura*, and Amado V. Hernandez's works, as San Juan had previously theorized. A translation into English or other languages would help in placing

the Santos *kathambuhay*, or masterpiece, as one of the great novels of our country.

Apart from the concerns discussed above, in particular, the following are some of the challenges the translator encountered in this preliminary effort of translation:

1. The socio-cultural context: Santos, in 1906, expressed the belief that true heroism only happens or exists, in the noblest sentiments of the poor. The novel was meant to benefit the poor, but by 1959, as Lope K. Santos saw the failure to liberate the poor from poverty, it remained as a dream unrealized. The translator must therefore understand the specific illustrations of poverty as well as the exploitative practices of the rich, details of which are highlighted in the novel.
2. The Filipino sensibility. The translator must understand the locale and the qualities and sensibilities of characters, and the author's intentions in each character, their strengths, follies, and comic or tragic qualities. In this effort, the translator ought to discern the "equivalent" sensibilities recognizable to the contemporary audience. Although a translation is assumed mainly for contemporary English-reading Filipinos, the translator must consider the possibility of a "universalized" translation.
3. Linguistic sensibilities and codes. Where there are approximate cases of equivalence, the equivalent expressive code is used. Where the expression is untranslatable the original is used. Example: The interjection, *Aba!* used in the original code, was used in the translation.
4. Conflict of literary traditions. Western authors and critics of recent contemporary leanings are against long essayistic remarks of characters that tend to reflect the position of the author with the arguments presented and represented by the characters. The translator is faced with the choice of adhering to the original text and intent of the author, or resorting to the simplification or corruption of the

text, with the expurgation of long dialogues. The English tradition now commonly frowns on essayistic dialogues as those found in Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. In a similar vein, western-oriented readers may find cloying the prolonged lovers' spat and courting between Meni and Delfin in Chapter 1 of the Santos novel, for example. The translator stood by the author in his intent to depict the elegant courting and lovers' spat, which readers of western contemporary literature may find rather excessively sentimental or romantic.

5. Vernacular accuracy. The exquisite and elegant language of the first decade of the 1900s is captured by the novel. Many of the words used are no longer understood by Filipinos of the current generation. It was extremely a taxing effort of linguistic approximation that sometimes had to give way to simplified translations where the limit of translator's vocabulary has been reached.
6. Customary traditions. The novel is a documentation of the mores, cultural norms, fashion, and traditions of the turn of the century and presumably for centuries before. For example, the translator has to understand what difference in social status a *buntal* hat confers on the wearer. This demands sociological historical research.
7. Flora and fauna. The novel is so precise even in the description of the flora of Antipolo. The equivalent terms in English are themselves obscurely known, except to experts. The translator would benefit from the rich vocabulary of a bilingual botanist.
8. The idiom of translation. The classical Tagalog used should keep a modicum of its respectability in contemporary English. The translator of a novelist in the caliber of Lope K. Santos must be a writer of the caliber of language masters like Nick Joaquin or a Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, or a Ninotchka Rosca, which is a tall order for the current translator. The Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino could find this a worthy undertaking.

Conclusion

With the myriad of challenges met by the author in translating a chapter of *Banaag at Sikat*, he has come to the conclusion that the work of translating this masterpiece would require an inter-disciplinary group of translators. For example: Language experts could help in providing a glossary of now archaic terms; and sociologists would be useful in the historical analysis of social mores and attitudes of the turn of the century. Moreover, an acknowledged master of the target language of translation serving as overall editor-translator, with a staff of competent editorial assistants trained in Stylistics, would be useful in preserving the elegance and cadence of the author's language; and bilingual specialists, e. g. botanists, would be very helpful in providing the correct translation of specific details in the novel such as the botanical wealth of the locality of Antipolo at the turn of the century. The author sought courage in proposing a translation of the first chapter of Lope K. Santos' *Banaag at Sikat* only after the self-assurance that it was a translator's modest *interpretation* of the chapter. He realized the limits of his vocabulary, but had to find courage in the fulfillment of an academic commitment for a preliminary translation. Translators need not be traitors, and could be modest interpreters of great works.

BANAAG AT SIKAT

Chapter One

In the Rivulet Springs of Antipolo

"People have been flocking here for years, but this year, there were even more visitors," an Antipolo resident was tactfully boasting to his house guests from Manila. "It could be that other than the recent conflagration which razed and devastated the town, the resistance our people fought against the Spaniards, and then against the more powerful Americans could have also impoverished our people. But by the grace of Our Miraculous Lady of Peace and Good Voyage, this year's festivities were truly joyous! Only this time, the most populated attractions are the spring waters where visitors come to bathe..."

The Antipolo resident told of it more or less accurately, as recent visitors who were here from the first days of May to the last days of June 1904 would have similarly described it, having seen for themselves the many people who came.

Were it faith or the attractions of leisure that could entice almost the whole of Manila and those from the provinces to go up the hills of Antipolo, what could not be denied is that the town seemed to possess such a magnetic power so as to pull people up to the ridge, even those who were cold-hearted and those who scrimped on any cost.

Though without doubt the sheer faith in the miraculous healing waters of Antipolo used to be the reason of the sick who sought cure by bathing in the spring, now people would come for the cool and clear waters and the endless attractions of pleasure rather than for the waters “that were made miraculous by the Virgin Mother”. Those were bygone days when the rivulets were venerable, the balm for souls guilty with sins... Most often, the rivulets became flowing witnesses to the secrets of the heart of a young woman, the obscene temerity of a young man’s eyes, and the opportunities for admiring the embellishments of the body and for exchanging affection between lovers.

“To bathe in the rivulets” would no longer be said as before as a wish for a cure of a sickness but would now mean “to enjoy the stars from heaven.” Indeed, it would be like the use of “going to church” which would now mean, “to see people in their Sunday best.”

Pity the soul of him who had “discovered” and “made” those waters “miraculous”, for his failure to foresee any glimmer of what would happen to his “discovery”. Just as sure as the sun would set in the west, his merchandise of faith in these miraculous springs would face a night of overflowing flood of profanity: a hive of rentals and lodging businesses, an abode for lovers, a paradise for the daughters of Eve picking the forbidden fruit, a haven for the lustful, and a theater for the sinful eyes of men--wide open and moist with desire.

“Someone has stolen my dream!” He who had discovered these waters would certainly be fretting these days were he still alive, with eyes looking

up to the heavens, staring in disbelief at the irreverent behavior of pilgrims frolicking in his miraculous waters.



Antipolo has been known not for one but for a few more rivulets, though many of these streams branched into two, four, even eight cycles downstream; but among the many, one rivulet stood distinctive for the sparse presence of people and for its pristine and unspoiled condition.

Upon reaching the top of the stairs carved from the hillside, a pathway snaked towards the entry door of a large landscaped property bounded by a written signage, BATIS, made from improvised bamboo slits. The ends of each letter were nailed on two native cotton trees looking as if these were planted together to become intimately intertwined, a suggestive and lusty invitation to tourist bathers.

Upon first approaching the entrance, it is most likely that the imaginative but fearful lowlander would think that he is standing on the hollowed grounds of a private cemetery. The hanging branches and twigs of *tampoy* or rose apple trees, the prolific fruits of cashew, healthy *zapote*, banana, *mabolo* or velvet apple, native blackberries called *duhat*, *macopa*, and the native cotton trees; some native fence shrubs said to be “the natural cure of rats that have survived snake attacks”... all these plants in their placements, healthy growth, splendor and freshness could be thought of as having been fertilized by the dead underneath. The hilly terrain, the wild grass, and the touch-sensitive mimosa or *makahiya* growing everywhere; would seem to suggest that the place indeed is a burial site. In the distance, a small hut locally known as *kamalig* or *sagubang*, usually found in a field under cultivation, appeared to be the cemetery chapel. On either side and at the back of the hut stood two other huts taller than the normal height of people. The fearful would contemplate interred beneath the ground on which stood these huts the bones of some parish priest, a barrio captain, or other personage of public distinction and repute.

Ghostly memories would visit the fearful newcomer, as his eyes searched the top or front of the “chapel”, for even one small cross atop the hut as would be commonly found in cemeteries. One morning, however, a visible clothesline of colorful women’s wear could be seen inside the huts, with women gracefully moving and swaying around even as the men kept standing up and sitting down restlessly. Some wore white, others pale red, some others fiery red, and still others fresh-leaf green.

Is there an interment? If so, mourners should be in black. A child perhaps is to be interred? But rather than a gloomy sight, the horrified intruder entering timorously might instead hear the echoes of conversations devoid of grief, and conversations that roared with fun and laughter. And in the space separating familiar faces, the imagined thoughts of a cemetery would dissipate fast into thin air upon seeing five or six pretty women, running out and away from inside the “*chapel*” as if in a race to be the first to reach one of the huts that looked only moments before like a repository of skeletal remains.

Certainly not a cemetery. In the town of the dead, noise and fun would not reign. The fearful eyes of an entrant would be completely dashed with the sight and sound of fun. The aroma of *tampoy* and the prolific growth of cashew trees, the lush foliage and fresh growth of varied plants, the grassy heaps on the mounds of the earth, then and before the color and smell of gloom now would transform into a scene of fun and joy, evoking neither tears nor prayers for the dead but an invitation for sharing life and happiness with the living.

This one stream. One of the sources of pride for the Antipolo lady of the house.



Thin droplets from an intermittent drizzle needled through the pale sunlight of the morning. It was Sunday, on the second week of the nine-week feast. Indeed, the May feast was nearing its final day.

The cogon grass hut with a trellis in the left front had an elevated space under the hut roof which served as dwelling of the housemaster or caretaker, reachable by an inclined bamboo ladder at one edge of the hut. Under the improvised dwelling was a center table where there were bottles of varied colors and sizes, and three or four flavors; a glass container with hardened bread, caramel, and other sweets; some canned sardines, neatly atop each one piled up over a can of margarine; an improvised native plate or *bilao* of bread (If one were not favored with luck, the bread would have been as tough as the heads of the coughing and tubercular man from whom it was bought); a native and finely chiseled water dipper or wood *tabo*, two boxes with one for unconsumed tobacco and the other for the money from sales. The surface of an elevated bamboo floor also served as the bed of a native hag, whose head already shone like a silver fan, with corsets of hemp hair on her crown like chicken waste pellets. Under a trellised corner was a woman coddling and nursing a baby as she stood before the native stove where she was also frying native cakes known as *butche* and fried floured bananas known as *maruya*. All of these would have been the picnic food of the crowds of bathers had not Don Ramon Miranda rented all the baths that morning. No one could use the baths while Don Ramon and his guests were around. Everything had been reserved for Don Ramon: the seats, the merchandise sold by the vendors, the utilities, all the streams, and also apparently the tubercular coughing man and the old hag of a caretaker, judging by the impeccable courtesy rendered by these two to whatever the Master would ask about or require from them.



Three automobiles and a horse-drawn carreta brought the flock of Don Ramon to Antipolo, Saturday of the previous afternoon. He and two unmarried women, his daughters Talia and Meni, comprised the expected core group with Don Filemon Borja, who could never be out of such family occasions, and Lady Loleng and her only daughter the unmarried Isiang; brothers Honorio and Turing Madlang-layon, and some other associates who were always with the core group during out-of-town and longer travels such as

this. All were from the richer business district of Sta Cruz, except for the lawyer brothers Madlang-layon of Tondo, a district mainly of workers and professionals.

When in Antipolo, they stayed in that country house, which yearly would be reserved for Don Ramon on the town's feast days. A spacious residence of unpainted wood and grass, the house may have seen better days but it enjoyed some local prestige for being located on one of the roads fronting the shrine.

After having attended mass in the early morning, they were seen by several of their Manila acquaintances and friends. Don Ramon and Don Filemon were both men of means; Honorio was a lawyer; and all of them were escorting the younger ladies who were with them. The members of the group were all affable and happy; at any time as they left the church, they welcomed and joined friends who arrived from another town. The world has yet to find a place like Antipolo where Manila's eligible bachelors would not be like birds pecking excitedly at a trail of grains. All the way to the house they who followed behind were pleased to see and felt assured that the ladies were safely escorted. From there, after having changed clothes right after breakfast and after barely a few minutes of rest, they were quickly up and about ready to rush to the stream baths. Four of the bachelors who were following the group became inseparable as they made their way to the stream. Two of them were friends of Isiang: Bentus and Pepito, both men of elegance and scions of moneyed residents of Sta. Cruz and of Troso, another man wasn't just a mere friend but was the distinguished pharmacist, Martin Robles, the man who kept Isiang's thoughts preoccupied. The fourth bachelor was an acquaintance of Turing's, or perhaps not a mere acquaintance, judging by their frequent stolen glances at each other.

Indeed, the flock has grown.

Don Ramon had decided to use the right wing pools, and somewhere on the left wing the bachelors would take turns. He then ordered the servants that the roasted pig, the chicken and broth, and the rest of the dishes be cooked in the house, and the food when ready for serving was to be brought to the side pool. Indeed, everyone was to enjoy the stream to the fullest.

Don Ramon and Don Filemon got into the pools first. While they were about done with the bath, the ladies on the other side of the pools were only starting to get the soaked native bark shampoo—*gugo*—to bubble. But only two so far have emerged out of the pool: Meni and Isiang.

“While the *gugo* husk is yet to bubble up and turn sudsy, we shall be looking around for lemon grass or *katmon* juice,” the two told the rest of the ladies.

“And where will you look around?—asked Lady Loleng—“why not ask Petra instead to do that so you, too, can change into your bathing clothes, ready for the pool?”

Petra was the maidservant of Lady Loleng. But the two pretended not to have heard her. Whispering to each other, they proceeded straight to a *duhat* tree heavy with the black fruit, craning their necks to look up and pointing out the ripe fruits in wishful delight. With necks stiffened from looking up at the berries for too long and their mouths almost dried up from salivating for the dark fruits, the ladies knew there was little chance of success at getting even one berry. Isiang found an excuse to call the attention of the bachelors for their help, not even sparing the widowed lawyer, Madlang-layon, from climbing the *duhat* tree.

“Get a *sungkit*, a fruit pole sickle,” Meni said.

“I will just climb up,” Morales offered as a chivalric gesture.

“No,” Isiang protested sweetly. “You are in your shoes. The *duhat* tree is slippery and frail!”

“Yes, madame. But it wasn’t just a *duhat* tree we climbed up to during the war when we watched enemies under cover from the crowns of trees.”

“But you were without shoes then.”

“I had, and those trees had lesser branches than this tree.”

“It’s up to you! - Isiang conceded - “When you reach the top, make sure you shake the tree vigorously Please?”

Morales was not the only one to climb. Bentus followed him. Firmly gripping the slender trunk, they seemed like they were climbing up the thin columns of a telegraph post. They felt too embarrassed to have noticed that

their knees were terribly shaking. Who cared about their soiled clothes anyway? When else would they soil their clothes?

The first time the tree was shaken, the shrieks of those on the ground followed. Isiang was first to quench her thirst, as the ripened and unripe berries rained on her.

Meni, who was being interrogated by the lawyer about her sister, Talia, also excitedly joined the jeering. All who were on the ground rushed to have their share of the fruits that had fallen on the ground.

“While we are picking the berries, do not shake the tree!” Pepito appealed, as he was worried that his white trousers and greyish woolen suit, his panama gentleman’s hat “of the folded front and the smartest cut,” might be kissed by the black raindrops from the tree.

The disturbance set those inside the pool baths in excited curiosity. Peeping, they saw that the rain of berries was causing the commotion. Dark berries, those sweet *duhat!* But they could not join the fun. Talia and Turing were already in their bath clothes and the still wet Lady Loleng was still being shampooed by Petra. The salivating ladies could not help pleading enviously and screaming:

“Hey, you gluttons. Share the berries! ...”

Meanwhile at the gates of the compound, two men were in a rush as they came in. Both in suits and in white trousers, one was in a *buntal* hat and the other in a *sabutan* hat. Almost of equal height and tall for locals, somehow the man in *sabutan* hat was slightly of better build than the other. He was fair as the latter was darker. From afar their faces seemed like they were somewhat six years older than their actual age. In their fashionable cut and style, devoid of pretense or arrogance, obvious was the strained effort to dress up worthy and considerate of the group. They stood out in their build-- neither lean nor obese. The darker man was more distinctive in appearance: with a well-formed muscular physique, and with some added muscles, he could have been a Filipino Napoleon during the Revolution, detailed among the soldiers sent to the front line. As they walked arms on each other’s shoulders, the two men looked like twin brothers except that the skin and the shape of their faces, the distinctly differing eyes—the fair one deep-set and tender

eyes, the other wide and vivid—would betray at once they were not twins but were just the closest of friends.

The two had a clear line of sight at the commotion of the crowd grabbing their pick of the berries, noticeable even from a distance. Smiling as they rushed towards the crowd, their faces could not be ascertained from afar, but from where she stood, Meni's heart thumped as she saw who were coming.

"These are Felipe and..." she hesitated. Felipe was the darker man in *buntal* hat.

"And who is that other man?" Madlang-layon intently asked, sensing that Meni was taken aback. Meni missed replying.

"Isn't Delfin the man approaching?" whispered Isiang to her friend. Delfin was the fair man in *sabutan* hat.

"Indeed, yes!" Meni replied as she slowly distanced herself from the two men with whom she was scrambling for berries, subtly stood up and made it appear that she was not among those scrambling for the berries.

"Now you're done!" exclaimed Isiang to frighten her. "Is he the jealous type?"

"I do not know—" Meni denied. "But what do I care if he becomes jealous?"

"Oh really?"

"So? *Aba!* He has no right to be jealous."

"Ummmmm."

"You don't believe me?"

As the two were teasing each other in a hush, the subjects of their talk were themselves talking about the people from whom they were only a few steps away.

"So what are you doing there?" Felipe asked.

"Picking *duhat* berries" said Madlang-layon.

"Is it sweet, Madame Isiang?" Delfin asked mockingly.

"For me, sweet enough, Sir. What about you, Meni, were the berries sweet?"

"Bitter"!

“Bitter berries!” Felipe rescued, which was followed by the suppressed laughter of everyone, save for Meni.

“She seems riled,” Delfin whispered to his friend.

Felipe came closer to Meni, and whispered: “Are you mad at us?”

A smile was the reply, and in a moment she was already speaking cheerfully, as she had been earlier.

“But why just now? What time did you leave Manila?”

“Still dark when we left,” Felipe replied. “Where are they?”

“Father? They are in the baths.”

“What about you, Madame Isiang? Are you not going to bathe?” Delfin asked after a brief glance at Meni.

“I am going there now, Sir.” As she answered back at the teaser Delfin, she also threw a quick glance at Meni, as if she was telling her:

“This man’s question was for you.”

The exchange of teasing was broken by the sudden rain of *duhat*. Looking up, Delfin recognized that the man up the tree was the pharmacist Morales, and Bentus, the smart bachelor he met at a secondary school in Sampaloc.

“So it’s the two of you.”

“Yes, it’s the two of us. When you came your eyes were fixed on the people down there so you didn’t see us,” Morales teased.

“Not really. All right, start shaking the tree again, so I can also have a taste of the fruits.”

For every branch they held, the two mercilessly shook the branches with more of the unripe fruits raining down. The farmers who saw what was happening were shaking their heads in quiet disgust. “These people from Manila are like wild locusts in the way they consume plants,” they thought aloud.

Felipe proceeded to the pool where his godfather in confirmation Don Ramon was bathing. Isiang, Madlang-layon, and Pepito slowly made themselves scarce as if they were requested to leave. Delfin knew all three of them but at this time was not in speaking terms with Pepito. And so it was that Delfin and Meni were left standing alone by themselves and talking to each other while the other three were pretending to pick berries.

“Was the show at the “Zorilla” exciting last night?” Meni smilingly asked.

“I don’t know what was showing,” answered Delfin.

“Hmph. You don’t know?”

“Aba. How would I know when I have not even touched the door of any theater last night?”

“Of course, indeed. So you came here only this morning, and those red swollen eyes show that you didn’t lose any sleep.”

“Are my eyes red?”

“No ... sharp black. Hmph. Those people who commit to come, but who cannot even miss one night... Theater first before anything.”

“Oh, my dear Meni. You don’t believe a word of what I say.”

“And why not? Felipe said the minute you received your pay from the Press yesterday afternoon, you would follow without delay. Ah, perhaps you were not at the theater, you were in a movie house! Is there a new film?”

“Not even in a movie house, Meni!”

“So you went to the final day of the Feast of the Cross at Timbugan. Before we left yesterday, I heard that the *Santa Elena* and *Reina Sentenciada* were fabulous.”

“We don’t go there, anymore.”

“What virtuous men.”

“There’s a taunt here.”

Two pairs of eyes met and talked for a brief time.

“Ah, so when Felipe and you slept, it was still Angelus and you were not able to watch anything.”

“Oh, how far from what happened to me are your wild suppositions. Not one hit the truth. Last night we attended a meeting.”

“Meeting!....?”

“When will you ever believe me, Meni?”

“Aba. Who will not believe you? Isn’t it very true indeed that you had a meeting..... in *their* house?”

The question hit the bachelor like lightning. “In their house? “ Whose house? He never expected to ever hear Meni suggest any kind of blame or wrongdoing. In a flash or two he remembered the houses he had visited

in Manila. There were many of those houses, but not quite like the house where Meni lived. It flashed in his mind that the house in her mind was that of the family of Ines, a teacher of English. He was uncertain if it was the first or second time he had escorted Meni after the Night School, when Meni had prodded him to escort home the teacher, too, and not merely herself, 'the humble student of the teacher'. "You are both intelligent," he remembered now what she had then added to her request.

Meni smiled, making her face lovelier to him, as she pondered on the drift of their talk. The eyes looking straight at him seemed exultant. ("So what would this man tell me next?")

"Whose house?" the bachelor at last was able to ask.

"You know too well that I belong to many organizations and that almost daily I have meetings."

"So what does it matter to me that you have many and daily meetings... Did I get goose pimples?"

Aba!

Delfin could only utter that expression of bewilderment. Then he was hearing words of jealousy and hope; now he was hearing insults and barbed remarks. What did Meni really mean? The two were shocked at the twist. Their tongues stiffened. For a few seconds, neither one dared to utter a word. Each one thought of the mystery of their minds. In those moments they had forgotten they were not alone in the shade where they stood. Their friends on the tree branches and the scrambling fellows on the ground had already moved over from the dark palm tree, to the taller cashew trees, but the two stood together as if they were alone. Meni barely heard Isiang's yell: "Hit that branch hard!" and immediately after, barely glanced at Morales cutting off a cashew tree branch prolific with fruits. Pepito and Isiang raced to catch hold of the severed branch. That and no more. The two shut off their minds, preventing themselves from making the first move to voice out anything. But Meni finally blinked.

"I will now go to the bath. Father ought to be done by now."

