AMANDA GILROY
MARIETTA MESSMER
Editors

America: Justice, Conflict, War

European Views of the United States Volume 8

Universitätsverlag
WINTER
Heidelberg

EUROPEAN VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Edited on Behalf
of the European Association
for American Studies
by HANS-JÜRGEN GRABBE

Volume 8

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Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über *http://dnb.d-nb.de* abrufbar.

COVER ILLUSTRATION

Military aircraft fly over the Statue of Liberty, New York,
General Photographic Agency, Jan. 1, 1935
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European Association for American Studies
c/o Stiftung Leucorea
Collegienstraße 62
06886 Lutherstadt Wittenberg
Germany
www.eaas.eu

ISBN 978-3-8253-6535-6

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© 2016 Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH Heidelberg
Imprimé en Allemagne · Printed in Germany
Druck: Memminger MedienCentrum, 87700 Memmingen

Gedruckt auf umweltfreundlichem, chlorfrei gebleichtem
und alterungsbeständigem Papier

Den Verlag erreichen Sie im Internet unter:
www.winter-verlag.de

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PHILIP JOHN DAVIES

Preface

There could hardly be a more auspicious location for the 60th anniversary conference of the European Association for American Studies to be held than The Hague. The Netherlands Association for American Studies hosted colleagues from the twenty-two associations and thirty-five nations that make up the EAAS, along with other international visitors, in the nation from which Puritans began their voyage to America, and in a town that is a home to international justice and conciliation.

War, Conflict and Justice provide a tense template for the intellectual exploration of North America. That land was for decades in part a cockpit in which European conflicts were evident. French, Spanish, Dutch and British colonial adventures were played out, with scant concern for the rights of indigenous peoples, and complicated by the growing movement among the continental settlers for self-determination.

Social and cultural conflict formed a context for American settlement even before the migrants arrived on the continent. When William Brewster and his Puritan followers arrived in Holland, over 400 years ago, they were moving away from the conflicts they faced in seventeenth-century England. When they later sailed away to establish the Plymouth colony, they were in search of a system of justice more compatible with their own religious beliefs. The virtues of justice thus defined turn out to be debatable. Nathaniel Hawthorne, for example, in the opening 'Custom House' section of *The Scarlet Letter*, exposes the role of his own forebears in the scourging of Quaker Ann Hutchinson, and in the judgments of the Salem witch trials. Cultural conflicts, border wars and competing definitions of justice played a continuing part in North American growth and development.

The country was founded with a War of Independence, each side convinced that they were the loyalists. General George Washington, America's greatest colonial military leader, was inaugurated as the nation's first chief executive under the new US Constitution. As President Washington, the man who led his fellow citizens through a war of independence was destined also to become one of America's greatest domestic leaders. At the same time, and as the result of fierce internal debate in the new nation, the country began its constitutional journey with a firm awareness of the Magna Carta principle that no person should be

above the law, and a newly negotiated Bill of Rights that has ever since been the touchstone for American justice.

This fine foundation notwithstanding, the United States has not followed a simple or straightforward route through war, past conflict, and into justice. The nation has been involved in war on many fronts and conflict both internationally and domestically in many forms. Debates over causes, consequences and outcomes related to these lie at the core of many of the questions that engage both the intellect of the American Studies community as well as defining the political and social agenda of the nation.

The goals of trying to define and codify justice have been ever present in the nation's history, even as the landscape within which these definitions were formulated was shifting. For example rights that were universal for men, or at least for white, property-holding men, became more widespread as barriers related to gender, age, color, ethnicity, race were eroded. The right to representation in court is one such element of the political landscape where an apparently universal right is intersected and made complex by differences in impact that can be related to social and demographic categorizations. William Leahy's concluding chapter in this superb multidisciplinary collection from the 2014 EAAS conference goes beyond the usual spectrum of academic analysis to propose American and international commitment to increasingly just processes for those who find themselves inside the criminal justice system.

The editors of this volume, and the conveners of the conference from which it flows, have at all stages represented superbly the best traditions of American Studies in Europe—bringing together an international and multidisciplinary community to explore together some of the great and compelling issues that have confronted North America at all points in its history and will continue to do so into the future. It is my pleasure that occupying the office of President of the European Association for American Studies provides me with the opportunity to work alongside these talented and committed colleagues.

Philip John Davies
President of the EAAS
September, 2015

A List of Publications under the Auspices of the European Association for American Studies

EAAS Publications in the Series *European Views of the