"Wait!" Delfin cried out. "Do not allow me to waste these considered moments of much importance to me. The minute I saw you at the gate, and

as I face you now, my heart had been filled with joy. I was immersed with joy, at this great opportunity of having come here. I lost each yoke of fatigue and hardship, upon seeing you. Not a shade of sadness had trailed me as I was coming here, until I finally got close to you here, only to find you unspeaking; Well I know anyway that this isn't your character. When only the two of us were left here, what else but joy would engulf my heart? Meni, I see the face of triumph in my mind. The dream I longed for. What my heart seeks from you which until now you have kept in doubt. I thought your lips would now give it to me here. When else would you? Would there be a happier place than Antipolo, the heart of this place, the streams, that *duhat* tree, these plants, those grass, this morning with neither drizzle nor dimness, as a witness to the triumph of the reciprocity you deny me? In your words, in your letters to me, I have not won a reply that would secure my fate. Instead what you give me are taunts and bits of care giving me some hints of hope. I can't fathom nor rely on it. Tell me Meni, please, come, what else do I need to do to win a promising hope from you? What more?

"Nothing more."

"You are saying nothing more? Then, how can you bear not giving me a clear answer?"

"Look, Delfin. Are we not students yet?"

"So what if we are still students?"

"We are both young. We can wait till you finish your studies. Moreover you know my father. Will he be happy if he discovers we have a commitment to each other? It will end up with me not finishing my Night School, and you becoming unwelcome in the house. So that will plunge your dream into nothing. Aside from that, you know that my older sister will get married to Yoyong, so I shall be left alone as my father's daughter."

"There goes Meni again. She thinks that if she makes clear I can hope, that means she will love her father less. You mentioned my studies. Have you no trust in me because I have no lawyer's degree yet? Aren't those visitors with professional degrees in your house already too numerous enough to allow a space for a man without a degree?"

"Look at where this man is bringing this conversation."

The bachelor forced a happy demeanor, and smiled to comfort the lady who could have been affronted at what he had just said.

“What I was saying was—she paused, and continued—You may have problems of studying. What do I care about my own studies. But you.... I was not replying to your letters because I may distract you from your studies.”

“So that is the reason. You felt it was okay not to answer my letters. You really are a woman. You will never know that we men, until you have not replied to our letters, have nothing but dreams, have nothing in our minds but days of waiting and hope, see and hope that each piece of paper would turn out to be a letter from you.”

“Pretender!”

“Nothing but the truth.”

“If we don’t write you back, you will stop writing. So you will be able to study well.”

“A lie. It’s rather that...”

“Rather what? If we, women won’t write letters, you men have nothing to read. The time you spend reading our letters, would be better spent for reading your lessons.”

“Far from it Meni. The more you are making my studies difficult with that attitude. Do you think Delfin would study so hard without a Meni, the daughter of Don Ramon Miranda, for whom he feels the greatest of shame for failure?”

“What! *Naku!*”

Saying ‘*Naku!*’ was enough to express Meni’s reaction at the moment. It expressed the mix of her certainties, and misgivings and doubts, her own mix of conviction and disbelief, the amazement at contradictions in what she had been mouthing, and what she was hearing from Delfin. She suppressed a smile; she knew there were bits of lies in what she just heard. She remembered that when she met Delfin, it was well known to all that he was a very studious man; but neither could she believe that those words of Delfin were outright falsehoods, let alone consider those words of his as a prideful boast. In her deepest of hearts, there reigned a certain feeling of affection when she

talked with Delfin. Even the most bitter words from Delfin, had sweetness in them; anything he uttered, even if untruths, came as reality and truths.

When Delfin saw the fixed gaze of those tender eyes of the lady he was talking with, he gained strength in proving his point.

“If there should come a chance, he said, that your mouth will render, the death or end of hope, rather than joy of hoping, you will in that moment, get the ashes of all the books I am studying.”

“What? Is it the case that you men only study because you are ashamed to fail and your ladies will find out if you fail?”

“Only those men who know how to love, like myself.”

“*Sus!* There you are!”

Aba! We men can live among ourselves on earth. But because of you women, love prevails. It is because of such love that we are forced to seek a better fate to offer at your feet. Are you women not the same?”

“No, we women study for our own sake and not because of you men.”

“A lie! The way you women speak, you make it appear that we men alone know how to lie. If you women were the only creatures on earth, it would not be studies that would keep you occupied but...”

“What? Making ourselves more attractive?”

“No, what will you care for beauty when there is no one to make yourself beautiful for?”

“So what, indeed?”

“...Nothing.”

“What again?”

“I said, nothing!”

“Ah! All right, I will leave you then if you’re not going to tell me ...”

As she motioned to leave, Delfin held the sleeves of her dress and spoke out in his tenderest voice.

“Wait ... All right, I will say it now. But let us be seated for a talk.”

She allowed him to stop her. She forgot that noon would catch her unfinished with the bath. As she sat herself on the grass lawn, Delfin leaned and sat low, both arms rested on his knees. But he chose not to sit on the grass after he touched the grass that was dewy, he moved backward, where

a guava tree branch lay hanging, upon which lightly sat Meni precariously trying to keep balance on the erratically tensed branch. Delfin stood facing her, trying to hold tight on a palm-sized branch of the same guava tree that hung near him and putting his left hand inside his suit. He appeared ready to speak with sincerity and affection.

“Let it be made clear to you, Meni, that not all students think the same way. There are those who lose their studies in courting girls, and there are those whose studies improve as they gain the confidence of their sweethearts. I belong to the latter.... So fear not; your “Yes” will make me study harder. Would you rather deny me this?”

“Why, Delfin, is that what I wanted you to say?”

The young man was about to reply when he was stopped by a loud voice that echoed from a gate to the bath pools.

“Hey, you overgrown kids!... Enough of whatever you are up to. You are late for the baths.”

The admonition came from Lady Loleng. The guilty listeners scrambled about towards the huts about like pigeons aroused from sleep, flying away from their coops. The enchanted and hesitant lovers were not to be left behind. Ever regretful for the perfection of such a setting as a guava branch, they flew as well towards the pool. Meanwhile, Don Ramon and Don Filemon have just emerged from the baths, done with the ritual. None of the bachelors were interested in bathing. The two lawyers Yoyong and Felipe took over from where the elders had emerged. Even Delfin had lost interest.

And so those who had bathed and those who did not finally faced each other inside the hut-store.

Art vs. Politics

Criticism on the Novel in Early Modern Korea

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Abstract

This paper deals with the development of the Joseon literati's understanding of the novel in early modern Korea, from being viewed as a contingent and amorphous mode of writing to becoming an independently privileged modern literary genre with its own determinate form. From an undifferentiated view of the novel at the beginning of the modern era, it began to be considered either as a medium for expressing political ideologies or as a form of entertainment catering to commercial interests. Through the theoretical elaborations on the novel by Lee Kwangsu, Hyun Chul, and Kim Dongin, it emerged as both a sub-genre of modern literature and an autonomous genre with its own identifiable formal features. Specifically, Lee Kwangsu characterized the novel as a sub-genre of modern literature, capable of expressing "new ideas" (enlightening ideologies), and free from pre-modern didacticism or Confucian morality as well as crass commercial interest or vulgar popular pleasure. Hyun Chul argued that the novel was a distinct and independent genre with its own content ("a poetic truth") and its own formal compositional laws. Finally, Kim Dongin referred to it as a privileged genre, and characterized it as a form of writing that was expressive of "the world of truth." Through these critical commentaries, a distinctive set of features began to be attributed to the novel as a genre, but this differentiation would cost the novel dearly under the Japanese colonial regime.

Wrenched away from ideologies now that it was in possession of a distinct aesthetic, it would lose its power as a medium for political critique in favor of its presumed newly minted formal identity.

Keywords

Lee Kwangsu, Hyun Chul, Kim Dongin, political medium, a form of entertainment, new ideas, the world of truth



Lee Kwangsu (1892-1950), a Korean novelist and essayist who had published hundreds of works including *Mujung*(1917), the first modern novel in Korean literary history



Kim Dongjin (1900-1951), a Korean novelist, essayist, and publisher who launched the first Korean literary magazine based on art for art's sake, *Chanjo* (Creation) (1919)

The Advent of the “Modern” Understanding of Novel in the Early Modern Joseon Era

In pre-modern Korea, the novel was considered an informal style of writing concerned with trivialities. Unlike the properly literary Confucian scriptures which had pursued truth and goodness like a “science,” the novel was conventionally regarded as a secondary and inferior style of writing due to its penchant for dealing with the world of make-believe and its popularity among the masses. But in the 20th century, such understanding of the novel was altered fundamentally when some of the Joseon intellectuals went to Japan to study modern civilization and modern literature. From reading Japanese and Western literary discourses and works in Japanese language, intellectuals like Lee Kwangsu,¹ Hyun Chul,² and Kim Dongin,³ learned that the novel was a sub-genre of modern literature with its own organic integrity.

In the early modern era, the development of the Joseon literati’s understanding of the novel was conditioned largely by two major factors. The first concerns the literary aspect owing to the Japanese literature’s influence on the novel. The other involves the social aspect in view of the colonization of Joseon by Japanese imperialism. The Joseon literati had learned from contemporary Japanese literary discourses that the modern novel was the foremost genre of the modern literary genres which Tsubouchi Shoyo (坪内逍遙)⁴ and his successors had mainly developed. Specifically, his work, *The Essence of the Novel* (1885-86) was one of the most influential books about literature in modern Japan which was known in Japanese literary history to be the first example of a work that applied systematically the notion of the “novel” as “the prosaic fiction in general.” In this book, he argued that only “the novel proper” could contribute to the emotional development of the readers by imitating the complex and sophisticated emotion of civilized men. For him, the task of the novel was to show “the un-shown by describing clearly the secret of the cause-effect relations in the human world” (Tomi Suzuki 52-55). This is to say that the novel was deemed to be the literary genre which was responsible for representation of the invisible truth of everyday life such as in revealing the relationship of contingent facts or inci-

dents. Drawing from his argument, the Japanese naturalist writers in the early 20th century deemed the novel as “a supreme and ultimate medium for showing the truth of life directly.” After Shoyo’s pioneering arguments about it, the novel acquired a privileged status upon which the lively discussions about it that followed in modern Japan were based (Tomi Suzuki 81-85). As such, the Joseon literati adopted the idea that the novel, indeed, was a distinct and privileged literary genre.

Although their understanding of the novel was influenced by Japanese literary discourse in the early 20th century, the members of the Joseon literati were not mere blind adherents of this discourse. Representative and illustrative of them were Lee Kwangsu and Kim Dongin who had returned from studying in Japan and led the discussions of the modern novel in the early modern era.

Unlike Shoyo’s understanding of novel as the form to use for imitating the real world and depicting the emotion of civilized men, Lee Kwangsu insisted that in the modern novel the “writer’s imaginative world” was more important than “the real world as such.” This understanding was based on the belief that whereas the latter was the uncultivated world to be developed, the former refers to the world of culture, cultivated people, and the reformist ideas. In this context, unlike the contemporary Japanese naturalists who associated the novel with the imitation of reality out there, Kim Dongin called for the novelists’ active intervention inward into the world of the novel itself (Hwang Jongyon 272-273), emphasizing the novelist’s creativity. In this regard, he thought that the main principle or criterion for measuring the artistic value of a novel work was “the creation of the world which he himself could control” (Kim Dongin 20). This difference shows that the Joseon literati’s understanding of the novel developed relatively independently from Japanese literary discourse in this era.⁵ In addition, this relative independence could also be demonstrated by the fact that, in the late 1930s, the Japanese imperialists or collaborators demanded loudly the necessity for building a “national literature” based on the unification of Joseon and Japanese literature. This implies, ironically, their separate developments rather than their unification.

Even if the Joseon literati had learned from Japanese literary discourse, their understanding of the novel had taken shape and developed in a different context; that is, in the context of the concrete and specific social circumstances of the colonization by Japanese imperialism. This difference in the context may also help explain the relatively independent development of the Joseon literati's understanding of the novel from Japanese literary discourse. Drawing on this relative independence, this paper deals with their understanding of the novel by the Joseon literati. This will be tackled separately from the issue of the influence of Japanese literary discourse on the Joseon literati's notion, although such influence was notable.

In this regard, the social determination of Japanese imperialism is significant in two ways. One is that it brought the capitalistic relation of production and consumption of literary works into Joseon society. Specifically, after 1910, the year of the forced occupation of Joseon by Japanese imperialism, the capitalistic formation of Joseon society had most of the writers embedded into the commodity production-consumption system, and thus, some of the writers had to acknowledge the novel as a form of entertainment contributing to commercialism. For example, Choi Chansik who was one of the bestselling writers in the 1910s had scarcely dealt with any social or political issues, but mainly with love stories between a man and a woman. Understandably, his first novel, *Chuwolsaek* (*The Color of Autumn Moon*), became the bestselling book by Hoedongseoguan, the biggest book publisher and merchant company by the early 1920s (Nam Seoksoon 96-97). As a consequence, "the new novel" as the representative form of the novel in this era, was criticized due to its excessive popularity and commercialism. As such, even the writers who swore by the dictum of "art for art' sake" in the 1920s knew well that they were not just artists pursuing beauty but also laborers earning a living (O Munseok 98-105).

On the other hand, Japanese imperialism had aroused most of the Joseon intellectuals' resistance against it. Specifically, before 1910, they were primarily interested in discovering political ways for defeating Japanese invasion, and, accordingly, thought literature as the political means for achieving their political end. After 1910, however, their interests gradually

shifted to reformism, acknowledging the Colonial Government as a reality. With the worsening political oppression and the wide dissemination of the skill-cultivation theory in the 1910's which pursued political independence by means of capitalistic modernization of Joseon society, the view of literature as a political weapon slowly fell out of fashion. In this era, the Joseon intellectuals began to think that the development of capitalist society as a modern and powerful social formation in colonial Joseon could be followed by political liberation giving the Joseon nation the power to overcome their colonial conditions. In other words, the liberation of the Joseon nation from Japanese colonial rule was now considered the final goal which was deemed achievable not by fighting politically, but by being entrenched in modern civilization and the capitalist system, including changing old ideas and conventions (Park Chanseung 134-142). Following such skill-cultivation theory, the reconstruction theory in the early 1920's had presumed the precedence of cultural modernization of Joseon nations ("cultural movement") over the political liberation of the Joseon nation (Park Chanseung 197-208). In this context, the recognition of the novel as a modern literary genre was deemed as participating in that cultural modernization, and thus, the Joseon literati's focus of interest also shifted from questions of political relevance to literary refinement or artistic value. As the shift transpired, the novel became differentiated from any other literary genres and began to be privileged as a genre with a superior value.

Three Views on the Novel: As a Political Medium, a Form of Entertainment, and a Sub-Genre of Modern Literature

It was in the early 20th century that the understanding of novel as a distinct literary genre appeared and gained wide currency in Joseon. For example, Park Eunsik⁶ and Shin Chaeho⁷ as the representative intellectuals in this era saw the novel from the perspective of "the political novel" which had flourished in the Meiji Era of Japan (1868-1912). Specifically, their exposition can be summarized in three arguments: Firstly, everyone can read and likes to read novels. Secondly, the novel has the power to affect people and change their disposition. Thirdly, the novel is "the soul of nations" which

makes it “a compass for nations.” It may be inferred from these arguments that they wanted to make the novel a political weapon that may be wielded in fighting against Japanese invasion, characterizing novel as a medium for expressing political ideologies in the hope of promoting the Joseon people’s resistance. For Joseon intellectuals who were immersed in the political issues around 1910, the year of the forced occupation of Joseon by Japanese imperialism, the usefulness of the novel for their political struggles was viewed as paramount.

Unlike the pre-modern view of the novel as an inferior and indistinct type of writing which had been presumed merely as a fictive narrative dealing with trivialities of people and society, the Joseon intellectuals’ understanding of the novel as a political medium raised its value and usefulness. From this perspective, the novel was often identified with a form of historical description whose value or usefulness depended on the criterion of “factuality.” (Kim Jaeyeong 27-38). Unlike the pre-modern view of the novel as merely all about fiction, and lacking in “scientific value,” it was now located within the field of literature for its “factuality” and political usefulness, as opposed to its erstwhile pre-modern quality of “fictiveness.” For all the emphasis on the novel as a political medium, however, the term “novel” began to be regarded as a significant type of writing in Joseon.

As shown in the cases of Park Eunsik and Shin Chaeho, the novel had not denoted a specific type of narrative genre with its own composition or grammars. For this reason, many of newspapers had published different types of writing, including narrative fiction, editorial, short stories, historical description under the category, “novel.” In other words, the novel did not refer to an exquisite literary production by professional artists; instead, it broadly referred to diverse types of writing, though, after the publication of Lee Injik’s “new novel,” *Blood Tear* (1907) which was known as the first “new novel” in Korean literary history⁸, many literary works began to be written in the name of the “novel.” Having understood literary genres quite confusingly this way, even the reporters for Maeilshinbo (*Korean Daily News*) had written “novels,” even as, inversely, Cho Jungwhan, the best-selling author, had published his novels in his capacity as “reporter.” In the early modern

era, in short, the novel was not the term referring to a distinct literary genre (Kim Jaeyeong 242-243), but to diverse types of writing, including historical description.

Meanwhile, most of newspapers had incessantly published “novels,” and, in some cases, even put them on the front page. For them, the novel was primarily understood as a kind of popular entertainment useful for promoting sales. In this regard, some novelists had basically shared this understanding of the novel, as shown in the “Epilogue” of *Blood of Flower* (1912) by Lee Hae-jo, the other best-selling writer in this era:

As a reporter says, the prime purpose of novel is the rectification of the conventional customs and the edification of the existing society by writing fiction consistent with human emotions. The believable characters and events in the novel will give true pleasure to the ladies and gentlemen concentrating on the novel, and, with this pleasure, their behaviors might be modified by having them recognize the conventional customs and social manners that must be swept away. Therefore, I, as a reporter, wish you get the pleasure and are well influenced by reading my novel (349).

In the above paragraphs, Lee Haejo referred to himself not as a writer nor a novelist, but a reporter, and characterized the novel as a popular fiction, which has the power to rectify the conventional customs, edify the existing society and give pleasure to its readers. Specifically, three arguments may be drawn from his discussion. The first is the lack of self-identification of the novelist. As mentioned above, during this era, the author did not identify himself as a novelist. This implies his apparent undifferentiated understanding of the genres. And, the second is the functionalist view of the novel. The presumed social function of the novel to rectify and edify, however, implies that the novel was viewed as a political type of writing and not necessarily and strictly of a literary kind. As for its social function, there seems to be no perceived difference between the novel and the other styles of writings, for example, the editorial writing or historical description. Finally, the third is the affirmation of the novel’s ability to provide pleasure by being fictive. In this regard, unlike the pre-modern devaluation of the novel for its fictiveness, Lee Haejo had a positive notion of the novel. And unlike Park

Eunsik and Shin Chaeho's understanding of novel as based on the criterion of "factuality," significantly, he characterized it basically as a form of fictive narrative. In this regard, fictiveness became the necessary feature of novel from which emerged its power to provide pleasure to its readers. Despite the undifferentiated understanding of novel as a literary genre initially, the novel began to be used as the term referring to a worthy type of writing imbued with social and commercial values.

Nevertheless, it was Lee Kwangsu's discussions on modern literature that the novel began to be regarded as a distinct literary genre; that is, as a sub-genre of modern literature in Joseon. In his essay *What is the Literature* (1916), he insisted that modern literature had its own distinct domain and value from the others, positing a set of cognitive systems (science, literature, and morality) and psychological trichotomy (understanding, emotion, and reason). Drawing on his cognitive systems, specifically, literature was differentiated from the domains of science or morality, arguing that it pursued the "fulfillment of emotions," and, thus, contained as much artistic value as music or painting. In this regard, he characterized the sub-genres of modern literature as consisting of article, novel, play, and poem, criticizing its detractors who had referred to the novel as a kind of "joke" or "story." He called the writer skilled at writing the novel a "novelist," branding the detractors' opinions as "the cries of ignorance." He insisted that "novel was not a naive kind of writing with no value," but one that is capable of making "its readers feel as if they are seeing their own realities in the world of the novel, presenting this world as the result of the writer's imagination," even as it simultaneously depicts a realistic and detailed description of the pieces of life (Lee Kwangsu 513). He criticized the commercialist view of the novel as a type of writing simply pursuing popularity through fictiveness—just like the way a "joke" or a "story" does. For him, the novel was far from being a kind of writing by individuals with no professional skills or artistic aptitude, and he demanded to substitute such a conventional view of the novel with the new and modern one—a genre of realistic writing created by the novelist's imagination.

In his essay *The Epilogue of the Selection of Novel Award Winner* (1918), then, Lee Kwangsu suggested that the modern novel consisted of the following features: the use of the purely poetic sentence, the novelist's authentic attitude toward the writing, the break from didacticism, the man and world in real life, and the introduction of new ideas. Among these features, however, he strongly emphasized the break from didacticism and the introduction of new ideas. Didacticism around conservative practices like patriarchy was not good for the development of civilization and modernization of Joseon society and therefore, must be overthrown. In this regard, he asserted that the novel as a modern literary genre could be a useful medium for enlightening Joseon nations by expressing the modern ideas.⁹ For him, therefore, the novel was defined as the genre that expressed new ideas by means of poetic sentences and the writer's realistic attitude.

As a result, for Lee Kwangsu, the novel as a modern literary genre belonged to the domain of emotion, which was freed from the pre-modern didacticism or Confucian morality, as well as capitalist commercialism or vulgar pleasure. In addition, it was also defined as a genre of literature which has the power to enlighten readers (Joseon nations) by expressing new ideas, and a political medium for encouraging Joseon nations' participation in the independence movement. Despite his differentiated understanding of novel as a distinct genre, however, just like for Park Eunsik and Shin Chae-ho, his excessive interest on the politics allowed him to pay attention only to its political usefulness, but not to its grammar, style or form. In this regard, even his attention to the formal feature of the novel such as the purely poetic sentences was not for its artistic completion, but its political effect. To sum it up, it was with his understanding of novel as a sub-genre of modern literature that novel became acknowledged as a literary genre within its domain of emotion for the first time in Joseon, though its significance as literature was dependent on its extra-literary purpose, namely, upon the enlightenment of its readers in view of political ends.

The Novel as an Independent Literary Genre

After the March 1st Independence Movement (1919) which was the largest and most important protest action against Japanese Imperialism in the colonial era, significant changes transpired in Joseon society, in general, and the literary world, in particular. One is the change in the Colonial Government's style of governance from being coercive to conciliatory. This made the publication of literary works easier than in 1910s. The other is the change in the Joseon intellectuals' strategy for achieving the independence of Joseon nation from Japanese rule from political action to cultural development. More specifically, whereas, the nationalist intellectuals in the 1910s had insisted primarily on the political liberation of Joseon nation from Japanese rule, the intellectuals in the early 1920s—most of whom had returned from abroad, mainly, Japan—emphasized cultural rather than political independence. If the core of the nation lies not in any social institutions but in its culture, then, they believed that cultural cultivation would bring them true liberation. As a result, along with the easier publication of literary works and greater emphasis placed on cultural cultivation, modern literature and the novel as its major genre, gained a higher stature and began to be considered more important.

Thus, the literati paid more attention to the aesthetic features of the novel as an art—its formal components and composition—affirming Lee Kwangsu's understanding of the novel as a sub-genre of modern literature but ignoring his view of novel as a medium of enlightenment. This point is expressed clearly in Hyun Chul's series of essays regarding the novel in the early 1920's, namely, *Overview of Novel* (1920.6), *Overview of Novel (continue)* (1920.7) and *The Research Methodology of Novel* (1920.8-9). However, as he explains in the introduction of *Overview of Novel*, the essays were meant for a textbook for an intensive course on Art and Play (演藝講習所), which was written on the basis of his notes during his student days at the Tokyo Art Group Affiliated Play School (Hyun Chul 131). As a result, his essays were filled with just the introductory descriptions of the novel form derived from Japanese literary discourses, rather than his own original ideas of it.¹⁰

Nevertheless, these essays are valuable as early examples of an attempt to identify the components and composition of the modern novel in Joseon.

In Hyun Chul's two essays under the title *Overview of Novel*, the trichotomy of modern literature—the lyric, epic, and play—and novel were the object of analysis. According to him, the lyric is the genre for expressing the writer's ideas, the epic is the genre for describing its external reality, and both the play and the novel are the genres for describing the figures of the outside world while simultaneously expressing the writer's ideas and emotions. In particular, from their compositional aspects, the play and the novel also are differentiated as genres. On one hand, the play as “a composite art” is constituted by diverse elements like the actor's gesture, text, stage background, sound or music, and the likes. On the other hand, the novel is defined as the genre that is made of “the main text” alone. In addition, while the latter is a genre that does not demand from its writer the use of any “extraordinary techniques,” the former is a genre that requires specific “formalities and regulations.” Strictly speaking, such division and characterization seem oversimplified and insufficient for any further analysis, but in the context of the Joseon literati's understanding of the novel in the early modern period, the point now is not to count their errors or problems but to pay attention to the fact that he made distinctions between the modern literary genres such as lyric, epic, play, and novel. Significantly, for the first time in Joseon, such classification of literary genres was based on the composition of formal features.

Moreover, in his essay of *Overview of Novel*, Hyun Chul listed and explicated on the five components of the novel as plot, figure (character), setting, sentence, and writer's view of life (universal truth). Drawing on his explanations, the plot as an indispensable component of “a complete novel” is the element by which the novel can prompt the readers to feel like watching the events in the real society unfold before them. In other words, it is by means of the plot that the novel can present “the true reality of life” or “the true meaning of life” by providing coherence to seemingly disparate events. Moreover, the characters in the novel should appear as dynamic figures through gestures while the text should suggest imaginative ways of

presenting figures, instead of describing them just literally or anatomically according to their psychology. In addition, he states that the setting should establish the time and place for the action and the characters while for the “sentence,” he posits that it is the better to use “dialogue” between characters rather than “narration” of a series of events for the purpose of plot development. Finally, the writer’s view of life should be embodied in the novel’s “poetic truth” which is not a universal and immortal truth, nor a simple morality; it is “the true reality of life.”

Despite his attempt at distinguishing between the play and the novel, the distinction he made seems confusing because the basis for the opposition between the play and the novel, as well as with the lyric and the epic was unclear. Moreover, he seemed to have assumed a parallelism between novel’s five components and the play’s basic elements. This, because he seems to have assumed that the play and the novel were similar genres based on “the line of narrative”¹¹, in the sense that he considered them to be both narrative genres meant for expressing the writer’s view of life through the plotting of the characters’ actions and the dialogues. In fact, he asserted that “most of modern novelists had the tendency to utilize the composition of play” (Hyun Chul 132) defining the modern novel even as “a kind of simple play” and “the seeable play in the car or on the desk” (Hyun Chul 138).

For all its ambiguity, Hyun Chul’s explanation was definitely distinct from the understanding of the novel developed by the preceding intellectuals such as Shin Chaeho, Park Eunsik, Lee Haejo, and Lee Kwangsu in the 1910s. He insisted that the novel was a modern literary genre that should explore “a poetic truth” which was a kind of unification of scientific truth and everyday truth (Hyun Chul 128). Moreover, contrary to the literati in the 1910s who had regarded the novel as a modern literary genre mainly from the perspective of political medium or commercial interest, Hyun Chul suggested that its final goal is the narration of “a poetic truth” by utilizing the components of plot, figure (character), background, and sentence (mainly, dialogue). Consequently, the modern novel as a complete novel must not express any political ideologies or pursue popularity for commercialism but try to narrate “a poetic truth,” that is “the true reality of life,” although this

is insufficiently discussed in his essays. Consequently, it could be said that, with him, the novel began to be considered a distinct and independent genre with its own content (“a poetic truth”) and its own formal composition in Joseon.

The Novel as a Privileged Literary Genre

Compared with the ambiguity of Hyun Chul’s introductory explanations of the novel, Kim Dongin’s discourse of novel had earned its precision and depth from a critical study of contemporary novels and drawing from his own writings. From around 1920, he had written a series of essays about novel such as *On Joseon Nations’ Ideas of Novel* (1919.1), *The World Which I Created* (1920.7), *The Composition of Novel* (1925.4-7), *A Study on Modern Joseon Novel* (1929.7-8), *A Trend of Novel World* (1933.12), *From the Library of Student Studying Novel* (1934.3), *The Victory of Modern Novel* (1934), among others. As this paper’s aim is to deal with Joseon literati’s understanding of novel in the early modern era, his essays after 1925 would not be examined in here.

First of all, in his essay *On Joseon Nations’ Ideas of Novel*, Kim Dongin keenly drew the boundary line between types of novels by establishing a dichotomy between the popular novel and literary novel. He also asserted the need to modernize the notion of the novel, which is understood conventionally, positing its superiority over any other kinds of writing. Drawing from his arguments, the Joseon nations’ ideas about the novel had been dominated by the notion that the novel was a type of writing that was both popular and decadent—a misunderstanding that needed to be corrected. But if viewed as a popular writing, the novel was merely a form of entertainment, full of “base and trivial ideas for attracting readers,” a reading matter filled with “vulgarity, coarseness, dirtiness, and ugliness.” If so, therefore, it should not be called a novel in its strict sense (Kim Dongin 33). The novel as a modern literary genre—the literary novel—should be involved in the work of creation of the world of “a true self, a true love, a true life, and a true living” (Kim Dongin 33). The novel is able to do so by excluding all of the factual selves, factual loves, and factual lives with the kind of “vulgarity,

coarseness, dirtiness, and ugliness” associated with the popular novel. In short, distinctly viewed from the point of view of its creation of the “true” world, the literary novel was not only differentiated from the popular novel in terms of reflecting the “factual” and decadent world by suffering from its lack of creativity, but it became privileged as the one and only genre with creativity as its essence.

Apparently, Kim Dongin’s notion of novel as a form of writing for creating “the world of truth” does not seem very different from Hyun Chul’s view of novel as a genre for representing “the true reality of life.” That is, for both of them, the modern novel was considered a distinct and independent genre for narrating or realizing the truth of life within its world. Unlike Hyun Chul’s ambiguous understanding of genres, on the other hand, Kim Dongin thought that, by means of its own composition, only the literary novel could complete the task of creation of “the world of truth,” which was not dependent on any political ideologies or commercial interests, but only on its own internal unity and self-integration. For demonstrating its relevance and exploring its composition, he examined the western novels of the 19th century and the contemporary Joseon novels including his own works. To illustrate this from the perspective of the creation of “the world of truth” based on the literary novel’s internal unity and self-integration, he concluded that Tolstoy’s composition was superior to Dostoevsky’s:

The greatness of Tolstoy is here. It is not a matter of whether the figures of his creations are true or false. Art is not concerned with the distinction between the two. Besides, it is not a matter of whether the world of his creation is true or false, because this is his original creation. ... No matter how wicked Tolstoy’s idea is and how admirable Dostoevskii’s idea is, the authentic artist is the former because he ruled it by his own hand. Tolstoy was satisfied with the world of his creations, whether true or not. This is the great value that Tolstoy’s art contains (Kim Dongin 23).

In the above paragraph, there are two things worth pointing out. One is that art does not distinguish between fact and fiction. This invalidates factuality as a criterion for evaluating art-works because the world is in the art-work itself as the novelist’s creation from the outset, no matter how real

or not real. The other is that conventional morality or political ideology should not be the criterion for evaluating novels; instead, what is relevant is writer's power to rule over the world of his creation in the novel. Therefore, the literary novel is not the medium for expressing conventional moralities or political ideologies. As an independent and privileged genre creating "the world of truth," the novel was separated from the real society.

Furthermore, in his essay *The Composition of Novel*, he articulated the historical development and composition of the novel for the purpose of demonstrating its generic independence. Except for the chapter, *Something Like an Introduction*, this essay consists of three parts, namely, "The Origin of Novel and Its History," "Conception," and "Styles." Among them, in the chapter of "The Origin of Novel and Its History," he describes, in general, the history of development of novel from legend to myth, to the story of knights, and, finally, to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. "Conception" offers a detailed explanation of novel's basic elements such as event, character, and atmosphere, examining contemporary Joseon novels such as Lee Injik's *The Sound of Ghost* (1906-1907), Lee Kwangsu's *Mujung (The Heartless)* (1917), and Kim Dongin's own work *Those Who Lacked Love* (1920). From these works, the novel is characterized as a form of writing for realizing "the simplification of life," namely, "the unified and simplified parts of life" (Kim Dongin 42) by harmonizing events (a unity of story, plot), characters (figures living in novel), and atmosphere (an element embracing the events and the figures, namely, circumstance or setting). Finally, in "Styles," he delineated closely the three styles, namely, a single viewpoint, a multiple viewpoints, and an entirely objective description, and insisted on the importance of novelist's choice of style for writing a novel.

In the context of the development of Joseon literati's understanding of the novel, Kim Dongin's *The Composition of the Novel* is significant in three respects in relation to "the world of truth" around which the novel was believed to revolve. First, it demonstrates the historical legitimacy of the novel as a modern literary genre tracing its pre-history and showing it to be the result of the historical development of narrative literature. Second, it shows the relevance of the modern novel in Joseon society as illustrated by

the contemporary novels in his era. On the basis of this assertion, thus, he even tried to map out the method for its composition. Third, it emphasizes the privileged status of the novel capable of creating “the world of truth.” In these three points, he explored the proper ways in which “the world of truth” was realized and showed them to be consistent only with the novel, and not with any other literary genres. In this regard, the novelist can create and rule over that world only by deploying the God-like omniscient point of view in his narrative. As a result, with this essay, for the first time in Joseon literary history, the “novel” was eventually deemed an autonomous and privileged genre with its own history and proper composition as in the three components and styles mentioned earlier.

For Kim Dongin, therefore, the modern novel demands a novelist’s creativity according to its own formal composition for achieving the internal unity and self-integration of the novelistic world, and “the world of truth,” realized by its formal elements like event, character, atmosphere, and plot. Most of all, however, “the world of truth” is the core of his understanding of the novel because it is the crucial factor which makes the modern novel a unique literary genre. In other words, unlike the other literary genres aiming at the factual reflection or representation of the real world, it is a form of writing for creating a truthful world though it is non-factual and non-experiential. For Dongin, this world is not consistent with the conventionally religious, philosophical and scientific models of thoughts, but only with the novelist’s cognitive, moral, and aesthetic capacities, and creative possibilities (Hwang Jongyon 273). From this viewpoint, indeed, the modern novel was deemed superior to any other form of writings. However, by simply aiming at the creation of the “the world of truth” separated from the real society and wrapped up in its own complacent little world of unity and integration, the modern novel was no longer subject to any demonstration of validity.

The more Kim Dongin became interested in the novel’s internal formal composition and its self-satisfied imaginary world, the less he was concerned with the external real world, its cultural significance, and such matters as the reformation of Joseon nations or the reconstruction of Joseon society.¹² As such, the modern novel enjoys living in the world of its own creation as

“the imagined place of freedom and liberation,” but, at the same time, it is a “pseudo-real place in the virtual world” (So Yeonghyen 235). To reiterate, the modern novel was not written for the purpose of transforming the real society to “the world of truth” or transplanting “the world of truth” into the real society. Rather, the more the novel was deemed to be asserting its superiority to the real society, the more it demonstrated its rupture from it. In other words, its superiority was achieved at the cost of its relevance to the real society losing the most important singular feature it once possessed – its political power. The rupture with the real life of “vulgarity, coarseness, dirtiness, and ugliness” and the creation of its own complacent little world of unity and integration was the only way to the world of “a true self, a true love, a true life, and a true living,” the true liberation, which was superior to any other political or social liberation.

The De-Politicization and Re-Politicization of the Novel

The Joseon literati’s understanding of the novel was conditioned strongly by the limitations imposed by the Japanese colonial rule of Joseon. As shown in the earlier examples, Lee Kwangsu believed that the novel could help reform the pre-modern Joseon society, and thus, liberate it from Japanese rule. Basically, Hyun Chul and Kim Dongin shared the idea about the novel’s social importance although they thought about it only from the point of view of cultural reform or artistic reconstruction through narrating “a poetic truth” or creating “the true reality of life.” However, the more the modern novel was considered an independently privileged literary genre, the more its relationship with the actual and political conditions became weak and fragile. As shown in Kim Dongin’s argument about the novel, its privileged status could be achieved only by being uprooted from its real base: the political or social conditions of Joseon in this era. In other words, in the context of the Japanese colonial rule, the transcendental world of truth of the novel could be based on a recognition of the coloniality of Joseon society.

In this regard, it should be pointed out that the development of the Joseon literati’s understanding of the novel was conditioned by the change in the political situation around 1919. To prevent the resistance of the Joseon

intellectuals after the March 1st Independence Movement, Japanese imperialism had to allow more freedom of cultural activities than before although it was definitely limited to the cultural level, giving rise to a politics of collaboration. But even if this change was very important, it could not be assumed that their view of the novel as the locus of “truth” and an independent literary genre was the immediate result of a politics of collaboration. In this era, the Joseon literati believed in devoting their lives to art itself, or even, to the cultural reformation of colonial Joseon for the purpose of its true liberation. Ironically, however, it could be said that their understanding was not inconsistent with Japanese colonial policy in the early 1920s given the limited freedom of art imposed by the colonial government. In other words, “the world of truth” which they wanted to create could not be imagined without presuming the so-called literary world to be independent of any economic or political interests. In short, it was impossible to live in “the imagined place of freedom and liberation” without accepting the colonial rule. It could be said, as a result, that the development of the Joseon literati’s understanding of novel in the early modern period as a form of writing capable of creating an internally unified and self-integrated world was not merely due to a withdrawal from nationalist politics but also to the adoption of a politics of collaboration which left the colonial domination of Japanese imperialism basically untouched.

Therefore, it might be deemed symptomatic of the significance of these developments that KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federation) was organized in 1925, the same year of the publication of Kim Dongin’s essay “The Composition of the Novel.” At the very same moment of the novel’s rise as a distinct and privileged literary genre in Joseon, the challenge to this notion in an attempt to restore its political power was launched by KAPF through the continued effort to align the novel to its nationalist and socialist politics, the politics of resistance to the colonial rule. Most of all, this was due to the fact that KAPF’s criticism was aimed to convert the hitherto bourgeois notion of the novel. It was fashioned to become the new proletarian one that was meant to resist the Japanese colonial rule. In this regard, it could be said that the organization of KAPF exposed the Joseon literati’s politics

of collaboration by critically re-contextualizing their understanding of the novel from the perspective of nationalist and socialist politics.

As a result, the arguments about the novel in the early modern Joseon could be summarized in two ways. On the one hand, it can be said that the modern understanding of novel as an autonomous and privileged literary genre was acknowledged when the literati, in general, affirmed its autonomous and privileged status, as shown illustratively in the case of Kim Dongin. On the other, such an acknowledgement by the literati enabled a self-conscious questioning of this status by reflecting critically on its political significance, thereby exposing its collaborative politics in the colonial Joseon era. With their criticism, thus, the arguments about the novel had to engage with both of its aesthetic-formal side and political-ideological side, its autonomous and privileged status and its political implication. In other words, the politics of the novel had to engage with its formal autonomy, and its formal composition had to deal with its politics. Therefore, it could be said that in the mid-1920s, the earlier dichotomous conception of the novel either as a political means or a purely formal work developed into a notion that fused the two dimensions about it as a genre—whether its politics was intentional or not. With this development, the novel could be understood as a literary genre that is both aesthetic and political.

Notes

All quotations in this article are my translations.

1. He was a novelist and an essayist, who had published hundreds of works including *Mujung (The Heartless)*, the first modern novel in Korean literary history. After returning from studying in Japan in the 1910's, he took part in the March 1st Independence Movement and preached modern ideologies based on liberalism and individualism. However, in the late colonial era, insisted that Joseon nations had to take part in a series of Japanese imperialist wars. Despite his blatant collaborative activities in the late colonial era, he is recognized as a pioneer of modern Korean literature due to his writings which were based on the Enlightenment ideology in the early modern era.
2. He was known as a pioneer of the modern drama in Korea, who had founded the Joseon Actor School (1925), managed the Joseon Theater (1927) for several months, and translated or introduced a lot of Western plays into Joseon including Shakespeare and Turgenev.
3. As a novelist, he self-published the first purely literary journal *Changjo (Creation)* in Joseon (1919), and led the "art for art's sake" movement in the 1920's, writing many short stories and essays. But in the 1930s, as a collaborator, he wrote a number of Pro-Japanese works. After the liberation from Japanese colonialism, he organized the nationalist literary organization, an anti-communist literary movement. Nevertheless, he is recognized as one of the best short story writers in Korean literary history.
4. He was a novelist, a playwright, and a literary critic who led the modernistic reformation movement of the play in the late 19th centuries by founding the literary journal *Waseda literature (早稻田文學)* in 1891. He became famous for translating 40 books on Shakespeare in the Japanese language.
5. For example, while the mainstream modern Japanese novel was *Watakushi-Shosetsu* (I-novel), a type of writing pursuing "direct self-expression" in Joseon, this type of novel was not dominant. In most cases, although they sometimes wrote literary works similar to *Watakushi-Shosetsu*, most of Joseon writers had a penchant for describing the objective reality by focusing on figures' actions or events, rather than for expressing directly their internal selves. The literary critics also shared that penchant, as evidenced by the fact that in the dispute of novel in the late 1930s—one of the most important literary disputes in Korean literary history—what they had in mind was the "Roman," the full-length novel that succeeded the Western realist novel in the 19th century, the literary genre

- based on the literary realism and anchored in bourgeois ideology. See Lee Jinhyoung, *Theories of Novel of the Colonial Korea in Late 1930's*. Somyong, 2013.
6. He was an intellectual who had learned from the Confucianism as a traditional science and, in the 1900s, preached the restoration of national sovereignty based on the reformation of Confucianism and the “righteous army” movement as the means for achieving the national sovereignty. In addition, he was famous for writing *The Painful History of Korea* (1915) focusing on Japanese invasion of Joseon.
 7. He was a historian who had written some biographies about the pre-modern heroes such as Uljimundeok, Lee Soonshin, and the like. After leaving Joseon in 1910, however, he became an independence activist leading Korean independence movements in Russia and China, writing his famous essay *A Declaration of Korea's Revolution* (1923) as a member of *Uiyeoldan*, the anti-Japanese military independence movement organization. For these activities, he is recognized as one of the greatest independent activists in Korean independent movement history.
 8. The modernity of *Blood Tear* could be found in its criticism of the corruption and the backwardness of the Joseon dynasty, affirming the importance of modern cultures and civilizations. Thematically, this novel revolves around the longing for a civilized world and the affirmation of “the freedom of marriage”—a marriage according to the free will of individuals, not conventionally upon the order of the family—as a mark of the civilized men.
 9. Lee Kwangsu's early novels, for example, *Mujung* (1917) and *The Pioneer* (1917) were referred to as “political novels,” as these works contained ideas meant to contribute to the awareness of the people about Joseon's political liberation from Japanese rule and the Joseon nations' spiritual reformation.
 10. In his article ““Hyun Chul's Arguments of Literary Art,” Park Taegyung demonstrated persuasively that Hyun Chul's view of novel had been shaped under the influence of Tsubouchi Shoyo and Tsubouchi Dosio's (坪内銳雄) discourses of modern literature which, around 1900, were dominant in the Japanese literary world. For example, this influence could be evidenced by his classification of the novel and the play under the same literary genre (Park Taegyung 376-377).
 11. In the 1910's, writers thought the play as a performance genre consisted of a well-plotted narrative structure, its own methodology of statement, and “the competed text.” From this notion of the play, however, the boundary line of novel and play may be erased due to their sharing of the fundamental feature of “the line of narrative.” This is the reason why the Joseon literati in this era accepted the firm affinity between the novel and the play (Kwon Bodurae 188-192). Thus, Hyun Chul also shared such a view.
 12. Kim Dongin's ideas regarding the cultural politics of novel could be illustrated by such statements as “let's transform our society to the purely artistic society

by substituting the ultra-infantile popular novel for the healthy literary novel, and the equation of the novel and decadence for the equation of the novel and culture” (Kim Dongin, “The World Which I Created” 20). From about the mid-1920s when he published his essay “The Composition of Novel,” however, such a statement could not be found in his writings anymore.

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The Quest for Peace in the Literatures of Mindanao

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Abstract

This essay explores the wisdom of the ancients in the pursuit of peace among Mindanao's different communities as inscribed in the people's folk literatures. Many of Mindanao's ethnic communities draw lessons from various epics which are orally chanted or sung whose motifs are usually about war and conflict. Conflict is a reality and is not new but it occurs in order to, ironically, achieve peace. In addition, based on the personal experience of the author, where armed conflict in Central Mindanao occur, in general, as the author asserts, Mindanao is peaceful. A list of various literary pieces written by Mindanaoans themselves is provided which, as the author adds, when taught by an informed teacher could help in understanding the complexities and diversities of Mindanao which the author hopes might lead to promoting peace on the island.

Keywords

ancient wisdom, conflict, peace, literatures of Mindanao, epic

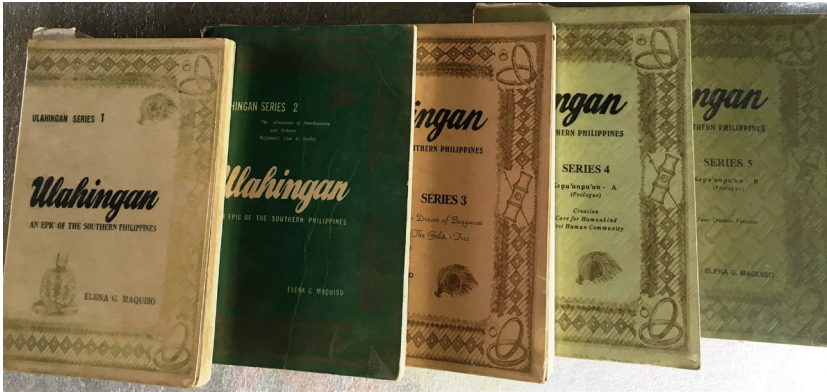


Photo of the Ulahingan Books –
An Epic of the Southern Philippines



A Talaandig Chanter from
Lantapan, Bukidnon



Ground Zero: 11 months after the Marawi Siege
Author takes photo from Rizal Park of a once
bustling part of Marawi City. Hidden from
view below is the *padian* (marketplace).



Photo of a Meranaw Onor, a chanter



A photo of the Lanao Lake by Bobby Timonera

Introduction

Mindanao is not on fire. Today, she is peaceful.

If one looks at the Mindanao map, there are only pockets of occasional conflicts on this island, politicians had called “the land of promise” that is prone to violence but what the late Fr. Miguel Anselmo A. Bernad, SJ had called “a great island”.

How great Mindanao was, is, and will be, depends largely on how writers and scholars write about its past where ancestral wisdom was adhered to, and present realities—the good, pleasurable ones and the bad tidings, to paraphrase Dickens from *The Tale of Two Cities*, who said “be restful for it may end with encourageable times of cheers and hope” (2009).

In the last few years of armed conflicts between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and government forces in Lanao del Norte—the booming of canons fired from a place about 20 minutes from where I live—and having witnessed an encounter between these forces in Balo-i, Lanao del Norte and the threat of the MILF forces invading Iligan City where local politicians made the call to arms, and, fast forward to the present, after the Zamboanga siege led by Nur Misuari of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), things have more or less, quieted down.

This paper therefore attempts to establish the role of the literatures of Mindanao in the building of peace over what the government, religious and civic groups have done in the past in concerted efforts towards peace.

One other attempt is to show that ancestral wisdom is passed on from one generation to the next through oral means or, by way of songs and chants through the Mindanao epics, proving that conflict is not new and it is always a struggle to maintain the peace in whichever era it is.

Exposure to the literatures of Mindanao, once more, should help in the understanding and knowledge and above all, respect of its diversity, immensity, and complexity that Mindanao is, and barring more conflicts, there would certainly be peace in Mindanao. After all, the peoples of Mindanao have lived alongside each other for generations. They know the value of

peace. They know how to nurture peace because happiness and economic prosperity depend on it.

MSU-IIT's Peace Efforts

Apart from the Bishop-Ulama Conference and the Government that take the forefront in dialogs between the government and the two factions of the MNLF, its splinter group, the MILF and still another splinter group, the Bangsa Islamia Federation Front (BIFF), not to mention the Abu Sayaff, the Sabah claim, the National People's Army (NPA), today, universities in Mindanao like the Mindanao State University System, in particular, its flagship campus, the MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT) does its share in peace building activities.

Here are four examples of its peace efforts:

- (1) The establishment of the Institute for Peace and Development in Mindanao (IPDM) that organizes forums on peace; contests on films about peaceful co-existence with fellow Mindanaoans by students; book launches; and sports activities to foster trust among the students of different religious beliefs and ethnic groups.
- (2) A course in History 3 or the History of the Filipino Muslims and the indigenous Peoples of the Minsupala is taken up by all students that trace the history of the peopling of Mindanao. It likewise occasions dialog between students of different religious affiliations and ethnic groups. It is an opportunity for students to learn from each other or from members of Mindanao's cultural communities and/or to air their grievances against each other. More often than not, discussions get involved and steamy but professors are trained to handle these tight situations, and, things end up well.

In about 80 per cent of school programs or major events in MSU-IIT, invocations are given by a priest, an Imam and a Protestant Minister or all three are present, at the same time.

In other words, the MSU-IIT is a microcosm of what is happening in Mindanao. The diversity of dress and manners, languages and cultures and of Moro men and women, on certain

times of the day, rolling out their mats and praying, facing east towards Mecca, are familiar occurrences on campus.

The Moro women especially, because they are Muslims first and who are members of the *umma,yusuf & sehmitt* (2006) exhibit this ethno-religious dimension on a daily basis with their *abayas* and veiled heads reinforced by a CHED memo giving them freedom to wear veils. The rest of the non-Moro see this too, as a manifestation of political, socio-cultural and nationalist beliefs.

- (3) Cultural shows and themed stage plays are mounted regularly for everybody's enjoyment or discomfort; and,
- (4) most significant of all, literature courses that teach about ethnic groups through fiction and poetry written by Mindanao writers like Antonio Enriquez, Mig Alvarez Enriquez, Ibrahim Jubaira, Gumersindo Rafanan, Marcelo Geocallo, Macario Tiu, Aida Rivera Ford, Anthony Tan, Eduardo P. Ortega, Rebekah Marohombsar Alawi, Francis Macansantos, Calbi Asain, Noralyn Mustafa, Albert Alejo, S.J., Jaime An Lim, and the younger writers, Telesforo Sungkit, Jr., Shemrock Salait Linohon and Zola Gonzalez Macarambon, to name a few, reinforce the learning about how culturally diverse and how complex Mindanao is.

The Teaching of the Literatures of Mindanao

In the teaching of the literatures of Mindanao, students often wonder over the definition of the word "Mindanao" and wonder some more of what a "Mindanaoan" is. Apart from this, according to the National Artist for Literature Bienvenido Lumbera, the word 'literatures' is used instead of the usual singular noun 'literature' as an "eloquent insistence of the current thrust of literary education – the plurality of what used to be designated as "Philippine Literature," the many bodies of literary writing existing alongside what had hitherto been assumed by Manila to be a unified entity represented by works in Tagalog, English, and Spanish" Lumbera (2001).

The word Mindanao to some others "evokes a wealth of images" and is also depicted as a "land of the unknown" (1992).

In the second volume of *Mindanao Harvest: An Anthology of Contemporary Writing* by An Lim & Ortega (1996), writer Marjorie Evasco said, in her introduction that “Mindanao conjures a rich ground for signification” and quoting Resil B. Mojares’s introduction to *Handurawan*, an anthology that consisted of works by 1998-1999 poetry grantees of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) and published by the same:

...Nation and region are interacting, mutually-constitutive realities. They conjure each other and are caught up in a process in which their values are not fixed. Nation and region (even the ethnic itself) are historical artifacts. They involve boundaries, a boundedness, which are not immutable or timeless but dynamic because socially and historically created. They involve as well relations of identity and power which either pull them together or pull them apart.

Evasco concluded that the term “Mindanao” did not mean a biographical place or origin, neither did it refer to Mindanao specific themes the authors in the anthology tackled, neither was it language nor the exoticism of Mindanao’s ethnic cultures because, she emphasized, “in the writer’s imaginative mediation of the literal mass of land ... “Mindanao” and the metaphoric mass of metaphors that color and shade the inner landscape, we arrive all at once new and different in our human journey” An Lim & Ortega, (1996).

We tend to agree with this view but for academic purposes, the teacher of the literatures of Mindanao need to have knowledge of how complex, how diverse Mindanao is. The selections to be taught, if these have to aid in the promotion of peace in the region, must be well selected for their Mindanao themes. I also believe that if these have been written by Mindanao-based writers or writers from Mindanao who had settled elsewhere in the country, they share unique experiences that are reflective of the cultures and realities of what the great island is or is deemed to be.

It is heartening to note that ‘natives’ or those who come from oral cultures like Sungkit, Jr., who has written three novels in Higaunon and translated them into Sebuano, and Linohon with his Higaunon poetry, have taken to

writing down their thoughts and experiences, albeit mostly sad encounters with the abusive military and businessmen or multinationals that want to grab properties or buy ancestral lands for a song or else. Yet, it is also ironic that, in a study by Fatimah Joy S. Almarez on the works by Mindanaoan writing fellows to the Iligan National Writers Workshop from 1994-2013 show that only a handful or about 12 percent of the total 94 writing fellows wrote about armed conflicts and poverty, most of them writing about their own pains and passions, joining workshops as students or after graduation from colleges and universities in the country Almarez (2014).

Mindanao: A Great Island

Mindanao has always been viewed as diverse, a rugged terrain, and ‘a problem’.

It is peopled by about 13 Islamized groups, 21 (ethno linguistic), lumad groups and 3rd to 4th generation of descendants of Christian settlers and migrants from Luzon and the Visayas who responded to the call of the national government to “develop Mindanao”.

There are many more classifications, groupings, endless ethnic affiliations that have evolved through the years, most of these subjected to treaties, agreements, presidential decrees, and the creation of offices that have failed to address their needs and innumerable problems.

On top of the presence of these diverse and unique groups, often it is the literatures written in English that get national attention but the oral literatures of ethnic groups, the literatures in the local languages fail to get their fair share of exposure thus, a mis-education of the rest of the country about Mindanao.

Many anthologies, textbooks from Mindanao by Mindanaoans have been published but these are few and far between due to many factors. The brave attempts especially by a few editors, Aida Rivera Ford, the late Antonio R. Enriquez, Macario D. Tiu, this writer, and Jaime An Lim as well as the early efforts of the late Alfredo Navarro Salanga and Tita Lacambra Ayala in Davao have made educators and other writers from Manila pay atten-

tion to an often neglected and misunderstood island where the impression of conflict, armed or not, has prevailed to this day.

Interpretation of Literary Works

In the interpretation of these works, the professor of literature must know beyond form and meaning when taking up cultural sensitivities embedded in these literary works because such advantage enriches understanding of these works.

He must possess cultural knowledge in order for the students to appreciate a short story that explores the contrast of cultures and religions, very good example are the story of “juramentados” of Alvarez Enriquez’s “A White Horse of Alih” the violence between the Tausug and the Sama Badjao in Tan’s “Sweet Grapes, Sour Grapes”; of the Tausug cigarette smugglers in Ortega’s short story “Tapsi”; of a young man’s initiation through a deer hunt in Mustafa’s “A Dream of Morning”; of Bagobo rituals in Rivera Ford’s “Adula”; of religious belief in Jubaira’s “The Prophet Came to My City”; and two versions of the protest poem of the Higaunon-Manobo’s marginalization in “I, Higaunon” by Sungkit and Linohon; or, a vivid depiction of violence amid a pristine landscape in Tony Enriquez’s short story “Spots on their Wings” and his dramatic novel *Subanons* about the ordeal of Subanens during the Martial law years.

Resistance Writing

All elicit a lively discussion of the poem or the story’s structure, content and language use. In particular, the teacher should use the socio-historical, cultural approaches from the formalist approach and take into consideration authorial intrusions, in-text or glossing or its omission, code switching, use of inter-language and the use of the vernacular transcriptions that signal the writer’s assertion of cultural identity which Edward Said called ‘resistance writing’ and explored by Nancy M. Puno in her paper entitled “Mindanao Resistance Writing: Reinscriptions of Cultural Identity in Mindanao Postcolonial Prose Fiction” Puno, (2006).

This 'resistance writing is akin to what Catherine Rainwater in her book, *Dreams of Fiery Stars* calls 'markers of power' for "the writer requires the reader as cultural outsider to find out or figure out what many," in this case for Rainwater, "Indian readers would already know" Rainwater (69).

Of this, Said (1994) says that resistance culture is ideological in nature and is characterized by efforts at decolonization aimed at the re-constitution of shattered communities and re-possession of culture. Unless culture comes to life through language, in the written literatures of these communities, there will be no link between communal memory and national culture. Resistance writing comes to life when the literary landscape of a people is re-inhabited by its histories, narratives, fables, myths, legends, heroes and heroines. Western narratives of the "history and cultures of 'subordinate' peoples are "challengeable by the people themselves." (Said 195).

In today's postcolonial writing, the Mindanao writer keeps faith with his cultural traditions portraying these for the reader – making him understand nuances of a culture through language. If the text is in English, it is what Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin said of the writer's seizing the language of the centre and replacing it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1991).

While the writer is in control of his material, he is often fair in his politics because his depiction of a given situation such as tensions between two culturally and religiously diverse characters in a community is well-developed and involved because he, the writer, whether he is conscious of it or not is engaged in what Rainwater calls "counter-colonial agenda in an apparent attempt to enter the dominant discursive space" (67).

Rainwater calls this "semiotic counter-conquest that resembles (in reverse) the European antecedent" that for his part, Todorov says aims not as "domination and empire, but social reform through relocation of non-Indian people from positions of authority to positions of listeners and receivers of knowledge" (67).

In a similar vein, Mindanao writers continue to translate Mindanao realities according to their experiences and vision and, when these works

are taken up in classes, they influence the readers' way of thinking and helps to transform lives.

In this instance, of primary importance is for students to experience the epic through film or a recording or, at best, a live performance that is a learning process in itself because the live performance entails a lot of negotiation with the singer/chanter.

If the text with the originals are available, then a reading of it, usually in translation, follows but the focus should be on the aesthetics -- the symbols especially -- that show how these function in the society of the epic being taken up -- how such practices are passed on from generation to generation and whether these still function today.

This is the attempt at "repositioning" or "reforming" or "reorienting" the students, who are the cultural outsiders, in their engagement and appreciation of the epic from the worldview of the society that produced it.

Pre-colonial, oral literatures

Because as a writer and teacher myself, my bias is on, for lack of a better categorization, the pre-colonial literatures. I would like to focus now on a sample of oral lore already recorded, translated and published.

War remains a motif in these epics which today's readers can learn from because armed conflicts have continued to this day and, in these times may break out anytime, too.

The cause of conflicts from these epics and in real, contemporary times may be summarized as: love triangles, domestic issues, *rido* or clan wars, boundary disputes, expansion of territories or land grabbing, kidnappings, and the settlement of leadership issues.

One thing that keeps the reader happy in some of the episodes of pre-colonial epics is the fact that, unlike the real, armed conflicts where people die, the characters in these epics have a chance to escape our world, they do not go hungry and they do not die.

With a few sprinkles of the fragrant oils for example, fires are quenched and they allow the warriors to live again; or, from the Subanen epic, "Ag Tobig Neg Keboklagan", the god Asog observes from his heavenly abode,

a battle for supremacy between various factions of the same group. When many of the warriors lay dead, Asog descends to earth and breathes life into the dead heroes who live again. Each hero is given a wife and the earth experiences lasting peace. To paraphrase Rainwater, solidarity is established and the people are empowered to lead productive lives.

Or, when souls of heroes are trapped in flutes or in bottles in the hearts of dragons or in shelves in some room in heaven, their wives journey to search for them. Once found, these flutes or bottles are either opened or smashed to free these souls. Mist from the bottle flow into the hero's body reviving him like what happened to Bantugan of the *Darangen* who, afterwards, goes about his mythic life within the epic world.

The quest for, and the struggle to keep the peace is perhaps, as old as the island Mindanao itself. We listen or read how the early peoples have dealt and coped with conflicts, how these were resolved in their own way using the wisdom of their ancestors passed on from generation to generation.

Sample: The Dream of Begyasan

In one episode “The Dream of Begyasan” from the epic *Ulahingan* of the Arumanen-Livunganen Manobo of Central Mindanao collected by Elena G. Maquiso, the warriors anticipate war after the king Begyasan is warned in his dream that an enemy will come to invade his kingdom.

Once Begyasan confirms this warning to the warriors who have gathered in the *torogan*, they begin to boast of their might shouting or speaking loudly that they would vanquish the enemy not with swords or javelins, but with their bare hands. Begyasan quiets them and commands all to put on their battle gear to defend themselves in order to establish peace once more in the land.

From here I will give you the concluding parts of the summary (pages 9-10) of the 4th, 996-line episode (pages 90-91) both quoted verbatim from Series 3 of the *Ulahingan*. The episode was sung by Pasid Mampayanang and collected by the late Maquiso and her team sometime in the early 1990s in Central Mindanao.

Summary

He (Begyasan) instructs Nebeyew to look out of the window. True enough, Nebeyew sees signs: a shadow blocking the sun, throwing everything into darkness. The frogs begin croaking, much to everyone's consternation. The shadow nears and it turns out to be a lone warrior, black as an iron pot and so tall and huge that it is difficult to see his face.

The invader issues a challenge which is accepted with courtesy. A long battle ensues between the men of Yendang and this lone warrior combatant. The countless warriors of the kingdom are no match to him, he grabs them by the handful and gobbles them up. Eventually he gets hold of Dumiwatag Ayamen and begins to chew him up, too, but Ayamen turns himself into rocks and when the giant insists on chewing him, he bursts into flame.

Dumiwatag Ayamen then brings out the valiant shield and sets it up as a defense. The giant invader does the same thing. The shields form an enclosure of rocks protecting one from the other. They take turns battering the ramparts and that they could no longer withstand the battery. The rocks explode and the giant warrior disappears. In his place they see a fleet of boats full of warriors under the command of a white-haired guyhuyunan and two of his menendul.

The fighting resumes and the heroes of Yendang find themselves in chains. Ayamen knows that the only way to turn the tide of battle is to get hold of the magical vessel in the keeping of the maiden watching the events from her seat up in the clouds. But this maiden is well-guarded by an eagle who sees every act of the mortals below. Ayamen is equally tricky. He thinks of ways to get to the maiden; he transforms himself into lightning, but each attempt is discovered by the eagle. In the face of this quandary, Ayamen decides to consult his spirit guardian. He falls into a trance and the spirit comes to him. He advises the hero to wave the *tubaw* of the *sixty* in front of the eagle. Ayamen instantly knows the strategy by waving the *tubaw* before the eagle's eyes, he could induce the bird into a hypnotic trance. Then he could make a grab of the the magical *tabyew*.

** from pages 9-10*

The strategy works. At the time, the invading army begins the dance of victory and the Yendang warriors could no longer unshackle themselves. In their efforts to escape, they burst into flame which becomes so widespread that it threatens to overrun the whole kingdom. Ayamen, who now holds the flask, throws the contents on the spreading fire.

The flames are quickly quenched, the truth is revealed. The black villain is the honored ancestor who has come to teach the people about the ways of war and peace, the very same white-haired chieftain who has come with the fleet of warriors. The wisdom he imparts to them proclaims that peace is better than war, but that if the kingdom were threatened by an enemy, the warriors must defend it, not by their boasting, but by the might of their arms.

I will end this paper with a quotation from lines 2490-2513 of the episode, “The Dream of Begyasan” – the reminder to remember tribal ancestors and ancestral wisdom for us to reflect on and bring back the Dickensian “en-courageable times of cheers and hope”:

2490 This counsel ever alive; *
 Do not doubt ancestral wisdom.
 When you are assailed by problems,
 To you who are out of our own tribe,
 The lore of old is a lamp.
 Those of us who reside here
 May someday face great trouble,
 Our spirits may be too fragile
 To face the tedious trials.
 Recall it then to your mind

2500 Name them all back, my people.
 Repeat the words to yourself,
 They will return, the old ones,

** from pages 90-91*

Restore to their wisdom
Your own personal being;
Wherever you desire to go,
Carry it in your travels.
Never forgetting it ever,
Serving thus as our parents.
Our ever-present guidance;

2510 Whatever roads we traverse.
 We should not ignore it truly
 Especially in our times,
 These days of our present lives.

- End -

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Ryszard Kapuściński as Nomad

De-imperializing the Contemporary Travel Text

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Abstract

In the past, travel writing about the “new world” had fed the imperial ambitions of Europe. Today, the genre is reproached for cementing a “new imperialist order” by peddling the harmonizing effects of globalization. Nevertheless, travel writers face the opportunity of reworking the genre as an instrument of cultural critique, dubbed by some theorists as “countertravel” writing. As there apparently exists no defined poetics to typify this mode, Deleuze and Guattari’s nomadology, a model for addressing the genre’s teleological ties with imperial history, is a worthy wellspring from which critics and philosophers can draw the radical potential of contemporary travel literature. To demonstrate the nomad’s efficacy in cultivating countertravel writing, this study maps how an antiimperialist position is articulated in celebrated Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński’s *Shadow of the Sun* and *Imperium*. These emancipatory texts articulate an antiimperialist position by exhibiting how the colonized can undermine the colonizer’s territory through nomadic travel.

Keywords

travel writing, countertravel writing, Deleuze and Guattari, nomad, spatiality, imperialism

Come, butterfly
It's late—
We've miles to go together.

— Bashō Matsuo

Mapping the Terrain

Traditionally in travel writing scholarship, the genre is correlated to socio-political discourses because of its function in the facilitation and legitimization of European imperialism. This study aims to contribute to this developing field by cultivating Deleuze and Guattari's nomadology as a model that can address both evolving critical paradigms and the genre's ties with imperial history. Firstly, the rhizomatic approach takes into account *space*— seen as fluid, being both a medium and product of human experience. A geocritical model for studying travel writing is imperative because it can “help us to see how a theme is embodied, where a narrator stands in relation to his story, [and] what structure of imagery provides the grounds for symbolic meaning” (Mitchell 563). How a text constructs the space of the other can shed light on the emancipatory potential of a nomadic traveler-subject. Edward Said's concept of *imaginative geographies* is probably the most well-known juncture between alterity and space at the time. In accordance with Said's belief that orientalism is tied to the geographical knowledge of sameness and difference (13), imaginative geography refers to a universal practice of designation, where a familiar space is considered to be “ours” while unfamiliar spaces beyond “ours” become “theirs” (54). It means that geographical distinctions are arbitrarily imagined by those in power over space i.e. the state. Travel writing *is* an imaginative geography in written form, considering its descriptions as a discourse of space. These imaginative geographies are crucial to the discursive formation of the empire because their circulation cements binary oppositions that inspire the imperial ambition (Kuehn & Smethurst 1; see also Pratt).

Secondly, the nomad itself takes the discourse of empire as part of its inquiry. It asks, what are the ways of living, desiring, and *moving* that can serve as conditions for modes of production that deviate from capitalist and imperialist subjectivities? By resisting the tendency to exoticize or demarcate

borders between identities, ‘countertravelers’ take up the potential cultural critique (Edwards & Grauland 3). More so, these subjectivities resist the centrality of the (imperial) metropolis, articulating experiences removed from dominant hierarchies (2). However, there exists no standard typology for this mode, as it seeks to reverse the genre’s traditional focus and agenda in the West in diverse ways.

This theorization of space vis-à-vis countertravelling lays down the foundation for understanding the central concept of this study, the *nomad*, whose experience and (de)construction of space challenge the hierarchical meanings and relations inscribed in it. Known for their unusual metaphors and playful and innovative writing, (Best & Kellner 79) Marxist philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari appropriate the nomad and nomadism (which they refer to as *nomadology*) to mean various related concepts in their works, the most crucial of which is *A Thousand Plateaus*. The collaborative work garnered popularity during the same period that Lefebvre’s ideas of space production emerged (Tally Jr.^b 136). The main objective of the book is to assert the non-totalized multiplicity of philosophy (and culture) through the concept of the *rhizome* (Best & Kellner 97). Rhizome refers to non-hierarchical systems of deterritorialized strands of thought that connect to other strands in unregulated relationships (99). It encapsulates a mode of thought that is not bound by fixed and often putative binary oppositions, hence the descriptor *deterritorialized*.

As a form of subjectivity, the nomad can be constructed (and studied) in cultural loci such as literature. Nomadic subjects are open to unconventional spatial orientations, making new connections in their comings and goings (Lorraine^a 160). They are understood as such not only because of their often subversive border crossings, but also because of their conceptual demolition of the geographical boundaries imposed by the state (or any form of power, such as the empire), which include spatial measurement and a conceptual gridding that assign ‘stable’ meanings (Tally Jr.^b 136). Differently put, the nomad’s movement transgresses the itineraries, routes and borders set by the state or empire. Its experience of space is not necessarily linked to a rational whole (Lorraine^a 159).

That the so-called 'war machine' (Deleuze and Guattari's more aggrandized metaphor for the nomad) is exterior to state apparatuses is the first proposition of *A Thousand Plateaus'* 14th 'plateau' (351). As agents, nomads do not only inhabit but also territorialize and (im)mobilize space by means of consistent independence from *stratified space*, which is measured and arranged (and thus endowed with meaning) in order to be occupied (361-362). Deleuze and Guattari writes:

The nomads are there, on the land, wherever there forms a smooth space that gnaws, and tends to grow, in all directions. The nomads inhabit these places; they remain in them, and they themselves make them grow, for it has been established that the nomads make the desert no less than they are made by it. (382)

Incidentally invoking Yi-Fu Tuan's assumption that space is experienced, the two describe the nomad as both the contingency and the organizing principle of *smooth spaces*, which are beyond the hegemony's control (447-450). Consequent to the nomad's disruptive capacity, the smooth space is the locus of multiplicity, being a nonmetric and decentered space (484). This kind of representational space is by no means homogenous, which, on the contrary, is the form of striated space. Even when the traveler-subject necessarily moves across space at its topological and chronological levels, the subject becomes nomadic by dint of not moving or migrating. This is because they hold with them and stay in a smooth space which extends in the unfolding of the text and the constant transformation of space (482). It involves a remapping, not a creation of new maps.

Through the junction of the Deluzoguattarian *nomad*, my study aims to delineate the overlooked attempts by travel narratives such as Ryszard Kapuściński's to reorient the genre beyond its imperialist roots. One of the 20th century's most renowned journalists, Kapuściński made the foreign familiar to his people by writing for the Polish Press Agency under the country's Communist Party (Sabelli 1). The Ryszard Kapuściński Award for Literary Reportage is given away internationally to celebrate the genre and honor the author's name. Having an acute sense of belongingness to the

other, Kapuściński understands humanity from the vantage point of borders. I believe that, through a nomadic subjectivity and spatiality, his works *Shadow of the Sun* and *Imperium* articulate an anti-imperialist position, thus demonstrating the emancipatory potential of travel writing (“podróżopisarstwo” in Polish).

The juxtaposition of the domains of travel writing theory and geocriticism in this study proves more interesting (and complex) now that we understand that (a) travel writing is in varying degrees involved in the circulation of imperialistic ideology and (b) the nomad, as a geocritical framework, is not explicitly subversive. In these forays into geocriticism and nomadology then, the objective is to chop down the arborescent tree of thought. To do such is to grasp each idea, binary, hierarchy, concern and event as a dynamic process prone to change. In this scheme, space acts as a juncture where the relationship of the subject and the other can be observed. Here it is presumed that the traveler/nomad is neither a de facto accomplice of the state/empire nor a bandleader at the fore of emancipation. Instead, as the word ‘nomadic’ suggests, the traveler wanders.

Becoming-Africa(n): Ryszard Kapuściński's *Shadow of the Sun*

For too long the world has been content to judge peoples and nations in distress
largely on the basis of received stereotypes drawn from mythologies of oppression.
- Chinua Achebe

In the *History of Africa*, Molefi Kente Asante muses that Africans are the victims “of probably the most uninformed educated people in the world on the subject of Africa” (xiii). Asante directs his disdain not only to the bevy of travel writers who write of African peoples as “poor buggers” thriving in “godforsaken countries,” (Williams viii) but also to readers who subscribe to such assumptions. Even after the height of decolonization in the latter half of the 20th century, African nations remain concerned with decolonizing themselves by “demonstrating that Africa, far from being the primitive tribal

realm of European imperialist mythology, had a long and noble tradition of state-building” (Parker & Rathbone 19, 113).

To Susan Williams, one of the scholars behind the annual *Africa Bibliography*, many travel writers have failed to bolster this cause. The iconic Paul Theroux and Bruce Chatwin, for instance, pick up the overbearing (*Africa needs our help!*) and dismissive (*All news out of Africa is bad!*) tendencies of their imperious predecessors (*vii*; see also Dyer). These include viewing space in the so-called monarch-of-all-I-survey mode, where, in a fantasy of empowerment and social advancement, a travel writer describes space as if they are conquering it (Pratt 197-204).

This section navigates Kapuściński’s imaginative geography of Africa in his travel reportage *Shadow of the Sun* by exploring it with the Deluzoguattarian nomad in mind, so the movements and lapses might be fleshed out in *Shadow* that draw a different map of Africa. In this travel memoir, both the nomad-subject and the textually constructed Africa undergo a process of *becoming*. As a subjectified *contact zone*, the former vacillates between a European and an African subject position, and by doing so, conceives of the host nation (Africa) as a dynamic and manifold space. Ultimately, through a narrative strategy akin to a contact zone and a spatiality (and subjectivity) in the process of becoming, *Shadow of the Sun: My African Life* de-parochializes imperialistic cultural attitudes towards Africa and its people.

Reporting on the Fall of an Empire. Kapuściński’s *Shadow of the Sun*, written and first published in 1998, is compendium of the author’s travels, learnings, and reflections in Africa as the Polish Press Agency’s foreign correspondent. Roving Africa for more than 30 years, Kapuściński had witnessed 27 revolutions and coups that erupted in Africa, (Dyer “Journeys”) some of which is detailed in *Shadow*. The height of these revolutions was during the 1950’s and ‘60’s, when British, French, Dutch and other ‘white’ settlers-colonizers had witnessed the fruits of the seeds sown as early as the 1940’s, the decade that saw the first universities built in Africa (Parker & Rathbone 122). The University of Ibadan housed the first waves of African nationalist sentiment, which then rippled into the first euphoric wars for independence more than a decade later (124).

In 1957, Ghana, until then officially called the Gold Coast, became the first country to obtain full political and economic independence from Britain. Ghana's freedom is followed by the successful revolts in Guinea in 1958, and in Nigeria, Somalia and the Belgian Congo in 1960 (129). Kapuściński was then in Ghana to cover the hostilities for the Polish Press. *Shadow* begins right after the liberation. Instead of solely featuring independence movements against European colonizers, the text unveils exposés on coups against Africans who replaced the colonizers in their seats of power, such as that of Lagos in 1966, where multiple coup d'états across the country were held all at the same time (Kapuściński^b 98-107).

Besides the continent-wide liberation movement, this assemblage of vignettes sketches the long-standing tension between the Arabs and the native Africans, with sections such as "Zanzibar" detailing in depth a conflagration staged by the Arabs in the island at the wake of the white settlers' departure. Sections such as "There Shall be a Holiday" and "A Day in the Village of Abdallah Wallo" act as windows to various African localities and their customs. Interestingly, many a nomadic tribe (that is, in the ethnic sense) is introduced to us in the narrative, like the Tuareg nomads in "Salt and Gold." On the other hand, "Dr. Doyle," the frequently excerpted "The Cobra's Heart," and like sections fasten on Kapuściński's tribulations both as a journalist and a traveler, faced with an obstacle such as malaria and a wild cobra along his way. Within the general theme, space or character cited as the sections' headings (for example, "The Cooling Hell," "The Hole in Onitsha," "Salim"), the narrative's field of vision jettisons from fast-paced reportage (on the civil war in Zanzibar, for instance) to a dilatory observance of local customs (like the ceremonial drinking of *marva* in Uganda) and back. The fact remains that the text constructs a coherent travel narrative as it reports events that, while arranged in a non-linear sequence, comprise a single spatial entity, Africa (Abbott 15).

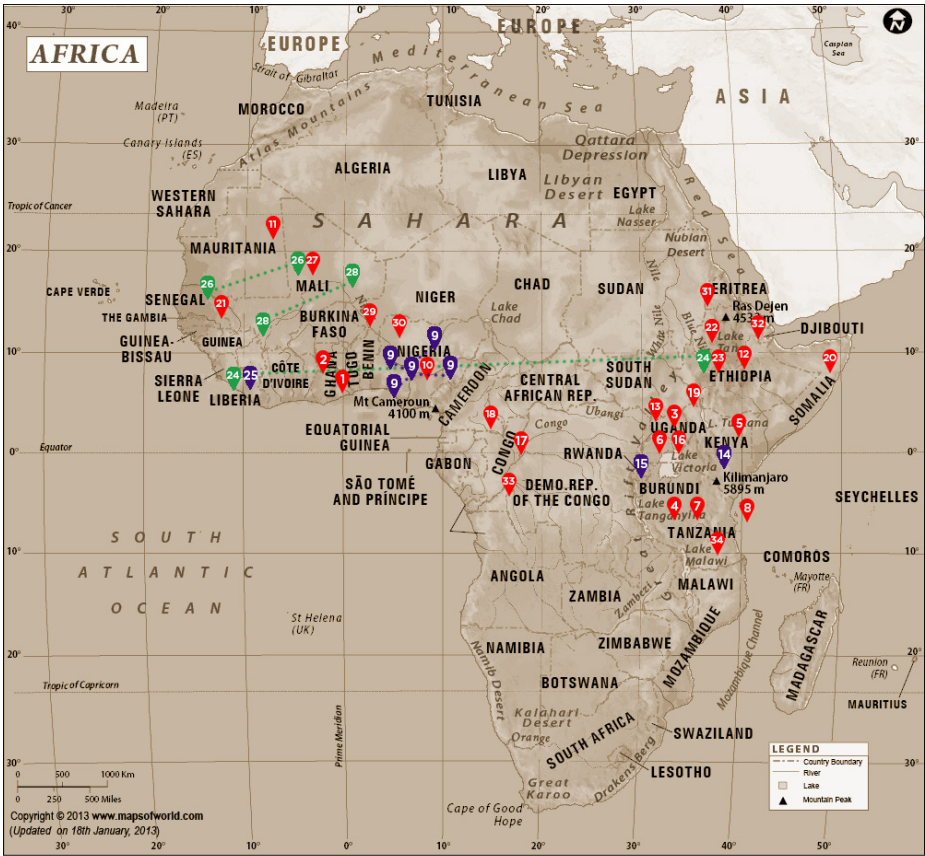
Moving across Borders. Kapuściński traverses this eclectic Africa outside a fixed spatio-temporal pattern, orienting himself to the movements of people and the events they occasion instead of following an actualized itinerary. These movements are best expressed in the narrative progression of the

text, which crosses temporal borders (Sims 36). Wavering among different time frames as if he were a desert nomad, the text's narrative discourse does not chart Kapuściński's travels in Africa chronologically. Although Kapuściński's account begins in 1958 and ends at around the 1990's, the encounters and events bookended by the time markers are not chronicled in a linear sequence.

In *Shadow*, "The Structure of the Clan" marks an early example of this nomadic framing of space. After his arrival at Kumasi, Kapuściński describes the town as the "self-enclosed [...] capital of the kingdom of Ashanti" (25). By way of mention, Kapuściński already returns Kumasi to a different era when centralized kingdoms run the continent. At that time, the map of Africa is vastly different, with Saharan, sub-Saharan, and Eurasian cultures developing in isolation from each other due to their kingdoms' borders (Parker & Rathbone 16).

Kapuściński continues his commentary by shuttling to a time more recent: the colonization era. He begins his account in 1884, the year when "the Berlin West Africa Conference divided the whole continent among themselves, a status that persisted until Africa won independence" (25). The subject goes on with a succinct historicization of African colonial history, which includes paragraph-length descriptions of the slave trade and the eruption of the World Wars. Like a loop, the historicization ends with Ghana's triumph in 1958, and in the next paragraph, we see Kapuściński buying the local newspaper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*, in the narrative's present, and then heading out to its editorial offices (28). This dissolution of temporal borders through movement is reminiscent of the nomadic preoccupation of crossing borders, setting up the stage for the creation of smooth spaces.

Aside from destabilizing the temporality of the spaces he has traveled to, Kapuściński-as-subject manifests a nomadic attitude towards movement by centering more on the events that take place in the journey, than the destinations. To better understand the subject's 'detours', it would be helpful to visualize the text's axes of movement. Figure 1 below is a narrative map of *Shadow of the Sun* that features the different spaces probed by Kapuściński. The map features the cities, towns and the countries the subject has trav-



CONCRETE/PHYSICAL SPACES

COGNITIVE SPACES

**FOCUS ON TRANSPORTATION
(TRAINS, PLANES ETC.)**

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acra, Ghana (1958) 2. Kumasi, Ghana 3. Kampala, Uganda 4. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 5. Nairobi, Kenya 6. Kampala, Uganda 7. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 8. Zanzibar (off the coast of Tanzania) 9. Nigeria (Benin – center, Enugu – southeast, Kaduna – north, Lagos – southwest, Ibadan – west) 10. Apartment in the Island of Lagos 11. Ouadane Oasis, Mauritania (Sahara) 12. Central Ethiopia 13. Kampala, Uganda, border of Sudan 14. Kenya (mental space) 15. Rwanda (mental space) 16. Uganda | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. Congo 18. Cameroon 19. Itang, Uganda-Sudan border 20. Berbera and Laascaanood, Somalia 21. Abdallah Wallo, Senegal (end of Sahara) 22. Sabeta Waterfall, Ethiopia 23. Gondar, Ethiopia 24. Ethiopia to Monrovia, Liberia 25. Liberia 26. Dakar, Senegal to Bumako by train 27. Bumako, Mali (Sahara) 28. Mopti, Mali to Timbuktu, Western Mali 29. Port Harcourt, Niger 30. Onitsha, Nigeria 31. Asmara, Eritrea 32. Debre Zeyit, Ethiopia 33. Congo 34. Tanzania |
|--|--|

Fig. 1 A narrative map of Africa.

eled to either physically (denoted by red pins) or cognitively (denoted by blue pins). Some events in the narrative take place while the subject is in motion—in a train, plane, or truck, for example (denoted by green pins).

The pins placed on the map do not refer to the subject's precise location at a given part of the narrative, as it is not always the case that Kapuściński is in the town or city proper per se. Rather, they point to the range of the space Kapuściński moves in at a certain point in time. For instance, in Zanzibar (pin no. 8), the subject has been at the coast, in the city, and afloat the sea surrounding the island. There are three different zones of action, but for the sake of convenience, we refer to them as one spatial unit. Above all, the sequence inculcated in the map follows the narrative discourse and not the chronological order of Kapuściński's travels. The same considerations shall apply to the other narrative maps used in this study.

As a journalist, the traveler-subject is expected to move from one space to another in order to cover an event or to gather information about the next matter to write about, which we see in the movements from points 7 to 8 (Kapuściński goes to Zanzibar to cover the war), among others, and points 24, 26, and 28, which all occur in motion. In the narrative however, a number of the movements from one point to another come without an explanation or rationale. The subject mentions no significant event that necessitates his movement from point 30 (Nigeria) to point 31 (Eritrea), for instance. What he shows is the action that the space occasions. In point 17 (Congo), Kapuściński details the contours of the space—the physical landscape, the locals populating it, but he desists explicating the conditions that ushered him there.

Through this map, we realize that there are two modes of movement adopted by the subject: (a) movement by desire—the want to report about an event or a similar subject matter such as a certain cultural practice, a landmark, or important people; and (b) movement *for the sake of movement*. As explained by Deleuze and Guattari in their account on movement,

The nomad [...] follows customary paths; he goes from one point to another; he is not ignorant of points (water points, dwelling points, assembly points, etc.). But the question is what in nomad life is a principle and what is only

a consequence. To begin with, although the points determine paths, they are strictly subordinated to the paths they determine, the reverse of what happens with the sedentary. The water point is reached only in order to be left behind; every point is a relay and exists only as a relay. (380)

What the two mean is that a nomad does not settle into one place. Each station it passes through in the journey is but a temporary rest, which the nomadic subject shall leave soon enough. The second mode of movement corresponds to this attitude of the nomad. Having reported about the physical or cultural aspects of a place, Kapuściński moves to another space—the case with the movement from point 30 to 31.

Does this mean then, that all travelers demonstrate a nomadic relation to space given their transitory nature of travel? Not necessarily. As said by Deleuze and Guattari, “every point is a relay.” The desire to participate in an event, a cultural practice, a landmark, or a community propels Kapuściński-as-subject to move to another space, but this drive diffuses once the subject matter has been reported. Take for example the section “My Alleyway, 1967,” which is dedicated to showing the socio-political conditions of “the apartment that [Kapuściński] rent[s] in Lagos,” which “is constantly broken into. It happens not only when [he is] away for a longer stretch of time—in Chad, or Gabon, or Guinea. Even if [he is] going on a short trip to a nearby town” (108). Through Kapuściński’s incensed complaint about the theft that constantly occurs in his apartment, we discover that he has rented the apartment for a long time, definitely more than months, considering the distance between Lagos (an island) and the countries mentioned. However, nowhere else in the text has the apartment been cited. In fact, there is no need for the nomadic traveler-subject to do so because he has already reported about his experiences in the alleyway in that section; the desire to linger in that space has diffused, and so the narrative proceeds to other travelled spaces.

These ‘necessary detours’—for the lack of a better term, visualized in the narrative map, demonstrate the nomadic attitude of the subject towards movement. Instead of following an actualized itinerary, the subject navigates Africa based on desire, which alternates between the need to capture an event (being a journalist) and the want to continue the voyage (being a

traveler). Also, notice in the map that Kapuściński shows a preference for the left and right coasts of the continent. Even though Kapuściński has travelled to nation-states at the heart of Africa, such as Chad, and an assortment of other areas like Gabon and Guinea, the narrative discourse concentrates around Africa's waist. The significance of this habit shall be elucidated later in the chapter.

Immersive Interactions. Within this deterritorialized spatio-temporality occurs another aspect of the subject's nomadic orientation of space: Kapuściński's deviation from the generic norm of featuring celebrities, politicians and other famous figures. In a satire, the African immigrant writer Binyavanga Wainaina cajoles (white) travel writers to include in their accounts "naked warriors, loyal servants, diviners and seers, ancient wise men living in hermitic splendor [...] corrupt politicians, inept polygamous travel-guides, and prostitutes," striking a chord in anyone guilty of such exoticization (93). *Shadow of the Sun*, like Kapuściński's other works, attempts to reverse the well-founded expectation.

More often than not, the text's field of vision fixates on spaces where Kapuściński interacts with poor, oppressed and/or marginalized people. The narrative does recount conversations with African personalities such as Minister for Education and Information Kofi Baako (8) and attendance in official gatherings like the United Nations-led convention on national development in Africa Hall, (226) but, "as befits a man from the borderlands, [Kapuściński] feels [more] comfortable in the world of the downtrodden and marginalized" (Ost 85). The section "Salim" centers on Kapuściński's ride across the Sahara with the help of Salim, a truck driver. The rationale and destination of the journey remain undisclosed. What Kapuściński provides us is a critique of the financial windfall of the country that urges the jobless "who doesn't [even] know how to open the hood" to drive trucks and ferry passengers (122-124). "Madame Duif is Coming Home" hinges on the presence of a boisterous Bamakoan fruit stall proprietress in the train compartment filled with European passengers including Kapuściński. "The Well" fastens on women and children who fetch water from a far-off well using plastic containers. The list goes on.

Critic Geoff Dyer argues that the narrative “is underwritten by an awareness of how politics complicates empathy, and of how sympathy implicates politics,” (“Journeys”) as evidenced by the above “sense of profound wonder vis-à-vis the other, as opposed to defensive fear and suspicion” (Gasyna 55). The text captures “the climate, the atmosphere of the street, the feeling of the people, the gossip of the town, the smell; the thousand, thousand elements of reality,” what would usually be curtailed in mainstream journalism (Tuhus-Dubrow 116). Deleuze and Guattari would chart Kapuściński’s nomadic traversal of Africa, manifested by his deterritorialization of space-time and preference for hearing other(ed) voices, as an occasion for smooth space: “a tactile space, or rather ‘haptic,’ a sonorous much more than a visual space” (382). To put it in another way, Kapuściński has woven an Africa that relies more on desire, action, empathy and feeling rather than observance at a visual level. A subject who orients himself with such movements, never settling into any one pattern, is a nomad (Lorraine^a 166).

Africa as Smooth Space. Kapuściński begins *Shadow of the Sun* with a moving (and frequently quoted) preface:

This is therefore not a book about Africa, but rather about some people from there—about encounters with them, and time spent together. The continent is too large to describe. It is a veritable ocean, a separate planet, a varied, immensely rich cosmos. Only with the greatest simplification, for the sake of convenience, can we say “Africa.” In reality, except as a geographical appellation, Africa does not exist.

In the previous section, Kapuściński-as-subject observes his premise by moving across Africa as if he is a Deluzguattarian nomad. At this point, we direct our attention from subjectivity to spatiality to traverse Africa’s ‘smoothness’. Unanimous with the text’s premise that Africa only exists as a gross simplification, the nomadic subject experiences most traveled spaces as smooth spaces, spaces that harbor no borders.

Besides truck drivers and proprietors, Kapuściński devotes much attention to the real-life anthropological nomads, who by nature demonstrate the smooth spatiality of Africa. There are, for example, the Somali nomads he

learns of by his encounter with Ahmed, a member of such tribe. Because “the land [t]here cannot be cultivated,” Somali nomads constantly wander the Saharan desert to find pastures for their camels and sheep, Kapuściński explains (206). Contrary to the impression that nomadic tribes are always engaged in a “homeless wandering [...] in which civilization [*sic*] is always represented as [they’re] end and salvation, (Campbell 268) in reality, those “lands are traversed by numerous trails and tracks, footpaths and highways, admittedly invisible against the sand and the rocks, yet nevertheless deeply etched in the memory of the people who have wandered [those] regions for centuries” (207). Mentioned earlier is the Tuareg nomadic tribe, and the subject considers them in the same way:

The Tuareg are eternal wanderers. But can one really call them that? A wanderer is someone who roams the world searching for a place to call his own, a home, a country. The Tuareg has his home and his country, in which he has lived for a thousand years: the interior of the Sahara. His home is just different from ours. (207)

By mention of the Somali and Tuareg tribes, the desert space inhabited by the nomads, the (in)famous Sahara Desert, expands from a sign of hostility and wilderness to that akin to home, charged with the memory and history of a people. Deleuze and Guatari explain that “nomads inhabit these places; they remain in them, and they themselves make them *grow*, for it has been established that the nomads make the desert no less than they are made by it” (382). Another tribe, the Kankwa people, do not recognize themselves as inhabitants of a country (137). An act of defiance, this *unrecognition* privileges the existence of their smooth territory over the striated space of the state and, by extension, the colonizers. The nomadic tribes invoked by Kapuściński spur the expansion and transformation of their territory due to their “endless wandering” in such space.

The reportage does not only feature nomads in the above ethnic sense; “it is possible to live smooth even in the cities, to be an urban nomad” (Deleuze & Guattari 482). As such, “the people who pass through [the Lagos apartment] are the city’s eternal nomads, wanderers along the chaotic and dusty

labyrinth of its streets. They move away quickly and vanish without a trace, because they never really had anything” (Kapuściński^b 114). By treating the city as a *relay* in their continuous search for employment, the proverbial wretched of the earth experience the African city as a smooth space. Here African urbanites, despite not being ethnically nomadic, are nomadic by virtue of their movements in space.

The narrative invokes the presence of these nomads as models for Kapuściński to follow. What the subject learns from the observance of these nomads is that “the places he thought he knew, the labyrinths and compositions of signs that surround him, look one way when scorched by a drought, and another when they are covered by lush vegetation” (206). Simply said, space is in a *flux*; African space is a smooth space.

The vacillation of the text’s field of vision among assorted spatio-temporal loci destabilizes a striated conception of a homogenous Africa. “I traveled extensively, avoiding official routes, palaces, important personages, and high-level politics. Instead, I opted to hitch rides on passing trucks, wander with nomads through the desert, be the guest of peasants of the tropical savannah,” Kapuściński explains in the preface of *Shadow of the Sun*. Deviation from “official routes,” to Deleuze and Guattari is an affront to the state—the institutions and powers—that striate space by imposing what road or pathway people must follow: “in a striated space-time one counts in order to occupy” (477). As a nomad, Kapuściński-as-subject breaks down the borders of the spaces he explores.

Smoothness as Boundlessness. Quite a number of spatial units constructed in the narrative display the boundlessness the nomad’s movements occasion. Upon seeing that “in all the dwellings, on the earthen floors, on mats, on bunks, lay silent, inert people,” Kapuściński imagines the village of Abdallah Wallo as “a submarine at the bottom of the ocean: it was there, but it emitted no signals, soundless, motionless” (218). The inhabitants of Abdallah Wallo, despite being at a sedentary state at that time, are shuttled into the image of an ocean, a space always in motion. Neither the minute movements nor the waves of the ocean can be considered striations, as they follow rhythms generated by their relation to other singularities, such as the weather,

marine animals, and nautical transportation. Due to the nomadic relations of their occupants, seas and oceans are known as the archetype of smooth space (Deleuze & Guattari 480).

Dry, arid spaces, established in the discussion as smooth spaces due to their nomad inhabitants, are also frequently allegorized as an ocean. “The desert, that motionless, petrified ocean, absorbed its rays, grew hotter, and began to burn” (Kapuściński^b 124). While hitching in a truck with the stranger Salim, Kapuściński observes that while the desert seems motionless, it shares an affective relationship to the sun, making the space grow not in distance, but in temperature. “We were all being swept somewhere, Leo, the car and I, the roads, the savannah, the buffalo, and the sun, toward some unknown, shining, white-hot space” (46). The different occupants of the savannah—the two journalists, the roads, the animals, the sun, and the very space of the savannah itself—are described as if they are under the whim of an ocean’s surge. “The horizon receded and smudged, as if subject to the oceanic law of ebb and flow,” Kapuściński continues.

Being occupied by nomadic tribes and people constantly in motion, Africa becomes boundless and contingently *smooth*. The spatiality of Africa itself is akin to the nomad: “All of Africa is in motion, on the road to somewhere, wandering” (Kapuściński^b 231). Unlike the overbearing (*Africa needs our help!*) and dismissive (*All news out of Africa is bad!*) attitudes of other writers, thinking that Africa is a scar in the conscience of the world, Kapuściński experiences a *becoming*-Africa, an Africa in all its multiplicity. Rather than exoticize the continent, the subject meshes the colonial history of the continent with current efforts towards progress, such as a developing educational system (discussed in his conversation with Kofi Baako and Kwesi Amu, as exemplified earlier). The reportage mode’s aspects of creative subjectivity (Kapuściński being a nomad) and immersion (allowing for the subject’s realizations about the continent) stage this spatial model.

Summing up the above analysis, Kapuściński’s cartographic method is rendered explicit: immerse and participate, (160-161) destabilize space-time, (25-28) move by desire and for the sake of moving (refer to this chapter’s narrative map), fasten on people who are in motion themselves (114, 137,

206-7). Through these steps, one can find himself wandering in spaces as open and unobstructed as the ocean and the desert. Upon encountering this kind of spatiality however, Mary Louise Pratt might turn tail and ask, is Kapuściński culpable of the monarch-of-all-I-survey tendency of early travel writers? Is he constructing Africa as a boundless space in order to conquer it? Is *Shadow of the Sun*, after all, guilty of harboring a Western writer's imperious fantasy?

Vacillations: The European Subject Position. *Shadow of the Sun* suggests that Kapuściński overcomes that tendency by engaging a different kind of movement: the subject's vacillation between a European subject position and an African one, in a process of *becoming-African*.

Although the above spatial categories (the desert, the nomad, the city etc.) are conceived by the nomadic subject to be boundless, they are rendered unconquerable due to the textually constructed hostility of their environs. This propensity begins in a spatial category we have yet to explore: the African jungle. In musing about the European traveler in Africa in "The Beginning: Collision, Ghana, 1958," Kapuściński comments that "among these palm trees and vines, in this bush and jungle, the white man is a sort of outlandish and unseemly intruder" (5). Only later in the narrative do we realize that the incensed way the journalist conceives of the hostile jungle—"a cocky, pushy abundance, an endless eruption of an exuberant, panting mass of vegetation, all the elements of which [...] have already become so interlocked, knotted, and clenched"—is historically rooted. Kapuściński points out that "if you look closely at old maps of Africa, you will notice a peculiarity: inscribed along the coastlines are dozens, hundreds of names of ports, cities, and settlements, whereas the rest, a vast 99 percent of Africa's surface, is a blank, essentially virgin area, only sparsely marked here and there" (56-57). The subject gazes at the colonizer's map of Africa, which at that time is still terra incognita.

Reflecting on the colonial history of Africa, Kapuściński speculates that the jungle's thick foliage obstructed colonizers from subjugating the interior of Africa. Africa's spatial hostility is a form of resistance. The jungle does not seem to be an obstacle to native Africans; they have learned that the

best way to traverse the bush is, simply, to walk in single file (21). To the European colonizer however, it is a complication. Instead of ascribing to this obstacle an overwhelming sense of wonder, which characterized European responses to the tropical geography of the “new world,” (Tavares & Le Bel 48) he admits surrender.

What Kapuściński achieves by writing the above-quoted passages is the extension of the scope of the ‘European’ to include him as a traveler. He does this not only by mentioning the standoffishness of the European tourist in the vastness of the African jungle, but also by assembling a narrative that does not focus on spaces in the African interior, such as Chad, Gabon and Guinea, as seen in the narrative map earlier. Here, Kapuściński stresses his position as a European-traveler-colonizer and its historical culpability in colonialism. He undermines what he has underwritten.

At the onset of the reportage, the subject assumes an imperialist’s position by claiming that the African people is a traveler’s most important discovery, “how they fit in this landscape, this light, these smells. How they are as one with them” (5). While the subject expresses a genuine admiration for the “complementary” and “harmonious” relationship of the locals—the other—and African space, he complicates *his* relation to both by ascribing to himself a more powerful and knowledgeable position, that of the colonizer who ‘discovers’ lands hitherto unknown to him by traveling there and subjugating its people.

Even though Kapuściński employs the above rhetoric of the empire in the beginning, he treats the discourse of colonialism with much contempt all throughout the narrative. He laments that the most painful and lasting imprints of the colonial epoch “were left upon the memory and consciousness of the Africans: centuries of disdain, humiliation, and suffering gave them an inferiority complex, and a conviction, deep in their hearts, of having been wronged” (26). This is what Kapuściński, in the colonizer’s subject position, discovers: the enduring scars and vestiges left by European expansionism.

As Zehle notes, “Kapuściński’s frequent self-identification as ‘white’ also indicates the ambivalence of the notion of whiteness, [as it] is itself the effect of violent colonial rule whose frail authority both at home and abroad called

for the creation of ‘whiteness’ as a coherent collective identity to facilitate and sustain colonial administration” (Zehle 282-3). While on the surface it seems like another generalization, the monolithic “white” European identity alludes to its imperial function. The traveler subject position may function as a strategy to displace the writer’s guilt for interfering with the cultures through which they travel, a guilt former colonizers now bear (Thompson). In *Shadow of the Sun* however, Kapuściński is not given slack. Akin to the colonizer, the traveler subject position ‘discovers’ Africa at the beginning of the narrative, and later suffers the guilt of the European colonizer. This is a reflexive evaluation of the European self—Kapuściński acknowledging his being part of the monolithic ‘West’ found guilty of colonization—as much as it is a historically conscious treatment of the traveler’s subjectivity.

The subject’s becoming-African relies on this reflexive denigration of the European self, because Kapuściński embodies his perception of the European traveler-cum-conquistador (who cannot completely subjugate African space due to its immanent hostility, as explained earlier) to poise as foil to the nomadic relationship *some* Africans share with space—“some,” because other Africans have assimilated the colonizer’s schema, as we shall see later. Kapuściński firmly believes that

The European in Africa sees only part of it, usually only the continent’s exterior coating, the frequently not very interesting, and perhaps least important, part of it. His vision glides over the surface, penetrating no deeper and refusing to imagine that behind everything a mystery may be hidden, and within as well. But European culture has ill prepared us for these excursions into the depths, into the springs of other worlds and other cultures—or of our own, for that matter. For historically, it was a fact of the drama of cultures that the first contacts between them were most frequently carried out by the worst sorts of people: robbers, soldiers of fortune, adventurers, criminals, slave traders, etc. There were, occasionally, others—good-hearted missionaries, enthusiastic travelers and explorers—but the tone, the standard, the atmosphere were for centuries set and sustained by a motley and rapacious international riffraff. Naturally, respect for other cultures, the desire to learn about them, to find a common language, were the furthest things from the minds of such folk. (321-322)

This reflection expresses dissent towards colonialism, which, Kapuściński argues, warrants violence and deceit against other cultures. Even though there later came more benevolent phases of colonial expansion, represented by missionaries, explorers and the such, one nation-state's power over a people is still sustained by "motley and rapacious international riffraff."

Aside from this critical treatment of history, Kapuściński also establishes his conviction about African spatiality that only locals can *best* bear witness to the diversity of cultures, beliefs, habits and worldviews generated in African space.; 'best' because Europeans can see parts of what the continent cherishes, just not in its multiplicity. He expresses the same sentiment in his reflection on the difference between traveler and travelee:

Often, the native and the newcomer have difficulty finding a common language, because each looks at the same place through a different lens. The newcomer has a wide-angle lens, which gives him a distant, diminished view, although one with a long horizon line, while the local always employs a telescopic lens that magnifies the slightest detail. (171)

The traveler, who is supposed to have seen so many due to this constant movement, leaves something amiss: the multifarious details of the object he sees, which, conversely, can be perceived by those who linger in space. In a discussion on apartheid, the subject adopts an African voice and exclaims, "It is not only I [Kapuściński], the black man, who cannot enter your area, but you, too, the white man, if you want to stay in one piece and not place yourself in danger, you had better not come into my neighborhood!" (40). An expression of spatial resistance, this passage also denotes that segregation affects both parties. Since the two positions are limited in terms of spatial understanding (one sees macrocosmically, the other, microcosmically), one must negotiate both in order to develop an appreciation and comprehension of multifarious spaces.

To put this in another way, Kapuściński strives to assume an African subject position in order to understand the African imaginative geography as conceived by its locals, as "various clans, tribes, and villages have their own paths, which cross one another" (21). This African geography is constituted

by “intertribal friendships and hatreds, no less critical than those existing today in the Balkans” (69). Kapuściński believes that only inhabitation—or immersion, for the nomadic traveler who has no intention to stay for long—can untangle “the layout of these paths, their course and connections” (160). Kapuściński manifests his adoption of an African subject position through (a) the suspension of a foreigner/outsider’s disbelief of the cultural, spiritual, and spatial multiplicity brimming in African places, and (b) the centrality of African socio-political concerns in the narrative.

Vacillations: The African Subject Position. One of the most apparent manifestations of the subject’s appreciation of African multiplicity is his treatment of spirituality. Kapuściński explains that “the spiritual world of the “African” (if one may use this term despite its gross simplification) is rich and complex [...] He believes in the coexistence of three different yet related worlds.” Here the subject begins to explain the importance of spiritual life to locals as-a-matter-of-factly, in the position of an outsider remarking about “he,” the African. As he continues the account, he dissolves this distancing:

The first is the one that surrounds us, the palpable and visible reality composed of living people, animals, and plants, as well as inanimate objects: stones, water, air. The second is the world of the ancestors, those who died before us, but who died, as it were, not completely, not finally, not absolutely. Indeed, in a metaphysical sense they continue to exist, and are even capable of participating in our life, of influencing it, shaping it. That is why maintaining good relations with one’s ancestors is a precondition of a successful life, and sometimes even of life itself. The third world is the rich kingdom of the spirits—spirits that exist independently, yet at the same time are present in every being, in every object, in everything and everywhere. (15)

By ‘gazing’ into these three ‘worlds’—two of which, the ancestors’ and the spirits’, only accessible to locals—the spatiality of Africa is rendered multifarious: each object and place, in this belief, is charged with (ancestral) history and (spiritual) energy. What is more, Kapuściński assumes an African subjectivity by speaking as if he is part of the African “us.” His association between good ancestral relations and success even sounds like an advice coming from

a local. He reflects that even though the African spiritual plane could not be given verbal definition, its existence and importance is “sensed instinctively and spontaneously” (262). Here, “the nomad appears in a state of spiritual becoming, as opposed to the material rootedness of the non-nomad” who privileges stasis over differences (Figuiera 79-80).

Kapuściński also problematizes globalization in his explication of African multiplicity. He claims that “our world, seemingly global, is in reality planet of thousands of the most varied and never intersecting provinces” (71). The multiplicity of the continent is hereby established: it is composed of thousands of spatial units—maybe even more because of the ancestral and spiritual worlds which augment the concrete spatiality of Africa. Moreover, he insinuates the homogenizing tendencies of the idea of the global, which encumber the spiritual and provincial multiplicity of Africa. This dispraise of globalization makes an appearance in *Imperium* as well.

Suffice it to say, the nomad subject and space “is localized and not delimited. What is both limited and limiting is striated space, the relative global: it is limited in its parts [...] divisible by boundaries” (Deleuze & Guattari 382). The assumption of an African subject position localizes the traveler’s subjectivity, which supposedly possesses a cosmopolitan personality. Kapuściński acquires “a filiative [*sic*] relationship by contagion,” by shuttling into a different subject position, “with a multiplicity,” which is Africa in this case (Young et. al. 43).

Furthermore, Kapuściński also reflects on colonialism through an African vantage point: “Officially, but not officially, colonialism reigned in Africa from the time of the Berlin West Africa Conference,” begins his account on colonial history (25). Izabela Kalinowska ascribes this empathy for the other to Poland’s commonly overlooked geopolitical position as a Soviet colony. Polish writers’ depiction of their travel experiences, she explains, offer revealing windows into Polish culture’s inbetweenness, (62) such as that demonstrated by Kapuściński’s views on colonialism. Similarly, Dyer muses that “there he is, a white man in Africa at the moment when countries are liberating themselves from the shackles of colonialism. But Kapuscinski is from a country that has been repeatedly ravaged by the imperial ambitions

of its neighbours [*sic*]. He knows what it means to have nothing [...] This is one of the reasons he feels at home in Africa, among the wretched of the earth (“Journeys”).

This empathy towards the victims of colonization, however, aims not to rework the colonizer-colonized hierarchy in a stark ethical framework where Africans are universal victims. In fact, Kapuściński denigrates Africans who, on the verge of independence, seek to take advantage of the furor and seize the state power to striate space. He looks down upon the Americo-Liberians who, freed from the slave trade system, return to Africa “proclaim that only they can be citizens.” As if on a higher station, “they deny that status, that right, to the rest—to 99 percent of the population. Laws are passed defining this majority as merely ‘tribesmen,’ people without culture, savage, heathen” (239). These deeply Westernized subgroups striate space through laws in the same way as their oppressors. Kapuściński also discusses the post-revolution phenomenon of *la politique du ventre* (politics of the belly) in which “so closely was a political appointment connected with huge material gains,” hence the handful of educated Africans wanting to seize seats in the revolutionary governments (36). In his becoming-other “he becomes many selves” instead of a singular homogenous (and victimized) becoming-African (Lorraine^a 169).

Here, “the binary of self and other is reversed as the subject constructs [himself] as the other” (Kelley 362). Regardless of these, Kapuściński, of course, remains a European. These ascriptions of the African subject positions can only do so much as express Kapuściński’s nomadic desire for more avenues for movement; he admits that he does not know and might not even be able to understand such paths (22).

The Nomad as Contact Zone. By avoiding an ethical binary between the two ethnic positions, Kapuściński does not reinforce an antagonism between European and African; rather, he constructs both as subjectivities scourged by colonialism. The nomadic subject is ‘prohibited’ from choosing an enemy (Deleuze & Guattari 335); rather, what can be considered as the antagonist arises from the negotiation of hitherto binary distinctions, the ‘European’ and ‘African’. This is done by articulating the European as foil to the African,

who appreciates the space it inhabits differently from the foreign European. A European subjectivity is “fashioned over and against a series of others who are denied the power of representing themselves” (Thompson 119).

To put it in Pratt’s terms, Kapuściński acts as a subjectified *contact zone*, a spatial category that serves as the site where disparate cultures, in this case European and African, meet, clash, or negotiate. The zone “is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect” (Pratt 7). “Subjectified” is used to emphasize that the contact zone refers to spatiality and not subjectivity. Interestingly in *Shadow* however, the traveler-subject becomes a vector where the European and African subjectivities vacillate, thus intersecting their “geographic and historical disjunctures” and their “trajectories.” This episteme challenges the Western Cartesian outlook that a “radical schism [exists] between observing subject and observing object (Thompson 94). In this reportage, the vacillation becomes a negotiation of the European and African subject positions.

A few passages in the narrative show that Kapuściński recognizes his role as a contact zone. In most instances, though, the European and African particularities are dissolved altogether to make way for the reflection of the binarized ‘self’ and ‘other’ positions. In “The Cobra’s Heart,” Kapuściński and his journalist companion decide to pass the night over in an abandoned hut by the savannah. Hidden in the hut however, is “an Egyptian cobra, yellowish gray, neatly coiled on the floor.” Still in a state of lethargy, the cobra does not attack, but, posing a threat to the journalists (or so they think), it is crushed using an empty canister. While all this is taking place, Kapuściński contemplates that

The cobra was weakening, and the vibrations of the canister, which we felt the whole time and by means of which the snake signaled us about her pain and her hatred, vibrations that terrified and panicked us, were also diminishing. But now, when it was all over, when Leo and I rose and the dust began to settle and thin out and I gazed down again at the narrow ribbon of blood being quickly absorbed, instead of satisfaction and joy I felt an emptiness inside, and something else as well: I felt sad that that heart, which

inhabited the very pit of hell we had all shared through a bizarre coincidence only a moment ago, that that heart had stopped beating. (47-49)

The brooding tone of this passage demands readers to read it allegorically. The Egyptian cobra stands for the other, whose presence poses a threat to the European self. By feeling empathy, a oneness, towards the snake, Kapuściński negotiates the self and the other. To his dismay, his realization is too late; the snake—the other—is already subjugated due to a grave lack of understanding. Binaries such as European-African, traveler-travelee, colonizer-colonized, and self-other are treated in the contact zone not in terms of separateness, but of interaction and mutual understandings (Pratt 7). Kapuściński lives the life of the nomad, otherwise known as *intermezzo*, the inbetween (Deleuze & Guattari 380).

In one instance when Kapuściński rides a plane to Monrovia, Liberia (point 24 in the narrative map), he loses both his papers and documents in the rowdiness of the people crowding the plane (235). However, in that unconventional notion of space—a plane brimming with multiplicity—identities cannot be fixed (Lorraine 169; see also Bruns 711). As an *intermezzo*, fixed identities are unimportant. As in other contemporary works of travel writing, the traveler-subject in *Shadow* is “poised to split and unravel” (Musgrove 39) through a vacillation between the above subject positions, through identity is both deterritorialized (because the subject is no longer one or the other) and established (as the nomad, the *intermezzo*). In summation, Kapuściński affirms his European position (affirm because it is his original subjection) to reflect on his complicity in the colonial-imperial project. At the same time, he is in a state of becoming-*African*, because he shuttles himself into such a position whenever the opportunity arises i.e. in conversations and reflections invoking colonial history or local customs. The political tensions across the continent require this makeshift identity: the “multiethnicity of the contemporary moment, itself rooted in the twentieth-century experience of decolonization and the migrations enabled by it,” means that our previous historical experience will prove to be quite insufficient in understanding the explosive energies of the present (Zehle 285).

His vacillation between the two aims not to establish new forms of antagonisms between the two; rather, it is to lay bare the culpability of the colonial-imperialist project in shaping the asymmetrical relationship between them. This exposé is grounded in space. Contrary to the mythologies of the monolithic West, the continent is perpetually in motion, in a *multiplicity*, as revealed by Kapuściński's travels. It is in a process of becoming itself. Such is the spatiality of Africa and its relation to the nomadic contact zone-like subject, whose negotiated identity must root from the borderland character of the homeland: Poland "shares characteristics of the European, but also characteristics which the European would categorize as otherness" (Sabelli 11-12). This process of becoming, nevertheless, is in a fluid state; it is far from conclusion. Kapuściński is still learning "his first lesson: that the world speaks, and that it speaks in many languages, which one must always continue learning" (206). Despite Kapuściński's immersive participation in Africa, "he is inevitably alien, which makes the attempt to find a common language more urgent" (Dyer "Journeys").

Ultimately, in this reportage, travelled spaces are experienced historically and multifariously, and this allows for the emphatic, if not intimate, contact of the European self with the African other. This is how Ryszard Kapuściński articulates an anti-imperialist position in *Shadow of the Sun: My African Life*. The text sets itself apart from the travel writing pertained by Asante. Unlike in such works where the European model of civilization is juxtaposed to the countries which "lagged behind," (Elsner and Rubiés 51) in *Shadow*, Africa is spatialized in such a way that privileges its cultural, historical and developmental multiplicity without comprising the complicity its people must exact from the colonizers. With respect to this trajectory, it gives a semblance of *countertravel* writing.

This is not to say that he has revolutionized the outsider's conception of Africa. In fact, as this analysis has shown, Kapuściński still refers to Africa singularly. Notwithstanding, while "there were mistakes, misleading claims, assertions so categorical that they verged on anthropological diktats, [...] there was also much which rang true, truer than my [...] African friends will allow" (Wong qtd. in Zehle 281). Deleuze and Guattari would take

Kapuściński's empathy and genuine curiosity for the other as the foundation of a nomadic relationship which privileges multiplicity over stasis. Getting rid of all the complexities laid bare by this chapter, *Shadow of the Sun*, simply said, seeks to bring justice for the other. Suffice it to say, the marginalized (African) other can find—or better said, *recover* its voice in the travel reportage.

Schizophrenic Soviet: Ryszard Kapuściński's *Imperium*

We call Communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things.
The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence.

— Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

I cannot call this democracy—it is a repugnant, historically unprecedented hybrid.

— Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

October 1917—amidst the ruins of a Russian empire, the Bolsheviks, a revolutionary socialist Party, regaled their first triumph, the seizure of Petrograd. In 1922, having defeated their adversaries in an apocalyptic civil war, the Bolsheviks proudly announced the birth of a new super-nation, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which was the biggest and arguably most powerful country at that time (Lovell 1). This historical moment redrew a world map that would last for almost a century.

Despite the impenetrability of Soviet's iron curtain—the fence and other communication barriers that isolate the Communist state from its neighbors, visitors were still allowed, even though for a time, into the so-called utopia (see Babiracki, Lovell). Travel writers and journalists, as expected, seized the opportunity to cover the changes exacted by the new regime. The USSR's "size, diversity, history, and architecture were all noted and appreciated", but they were barely featured as more than a backdrop. These travelers visited the country in order to investigate Communism: in 1920's and '30's primarily to see how Communism worked, and during the Cold War, to see how it didn't. In the 1990's, travel writers like Kapuściński traipsed across the USSR to describe its collapse (Denslow 1114).

This thematic trend in travel literature on the USSR compels us to keep in mind the discourse of Communism even as we fasten to spatiality. Travel writers such as Dutchman Dick Walda and American socialist Angela Davis argued that Communism worked until late into the 20th century, and while other writers chose to be inconclusive, their records of failure, incompetence and violence are very telling of their stance (Denslow 1114). One of these accounts rose to fame as “the most passionate, engaging and historically profound account of the collapse of the Soviet Empire” (Ignatieff “What about”). It is aptly titled *Imperium*.

In the previous section, I explained in detail how Kapuściński’s spatialization of Africa demythologizes putative Western assumptions by privileging the continent’s multiplicity. Here, the task is to assay how the nomad imagines the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a process of decolonization. The subject exposes the paradoxical (or schizophrenic, as Deleuze and Guattari would phrase it) state of the ossified Soviet “Empire” that is socialist in name only. This exposé is achieved through Kapuściński’s nomadic travel, characterized by his border-crossings, his subterfuges, and his fixation on the experiences of common people. It articulates an anti-imperialist position by exhibiting how the colonized can undermine the colonizer’s territory through travel writing. While *Shadow of the Sun* attains this by mocking the binary between the European self and the African other, in *Imperium*, Kapuściński assumes the position of the colonized, using the self as some kind of map for travelling the Soviet Union. This is what distinguishes him from the travel writers we have noted above, who, in their accounts on the USSR, have either lamented or condemned Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and the Bolshevik’s program. Instead of denigrating or emphasizing the failure of Communism, *Imperium* weaves the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a decolonization of—no, a *liberation for* colonized European nations.

Reporting on the Fall of an Empire. Unlike in *Shadow of the Sun* where Kapuściński relates his experiences as Poland’s foreign correspondent in Africa, in *Imperium*, written and first published in 1993, the narrating subject assumes three positions: first as a travelee, when Poland was occupied and

assimilated by the USSR in the 1930's; second as a traveler, who began his cycle of visits across the super-nation in 1989; third as a political commentator, reflecting on Russia in the aftermath of Soviet's collapse. Kapuściński was not Poland's foreign correspondent in the USSR. His career as a dispatch journalist is symptomatic of his aversion to the hands of the empire. In *Imperium*, he is simply an occasional visitor.

The section "First Encounters (1939–1967)" begins with young Kapuściński's first encounter with the Red Army as representatives of the empire in the chapter "Pińsk, '39." It is followed by "The Trans-Siberian, '58," which tells of the author's first trip to Moscow. Instead of explaining *why* he is on a trip to the heart of the Soviet Union, Kapuściński dedicates the chapter to his reflections on Siberia and the particular spaces of interest that the train passed through, such as the miserable schools in Zabaykał'sk and the thick foliage of barbed-wire fences in Chita. This section ends with "The South, '67," which offers refuge from the dread of the previous chapters. There he narrated his sojourns into Transcaucasia and the nations in Central Asia, or, at the time of his travels, the southern region of the Imperium.

The second part, "From a Bird's-Eye View (1989–1991)," details Kapuściński's cycle of travels across the Imperium. Its fifteen chapters do not only describe the spaces the subject had traversed; they also collect some significant bits of history, the author's observations and sentiments, and his conversations with common folk, artists, writers, and other journalists. Nonetheless, Kapuściński avoids making a clear verdict about how Stalin and his successors fared as leaders. Instead, he relates how the common folk and artists receive the regime, such as in the chapter "Russian Mystery Play," in which a theatrical performance in Irkutsk condemns the dissolution of Russia as a nation for the expansion of an empire. Kapuściński, witnessing it all, hardly commented on the political content of the play, allowing the performers to speak for themselves (178-9).

In the chapter "Kremlin: The Magic Mountain," the traveler-subject's curiosity draws him "towards that which was most impenetrable when power

still flowed through the veins of the empire,” the Kremlin¹ in Moscow itself (Richards “Biblical Thunder”). To Kapuściński, it is not enough to hear the horrors of the empire from the Arctic death camps in Magadan and Kolyma (narrated in the chapter “Kolyma: Fog and More Fog”). He goes there because he must know it for himself. At the end of this section, which spans more than 200 pages—the majority of the text—in the Granta edition, Kapuściński returns to this hometown, which was by then already part of Belorussia.

The final section, “The Sequel Continues (1992–1993),” is, as clearly noted in the preface of *Imperium*, a “collection of reflections, observations, and notes that arose in the margins of [the subject’s] travels, conversations, and readings” (Kapuściński^a x). A reader can easily notice in this section that Kapuściński hardly refers to the USSR any more. He repeatedly calls his subject matter “Russia.” In spite of then Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s “perestroika” programme of 1985 (which reopened economic and socio-political relations with other countries), the Soviet Union collapsed after almost a hundred years of reforms, genocides and famines following a failed coup of the military elites. In those years, writes Kapuściński, Russians were “debating—what should be done” (note the play on the old Leninist question, “what is to be done?”) to address the cultural and economic damages left in the ruins of the collapse (329). Instead of attempting to synthesize his own reflections with the scattered opinions he reads or hears from the news, he enumerates whatever notes he has gathered in no apparent order and without closure. He closes *Imperium* quoting Leo Tolstoy: “Heaven only knows where we are going, and heaven knows what is happening to us” (331).

Kapuściński’s *Imperium* escorts us through the persona’s development from a boy of six, forced to learn Russian when the Soviet Union’s Red Army “travelled” to him in September 1939, “to a Sovietologist analyzing [...] the Empire’s dissolution at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s” (Moroz 177-8). The text reveals the subject’s attitude towards the Soviet “Empire” through his

1 The Citadel of Moscow, which houses the Communist Party, particularly its Central Committee (cf. Malacañang)

travel. Figure 2 & 3 below are the narrative maps of the spaces traversed by Kapuściński in the course of the reportage. The first map shows Poland (and parts of today's Belorussia) a few years after its Soviet occupation. The second map shows the Soviet Union itself, with most, if not all of its colonies. The maps feature the cities and towns (except for pins 30 and 35, which refer to the Aral Sea and Russia in general, respectively) the subject has traveled to either physically or cognitively. Some events in the narrative take place while the subject is in motion, and the longest of these is Kapuściński's train ride across Siberia (pin 2).

Kapuściński begins and ends his travels in his hometown, sandwiching the immensity of the empire within the colonized space of Poland. In *Shadow of the Sun*, he assumes the position of a European-colonizer subject to emphasize its inability to fully explore Africa. Here, as seen in the narrative map above, the colonized subject demonstrates a mastery of the vast expanding space that absorbed his motherland, an imaginative geography only possible in retrospect, of course. Narrating the *Imperium* in the after-



Fig. 2 A Map of Poland (and part of today's Belorussia) a few years after its Soviet

math of the USSR's collapse, the nomadic subject renders Soviet spatiality schizophrenic by *moving* in it, confronting “the enemy by shattering his territory from within, [...] another justice, another movement, another space-time” (Deleuze & Guattari 353). This “justice” manifests in the stacking structure of the reportage.



CONCRETE/PHYSICAL SPACES

COGNITIVE SPACES

FOCUS ON TRANSPORTATION
(TRAINS, PLANES, ETC.)

Fig. 3 A Map of the Soviet Union and its colonies

Encounters with the Schizophrenic Empire. What sets *Imperium* and *Shadow of the Sun* apart is the former's progressive narrative structure that occasions the reportage's *schizophrenic* articulation of Communism as a critique of imperialism. A much-used term, Deleuze and Guattari's schizophrenia refers to the state in which contradictory states or positions seemingly coexist in a "unified" whole, which in this study's case is the USSR as a space (Curie 106). Originally referring to an aberrant psychological condition, schizophrenia is appropriated by the two philosophers in what they call as "schizoanalysis," a psychoanalytic methodology that focuses on the production of desire (Young et. al. 271). In this study however, the concept depicts the spatiality of *Imperium*.

Such narrative progression does not mean that one can easily extricate a palpable plot from the text; as in any reportage, *Imperium* collates a handful of episodes upon which the subject can reflect or prove a point. However, in this particular text, the order of the first two sections is vital to the delivery of Kapuściński's argument that the Soviet Union is schizophrenic and thus unstable, as the first section sets up the stage for the next. The preliminary section of *Imperium*, "First Encounters (1939-1967)," centers on the construction of Kapuściński-as-subject. There, he develops unorthodox notions of (a) space and (b) the other in his experience as the colonized traveler, which later frames USSR as a schizophrenic space. As he says so himself, "man is created for the kind of space that he can traverse at one try, with a single effort" (30). "First Encounters" weaves a nomadic subjectivity that can master or, as Deleuze and Guattari phrases it, shatter the territory of the Imperium.

In the foremost chapter "Pińsk, '39," the subject frames the daily life in colonized Poland as a schizophrenic experience. Poland is positioned by the text as a colony as the Imperium conquers and controls the nation's lands and goods (Loomba 20). As historicized earlier, Poland was "saved" by the Red Army troops of the USSR from the hands of the Germans, but instead of liberation, the fatal events of August to September of 1939 ended up with the country being partitioned between Stalin and Hitler (Cohen 72). One of the areas annexed under the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics

territory is Kapuściński's hometown, Pińsk. Regardless, he experiences these phenomena unknowingly, being only six years old at that time. The *Imperium* begins with him and his family coming from his uncle's place for the holidays back to their apartment. The subject notes in retrospect that at that time, war was already being waged across the country, not by Poles, but between Germans and Russians. Nonetheless, the child that Kapuściński was recounts his first-ever encounter with the Russian other almost innocently:

After days of wandering we are near Pińsk, and in the distance we can already see the town's houses, the trees of its beautiful park, and the towers of its churches, when suddenly sailors materialize on the road right by the bridge. They have long rifles and sharp, barbed bayonets and, on their round caps, red stars. They sailed here several days ago all the way from the Black Sea, sunk our gunboats, killed our sailors, and now they don't want to let us into town. They keep us at a distance—"Don't move!" they shout, and take aim with their rifles. My mother, as well as other women and children—for they have already rounded up a group of us—is crying and begging for mercy. "Plead for mercy," the mothers, beside themselves with fear, implore us, but what more can we, the children, do—we have already been kneeling on the road, sobbing and stretching out our arms, for a long time. (4).

From the point of view of a child, this encounter is nothing less than traumatic. The narrative's field of vision first fastens on the familiar—the houses, the trees, the park—and then suddenly shifts to the traveler: the soon-to-be-colonizers of Poland. Their identity as the Red Army is not even mentioned; it is signified only by the red stars on their caps. As a child-subject, the narrator curtails his knowledge of the event. The subject, at this point a travellee, first encounters the traveler as a savage conqueror, a schizophrenic encounter where his innocent and provincial reality as a child is distorted beyond his comprehension¹. Contradictory states of innocence and experience coexist. At this point, the subject suspends the tone of retrospection, narrating the rest of chapter as a child and thus only recounting what he can comprehend when he was six years old.

A more macabre instance of Kapuściński's schizophrenic encounter with the empire is the series of disappearances in his neighborhood. "The

first in class to disappear was Paweł. Because winter was approaching, the teacher suggested that Paweł had probably caught a cold and was staying in bed. But Paweł didn't come the next day or the next week, and in time we began to understand that he would never come". The student must have been deported to Moscow with his family to work for the Imperium. Or worse, they might already be dead. The child Kapuściński must live the rest of his days studying in Pińsk watching his classmates disappear one by one. "Soon no one even asked why they didn't come or where they were. The school grew empty." One day, their teacher himself vanished, and the only thing Mr. Lubowicki, the principal, can declare is the cancellation of classes. Despite these disappearances, the schoolchildren "still played ball, hide-and-seek, stickball" after their lessons, which include the life and works of Stalin (12-3). This, to a child, is a schizophrenic phenomenon: to witness the bane of colonialism in the face of disappearing friends and neighbors, and still go to class the following day. Quotidian, provincial life and the terror of the colonized experience coincide in the space of Pińsk. Trauma—evidenced here by the disequilibrium of the child's reality—is in itself "a deterritorialization of the subject that makes social living difficult" (Lorraine^b 130). The colonial subject's schizophrenic experience is a deterritorialization of his homeland, "the displacement of identities, persons, and meanings [a] moment of alienation and exile (Kaplan 119). This schizophrenia, Deleuze and Guattari would note, is the site where the nomadic subject *reterritorializes* his displacement (381), a phenomenon that I shall explicate in a while

The succeeding chapter in "First Encounters" is "The Trans-Siberian '58," After the subject develops the notion of schizophrenia, Kapuściński proceeds by recounting how he was shuttled across Siberia in a train, which displaced his experience of space. In this chapter, the nomadic subject describes his second encounter with the Imperium through the windows of the Trans-Siberian Railway (19). The extent of the railway's route can be visualized with the narrative map provided earlier. Its whisks through the townships and districts of Zabaykal'sk, Chita, Ulan-Ude, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Chelyabinsk, Kazan until Moscow. Instead of featuring each space individually, the narrative refers to them connectively, as "Chita—Ulan-Ude"

and “Kazan—Moscow,” resembling the progression of the train. These pairs of spatial units are compressed in my narrative map as pin 2, as this chapter is the first of the many instances in the *Imperium* which almost completely fastens on the act of travel itself, on *movement* in the most literal sense.

“Everywhere, red banners joyfully welcome us to the Soviet Union,” the Polish traveler remarks, and below those gaudy banners are the “inspectors, men and women, without exception fierce looking, severe, almost as though they were bearing some sort of grudge” (23). This dismal chapter does not at all labor to explain the rationale behind Kapuściński’s journey to Moscow or the circumstances that allowed him to go to a heavily guarded space. The economy of this portion of the text is dedicated on describing how the experience of the Soviet Union displaces spatiality itself.

Kapuściński sums up his trans-Siberian adventure in one remark: “what can one see of the so-called reality of the country? Nothing, really” (33). This comment intends not so much to belittle the landscape of Siberia as to describe the displaced reality the subject experiences. In between Omsk and Chelyabinsk, he mentions that there must be a handful of sights that can attract his attention. However, he writes as if “all around [him] is emptiness; all around [him] is scorched earth; all around [him] is a wall. It is no mystery why,” he says, because he is a *foreigner* (32).

At that point in the narrative, he is no longer the travelee; he is the *other-traveler*. “A foreigner gives rise to mixed emotions. He gives rise to curiosity (one must quash this one!), to envy (a foreigner always has it better; it suffices to see that he is well dressed), but above all to *fear*” (33, emphasis mine). In the preceding chapter, he learns the same phobia in school after the Soviet occupation: “an enemy is a terrifying figure” (12). The relationship previously established (that the Red Army “travelers” strikes fear in Polish “travelees”) is reversed: even when Kapuściński acts as the traveler—whose mobility is a show of agency (Kuehn & Smethurst 7), Siberia, the colonizer’s territory, continues to pose a threat. The USSR is a system that depends on isolation, and the presence of the other undermines this principle; “contact with a foreigner Stalin would condemn a person to five, ten, years in the camps” (33-4). That is why the “wandering of the deportee is not only a

displacement in space and in time,” the subject explains as he details the life of another Pole, General Kopeć. “It is accompanied by a process of dehumanization: the one who reaches the end (if he doesn’t die along the way) has already been stripped of everything that is human” (28-29).

Kapuściński ascribes to himself the spatial displacement the deportees of the preceding chapter (such as his teacher and friends) experienced. Adverse to the multiple axes of movement (note the 9 pins on the narrative map), the subject can only imagine Siberia as a state of schizophrenic displacement; movement coincides with stasis: “man lives [in the Soviet Union] in something like a state of collapse, of numbness, of internal paralysis.” Collapse (a dynamic movement) concur with paralysis. Take note of the pair collapse-paralysis; this reappears later in the text as the depiction of the empire.

These occasions of the nomadic subject’s schizophrenic condition—the unstable position of a colonized-child (in “Pińsk, ’39”) and the spatial displacement of the deportee (in “The Trans-Siberian ’58”)—are set to frame the subject in the textual construction of his travels. Before moving on, there is one more notion internalized into the subject: an optimistic perception of the *other*. In the last two chapters, the other, incarnated as the foreign or the traveler, is identified (even taught in school) as a terrifying presence, “outside all possibilities of naming and comprehension, who marks a limit of cognition and representation as the *foreign*” (Deleuze qtd. in Bruns 705). We see the incomprehensible other in “Pińsk, ’39” as the unnamed invaders (whom we recognize as the Red Army) and in “The Trans-Siberian ’58” as *the subject himself*. The Russians on the train avoid even looking at the other, as they are at risk of execution should they engage in “foreign travel or acquaintance with foreigners [...] or the patronage of those exposed as ‘enemies of the people’” (Lovell 39-40).

In the final chapter of “First Encounters,” “The South, ’67,” a contrasting appreciation of the other is illustrated. Here, Kapuściński purports to see “how the tremors of a historical earthquake [the Soviet Union itself] are felt thousands of miles from the epicentre” [*sic*] (Ignatieff “What about”). Nine years after his ride on the Trans-Siberian Railway (again, he acknowledges the train ride but not what he did in Moscow), the traveler-subject embarks

on a third encounter with the Soviet Union. While in its first encounter, the colonizer travels to the colonized, and in the second, the colonized travels through the colonizer's territory, in "The South," Kapuściński encounters the other colonized nations under the USSR, namely the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan (pins 3-9).

What is interesting in "The South" is the shift in tone and mood supplementing the narrative. In contrast to Soviet violence emphasized earlier in the reportage, this chapter boasts of the wealth of culture, knowledge and history the southern Soviet Republics have to offer. Whereas a few pages ago, Kapuściński speaks of the sheer emptiness and the massive blank walls of Russia, (33) here, he "saw the city. It is nothing strange to see a city, even country people are accustomed to the sight today, but I saw a city on the open sea, on a stormy, turbulent, vast sea" (59-60). He describes the socio-economic center of Azerbaijan, noting the Muslims and Russians coexisting in the area, in its multiplicity. The ever-changing, nomadic relations of the multiethnic occupants resemble the sea, the archetype of smooth space (Deleuze & Guattari 480).

He even derogates the romantic belief that Paris is the center of the world, comparing it to equally multifarious spaces in Transcaucasia (31). "Paris is the center of the world, the point of reference. How does one measure the sense of distance, remoteness? To be far from what, from what place? Where is that point on our planet from which people, as they move farther from it, would have the impression that they are closer and closer to the end of the world?" Kapuściński sallies almost angrily, blaming Europe and its imperial project (which we shall read more later in the text) for proffering the centrality of a single city. The subject's preference for the under-represented is quite pronounced. Kapuściński later refrains his newfound appreciation of the other:

What was most surprising in this third encounter with the Imperium? In my imagination, the USSR constituted a uniform, monolithic creation in which everything was equally gray and gloomy, monotonous, and clichéd.

Nothing here could transcend the obligatory norm, distinguish itself, take on an individual character. (37)

The first two chapters in “First Encounters” highlight the Soviet Empire’s striation, the state’s monopoly of control over space. In “The South,” we get to see the first semblance of multiplicity in the Soviet through the “colonies” of the Imperium, described to be transcendent, taking on their own individual character. What these trips to Transcaucasia etch into the subject is the soul of the nomad, a character wedded to the very concept of multiplicity, which is “acentered” (manifested by the above derision of Paris) and “can be explored only by legwork” (Deleuze & Guattari 371). The latter attribute is accomplished through Kapuściński’s immersion in Transcaucasian life, as demanded by the reportage mode (Kuprel 383).

Reading about his youth and preliminary encounters with the power that captured his father and deported his neighbors, depicted is the process by which Kapuscink’s nomadic subjectivity is constructed, how he lived through a schizophrenic life and how he earned an eye for the multiplicity of the other.

The Smoothness of Communism. The nomadic subject employs the above notions, especially schizophrenia, in “From a Bird’s-Eye View (1989-1991)” to contextualize his travels, reflections, and attitudes towards Soviet Communism and imperial expansion. *Imperium* becomes a textual space that allow for the representation of a colonized subject. Having established Kapuściński’s colonized status, to be investigated now is how a colonized Polish subjectivity conceives the territory of the colonizer.

Deleuze and Guattari, in their reference to Communism quotes Marx and Engels for a definition: “Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality [will] have to adjust. We call [it] the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence” (Marx & Engels 56-7). This mode of production, which pervades Kapuściński’s construction of space, is the stage set by the revolutionary clash between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (the Bolshevik revolution in the case of the

USSR), where the former abolishes the authority of the latter. Positioning this definition in nomadic terms, the Communist perspective, which necessarily includes socialism as its transition period, is a process of continual engagement with the flows and constraints of the current order of society towards overcoming it (Thoburn 3). In other words, Communist space is structured as a *smooth* space, the locus of *newness*, of reversals and multiplicity (Tally Jr.^b).

Despite the foreboding images depicted in “The Trans-Siberian, ’58,” the nomadic subject *appears* to perceive Communist Russia as the smooth space insisted by Deleuze and Guattari above, in the same way as he constructs the spatiality of the southern Soviet Republics in “The South.” In “From a Bird’s-Eye View (1989-1991),” Kapuściński once again conceals from us the circumstances that stage his cycle of travels to the Imperium, beginning the section by only saying that the journey was a great revelation for him (83). He does mention, however, that “[his] contacts with this power, although sporadic and individually brief, already had their long history,” referring to the three disparate instances told in “First Encounters.”

Earlier, Siberia is ascribed to emptiness. Later in the chapter “Pomona from the Little town of Drohobych,” Siberia is re-described as the “the largest prison on earth,” because “the czar deported hundreds of thousands of his subjects here; here the Bolsheviks imprisoned millions of innocent people.” Regardless of this dismal picture, Claudia Mironova, a deportee the subject encounters, considers Siberia to be “a place of sanctuary, an island of liberty. The immeasurable distances, the enormous taiga, and the lack of roads facilitated isolation, provided refuge, enabled one to vanish from view” (268). The whiteness of Siberia occasions protection for the refugee—in this case, one of its impoverished citizens—from the striation of the Bolsheviks. Community of dissenters survived in the desolate area, Claudia continues. In a way, these communities are themselves nomadic as they array themselves in an open space, holding and maintaining its possibilities. Their movement is not “from one point to another, but becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival” (353). Their immobility eludes the

violent measures of the Kremlin against its enemies. In meeting these refugees, the nomad renders a part of the USSR in its multiplicity.

Another example is when Kapuściński wanders around Vorkuta at night, “not knowing where [he] was or what to do next.” He is able to select one of the mountains to consider as destination, but “the mountain would vanish. It was the continuing gale, that pernicious polar purge, that moved the mountains of snow from one place to another, changed their location, their composition, changed the entire landscape” (151). This parallels the mobile desert landscapes in *Shadow of the Sun*, which mutate whenever the weather whips the sand. What saves him from the storm is the stars. He encounters a woman out of the blue, who shouted to him, “You are walking in the wrong direction, man [...] you should be walking...that way,” indicating with her hand one of the millions of stars that compose the Milky Way (151-2). The stars embody a new way of mapping the Arctic’s hostile space. In these situations, Kapuściński first comes across unwelcome spatial conditions (the barrenness and isolation of Siberia and the hostile weather of the Arctic region) and to overcome them, he learns new ways of conceiving space, of looking at them in various aspects. The nomad constructs the smooth spaces promised by the “Communist” Soviet Union.

Besides looking at the stars or finding the silver lining of exile, the subject calls attention to places charged with history to depict them as smooth spaces. In the chapter “Central Asia—the Destruction of the Sea,” (another favorite of mine, because of its concern for the environment) Kapuściński contemplates how bodies of water can be the loci of memory:

Water the prerequisite for life, especially valuable in the tropics, in the desert, because there is so little of it. If I have sufficient water for only one field, I cannot cultivate two fields; if I have water for one tree, I cannot plant two trees. Every cup of water is drunk at the expense of a plant—the plant will dry out because I drank the water it needed to live. An unceasing battle for survival takes place here between people, plants, and animals, a battle for a drop of water, without which there is no existence. (256-257)

The desiccating Aral Sea is conceived as an occasion of human life, and thus human history. The chain of ecological necessity stemming from water establishes its significance in the creation of the world's first civilizations. Knowledge of these implications is important, the subject adds. He then proceeds to describing how the water collectivization program of Khrushchev and later Brezhnev destroyed a whole sea.

In the above instances, Kapuściński maps a number of spaces beyond their physical features or functionalities. Even though sedentary space “is striated, by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures” (as we shall see in the discussion of borders), Moscow, and the Aral Sea, among other examples, are marked by “‘traits’ that are effaced and displaced with the trajectory” of the subject and the other personalities involved in changing space, such as Grekov, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev (Deleuze & Guattari 381). Employing the notion of multiplicity imbibed by the subject in “The South,” the subject expresses the smooth spatialization of the Soviet Empire.

The Empire of Schizophrenia. Given the Soviet “Union’s” measures to striate space (striation is an understatement to the cruelty of the NKVD), readers of *Imperium* cannot blame Kapuściński from questioning the validity of the USSR’s socialism and Communism. In this decayed condition, he asks, “which will prevail within us, determine our relation to life, to reality? The civilization, the tradition in which we grew up, or the faith, the ideology that we possess and profess?” (213). In this inquiry, he juxtaposes reality, referring to the treacherous conditions inflicted by the imperial Soviet, and “the ideology that we possess,” referring to Communism. This self-reflexive interrogation is necessitated by Kapuściński’s travel to the USSR as a *schizophrenic* space, a model the subject constructs in the text by emphasizing both homogeneity and paralysis (markers of striated space), and multiplicity (the marker of smooth space). The striated space of the empire and the smooth space of the Communist utopia make up the two opposing conditions of the Soviet Union’s spatial schizophrenia.

The boon and freedom promised by Communism (in theory) is occasionally contrasted to the striating tendencies of imperial expansion, which the subject finds culpable of famine and other manmade calamities across

the region. Novgorod seems to embody the smooth spatiality promised by Communism's continuous engagement: "Novgorod was a democratic city, open to the world, maintaining contacts with all of Europe. Moscow [the Kremlin] was expansionist, permeated with Mongol influences, hostile toward Europe, already slowly entering the dark epoch of Ivan the Terrible. Therefore, if Russia had gone the way of Novgorod," it might have become different (298). Russia, led by Moscow, is unequivocally represented as an *empire*. Empires can be understood "to be an age-old form of government between the subjects and the objects of political power, involving two or more national entities and territorial units," the metropole and its colonies," in an unequal political relationship" (Cohen 1). This is Russia expanding to Transcaucasia, and even Poland, Kapuściński's homeland. The nomadic subject laments that the energy of the expansive Russian nation is used to carry out the will of the ruling elite, from the earliest tsar to Gorbachev (87).

Even though Kapuściński's Soviet Union is a schizophrenic space, it is only in the text that smooth spatiality is constructed. The subject as a nomadic traveler, armed with the optimistic notion of the other developed in "The South," looks for Communism in the USSR, evidenced by how he assigns multiplicity to spaces. The material "reality" that the text asserts is mapped otherwise. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is an expanding empire, with Moscow/The Kremlin as the metropole, and the other nations, homogenized and paralyzed, as its colonies. The subject's schizophrenic childhood and displaced notion of spatiality, developed in the section "First Encounters," function as Kapuściński's maps in traversing the Soviet Union. Even the humblest factory worker "will realize that he derives no benefits from this gigantic and ever-so harmful chemical production, for the Imperium pays nothing to its internal colonies" (168).

Russian space, therefore, cannot be divested of its imperial politics. Siberia, for example, "in its sinister, cruel form, is a freezing, icy space [...] plus dictatorship" (26). Man must not only battle the cold and hunger in Siberia; one must also defend against the armed forces of the state. This space holds up a "boundlessness that crushes you and leaves you wanting air,"

(36) not only because of its dismal climes, but also due to the NKVD officers who pursue any suspicious passerby in sight.

How does this “empire” expand its territories? Through homogenization and paralysis, the Imperium is able to perpetuate its expansion:

A civilization that does not ask questions, one that banishes from within its compass the entire world of anxiety, criticism, and exploration—the world that expresses itself precisely through questions—is a civilization standing in place, paralyzed, immobile. And that is what the people in the Kremlin were after, because it is easiest to reign over a motionless and mute world. (146)

The Soviet Union renders the nations lining its borders mute, and a mute world is a space too easy to conquer and striate. Sarcastically, the text’s subject remarks that the world used to be “roomier” before expansionism (56). Colonialism, in the Roman era, even meant the building of roads and temples, when now, in the collusion between capitalism and imperialism, expansion means draining other nation’s resources and labor (118).

Articulating the complexity of Kapuściński’s Soviet Empire in Deleuze and Guattari’s terms, the USSR’s schizophrenic spatiality is where striation takes place in smooth spaces and vice-versa. “And no sooner have we done that than we must remind ourselves that [smooth and striated] spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space” (Deleuze & Guattari 474). Smooth and striated space do not only coexist, but they alternately spring out from each other, such as in *Imperium*, where at one point, space is described to be under the striation of the state (like the emptiness and barrenness of Siberia explained earlier), and later, this striated location becomes the smooth space of nomadic movement (such as the refugees surviving in Siberia).

To Kapuściński, Russia—the metropole of the Soviet Empire, lends itself to this schizophrenic condition. He echoes a Ukrainian in saying that that which dwells in Russians is the “spirit of expansion and domination”

(282). The subject meditates in the section “The Sequel Continues (1992-1993)” that

The Russian land, its characteristics and resources, favor the power of the state. The soil of native Russia is poor, the climate cold, the day, for the greater part of the year, short. Under such natural conditions, the earth yields meager harvests, there is recurrent famine, the peasant is poor, too poor to become independent. The master or the state has always had enormous power over him. The peasant, drowning in debts, has nothing to eat, is a slave.

Simultaneously, it is a land rich in natural resources—in oil, in gas, in iron ore. But these are natural resources whose exploitation and profits are easy to monopolize, particularly by a strong bureaucratic-authoritarian state. In this way both the soil’s poverty and its riches undermine the people and bolster the regime. It is one of the great paradoxes of Russia. (330)

Russia boasts of a spatio-temporal expanse; it spans various climates and time zones. Thus, it harbors a multifarious distribution of flora, fauna and natural resources, some of which—oil, gas and ore in particular—attract the attention of capitalists for the profit such resources might provide. The subject implies that the Communist state fails its anti-imperial promises due to the sway of the riches of Russia. As such, “we shape our landscape, and it, in turn, molds” us (Kapuściński^b 5). Politics cannot be removed from spatiality because the land shapes its people. Its soil, resources and the Communist state are “one of the great paradoxes of Russia” (“Kapuściński^a 5”).

Impero-Communism. The schizophrenic condition of space, being imperial in nature, is articulated through Communism. The Kremlin governs an empire it calls Communist. Because of this, many writers and ideologues deem that “Communism [...] wrought the greatest destruction upon people’s consciousness” (140). Note that Kapuściński ascribes “the greatest destruction” not to any physical space, like the lands conquered or destroyed by the Soviets, but to the consciousness of the super-nation’s citizens. “Bolshevik ideology favored the creation of a global communist state as the programme-maximum [*sic*]” (Cohen 152). This lofty dream ends with a scarcity of pantaloons (Kapuściński^a 187). The perpetuation of this

ideology coerces the colonized to be “voluntary victims” of Communism, allowing themselves to participate in society’s web of problems (110). Some people however, resist the label, knowing its polemic implementation in Russia. Recalling a conversation with an unnamed female photographer in Petersburg, he relates that “they made [her] hands like a man’s, they made [her] a Stalinist, but they never made [her] a Communist!” (300)

This spatialization of a striated imperial nation that still harbors a semblance of freedom and multiplicity, although paradoxical, is rendered possible with Kapuściński framing his cycle of travels across the Imperium with the notions of schizophrenic experience, displaced space, and a lack of fear for the other.

Nowhere to Go but...Collapse. Since the schizophrenic spatiality cannot be reformed, the subject reveals to us the upshot of a state chockfull of contradictions: a widespread collapse. Over a few decades, the post-war economic decline of the USSR has been alleviated by “enterprise directors would establish more elaborate reciprocal relationships with shops, farms, and warehouses” to address the conditions of the shortage economy for their workers (Lovell 69). Later on, Leonid Brezhnev’s Communist regime lurches to a more successful standardization of living across classes. He is replaced by Yuri Andropov, who led the revitalization of the Imperium for only a year, being replaced by Konstantin Chernenko (who shot Andropov to death). Following him is Gorbachev with his more liberal (and thus too removed from Communist practices) programs. However, “the collapse of Soviet institutions in Moscow after the failed communist coup of 19–21 August 1991 removed all [of these] equivocations: three days later the Ukrainian parliament voted for independence (115). 1991 saw the fall of the world’s largest empire at that time, after a decades-long balancing act of economy and social welfare (which they apparently failed).

The above is not how *Imperium’s* nomadic subject witnessed the fall of the empire². Kapuściński depicts its collapse as a “disintegration,” another

2 For the specific details and statistics on the collapse of the Soviet Empire (which is not much of a concern in this thesis), refer to Steven Lovell and Ariel Cohen’s

schizophrenic phenomenon. To him, in the ungraspable boundlessness, the “formlessness” of Russia, “everything falls apart” (35). The text makes it to a point that, despite the association of the USSR with expansion and boundlessness, there stand many borders (including the very concept of which, besides the concrete border) that delineate its territory.

For a traveler like Kapuściński, crossing borders heighten tension, as it marks the threshold of the self; past the border of your home(land), you are the other (19). Entering the USSR, the subject believes that the miles of barbed wire fencing in the Trans-Siberian Railway offers a caveat: “Be careful, you are crossing the border into a different world” (22-3). Crossing borders do not only mutate the traveler’s subject position (from the familiar self to the foreign other); they are also hazardous. Under the USSR’s impero-Communism, borders “were always taboo, a murky topic...simply a magical affair,” (Babiracki 8) because borders, a measure for striating space, complicate the liberties of Communism. Even the nomadic subject is continually “barred, inhibited, or banned by the demands and conditions of [the] state” (Deleuze & Guattari 362). Hence, Kapuściński resorts to a sporadic cycle of travel, treating the many Soviet Republics as relays, instead of staying within the Imperium’s borders for a time.

Kapuściński seems to assert that the USSR fell due to its incapability to cope with the expanse (or “boundlessness”) of imperial territory. Inflecting a Russian named Bierdayev, Kapuściński explains that,

To rule over such boundless expanses, one had to create a boundless state. And behold, the Russian fell into a contradiction—to maintain the great expanses, the Russian must maintain a great state; on the maintenance of this great state he expends his energy, of which not enough remains for anything else—for organization, for husbandry, and so on. He expends his energy on a state that then entralls and oppresses him. (35)

works. The publication details of their historiographies are available in the “Works Cited” section of this study.

The topographical “boundlessness” of Russia necessitates the existence of a powerful state, and the flipside of this structure is that all the efforts of the Russian citizenry must be expended on maintaining a boundless state to match a boundless expanse. The contradiction here is that, to execute this mode, the state also expands its territories, making it more difficult to sustain the cohesion and stability of the empire. In contrast to what historians would assert, Kapuściński argues that the disintegration of the USSR is based on the interplay between politics and spatiality. This collapse does not only manifest economically; it reaches the depths of cultural life, because it entails a schizophrenic destabilization of (national) identity. Social interactions in an empire so homogenized must depend on the determination of nationality (Kapuściński³ 134).

Similarly, to defend your geographical borders i.e. territory, a nation must first establish cultural borders and instigate the cohesion of national identity (246). “Now, after the fall of this state, such people are searching for a new identity,” and Kapuściński blames the Russification (as said earlier, a form of striation) of the Soviet Empire, which forced even non-Russians into being *Homo Sovieticus*. Those whose identities have been left unfazed must experience, rather than displacement, a trauma: a collective guilt, for Russians, and a “hell [...] inscribed in the consciousness” of non-Russians (137-9, 144). Deleuzian scholar Tamsin Lorraine explains that the destabilization of “designated identities can precipitate disorientation when one encounters difficulties in not being able to take up the subject positions available [...] as well as the hostile responses of others” (135). Russians, at the collapse of the empire that drained their energies, must struggle to recover their identities, but this is to no avail because through Russification, no subject positions are left available. Are the actors onstage in Irkutsk at fault in crying “Russia for Russians”?

With the nomadic subject however, this collapse of the empire is an avenue to represent the colonized-Polish-self, “as the nomad reterritorializes on deterritorialization itself” (Deleuze & Guattari 381). The problem of his colonized past is “satisfied by a self-induced uprooting, by homelessness, displacement, and exile” (Oakes 36) into the territory of the colonizer at

the time of its collapse. Crossing the border to Soviet territory is not a lack of identity but rather a shifting identity “for both landscape and traveler” (Musgrove 39). In *Imperium*, Kapuściński has not only brought the collapse of the empire to a Polish audience, who were under the power of such a super-nation, but he also transforms its landscape by revealing its schizophrenic model of spatiality. Within its striated space is multiplicity, and the subject is able to show this to readers by nomadically travelling across the Soviet Empire. While in *Shadow of the Sun*, subjectivity and spatiality are constructed to be engaged in a parallel state of becoming, in *Imperium*, it is the subject that more primarily molds space, searching in the striated landscape the remnants of the Communist promise.

Shattering the Territory. For the nomadic traveler, “even the elements of his dwelling are conceived in terms of the trajectory that is forever mobilizing them” (Deleuze & Guattari 380). To put it simply, the spatiality of his colonized homeland is informed by the space of the colonizer. Through a reportage mode (exemplifying immersion, participation, among other aspects), the nomadic subject equates the fall of the Imperium as a decolonization of non-Russian Soviet nations. By entering Soviet territory and reporting about his travels, Kapuściński reterritorializes the colonized Poland.

For the *Imperium*, its internal colonies “exist for only one reason—to ensure the durability and development of the Imperium [...] And even if it should disintegrate, their task will be to set it back on its feet as soon as possible” (161). As a rejoinder to how the Soviet Empire treats its sovereign, Kapuściński represents the latter through the Polish literary reportage mode. Writers of the reportage would utilize foreign subject matter to write about the situation at home; conversely, the Polish audience would “read” the reportage about some distant land in relation to its own situation (Kuprel 385). The reportage is directly about the bane of Poland, its exploitative metropole. What Kapuściński does is to talk about the home situation in only two chapters, in “Pińsk, ’39” and in “Return to my Hometown,” which bookend his travels across the Soviet Union. The subject’s Poland’s subtends the expanse of the USSR. The literary reportage, naturally written

in the vernacular, targets as audience those from the homeland. In the case of *Imperium*, the nomad's presence in the dissolving empire "was an act of defiance against the slow pace of change at home" (278). Through the narrative's continuous immersion in the empire's colonies (another necessity of the reportage mode), readers get to see the political situation of Poland in other Soviet states. Lorraine explains this phenomenon as a moving beyond any current self-representation project to explore the "gift-giving power of will" as it actualizes separate but related experiences, such as that of a Ukrainian, a Turk, or a Polish, who, although homogenized and paralyzed by the state, still possess a degree of similarity and difference from each other (131). Whereas much of postcolonial theory draws from the clash between West and East, "Kapuściński insists that the world behind the Iron Curtain too shared a history of colonization, expanding our sense of [...] 'post-colony'" (278).

The text itself is the actualization of this objective. The emancipatory self-representation does not only mean the entry of the self into the colonizer's discourse and spatiality of empire; it also means introducing to readers unanticipated forms of lived experience. The nomadic subject himself attests to this theory of subjectivity: "I look at my earlier life as on an island receding in the distance. The frantic acceleration and mutability of history, which are the essence of the times we live in, dictate that many of us are inhabited by several personas, practically indifferent to one another, even mutually contradictory" (283). In *Imperium*, the nomad walks the paths of all that are decolonized in the disintegration of their colonizer.

Ultimately, Kapuściński's travel reportage forms a semblance of countertravel writing through schizophrenia. To Deleuze and Guattari, schizophrenia spells a "revolutionary" state of affairs (Bonta & Protevi 271). While their statement is elusive, *Imperium* indirectly testifies to it. By spatializing schizophrenia, the text refutes the charge that all travel writing peddles the acceptability of the empire (Lisle 278). Surprisingly, Kapuściński attains this by reversing the expectations of some travel writing critics discussed earlier. Instead of resisting the discourse of borders, (Edwards & Grauland 3) the text directly tackles and mocks the excessive bordering of the empire. Moreover,

rather than rejecting the centrality of the imperial metropolis, (2) the subject finds it imperative to travel to the heart of the empire and dismantle it from there. The travel writer is indeed “more socially conscious of the ruin left by colonialism” (López Ropero 52).

The Nomadic Subject

Travels to the imperial centers, as these reportages have just proven, can be purposeful. After all, the texts, with their argument against imperial domination, targets the readers back at home, showing them how a Pole can confront the pace of the decolonization projects of the 20th century. All things considered, *Shadow of the Sun* and *Imperium* can be read as profound, eloquent registers of a colonized subject’s encounters with their horrible, imperial colonizer.

Through a nomadic subjectivity and spatiality, the two reportages exhibit a journalistic exposure without assumption, an “opening of the self to the other” in “a relation wholly different from the occupation of a site, a building, or a settling [of] oneself” (Levinas qtd. in Zehle 283). As such, the nomadic subject always moves, treating each space as a relay. In a sense, these texts, by articulating this anti-imperialist position, converse with the institution that produced and promoted their predecessors. They feature what Lisle calls a *meta-conversation*, an interrogation of the literary history of travel writing here achieved through the spatialization of the author’s empathy for the figure most marginalized in the genre: the other. *Shadow of the Sun* and *Imperium* to put it simply, demonstrate how a Deluzoguattarian nomad would map and, possibly, emancipate its world.

Notes

1. “Schizophrenia,” as I use hereon to describe a human being, refers to the Deluzoguattarian positionality as well, not the clinical-psychological condition.
2. Although Deleuze and Guattari by no means *identify themselves* as Marxists, their analyses, which are highly critical of capitalism, heavily rely on traditional Marxist categories. Considering this, many scholars acknowledge their contribution to Marxist philosophy (Best & Kellner 77-78).
3. *Africa Bibliography* is a guide to works in African studies published under the International African Institute since 1984.
4. As mentioned in the earlier sections of this study, I shall treat the travel text as an explicit, written form of an imaginative geography, Edward Said’s term for the cultural figuration of foreign places.
5. Kapuściński details his experiences in Ghana as an eyewitness reporter in *Another Day of Life*. Unlike the *Shadow of the Sun* which spotlights the author’s travels in post-war Africa, *Another Day* juxtaposes the author’s unwelcome stay in the country with the violent contours of war. The memoir features stasis rather than movement.
6. This study shall use the distinctions established by Potter Abbot in his study of narrative. *Narrative discourse* shall refer to the order in which events are recounted. *Story* and *event* both refer to the action being represented in the text (19).

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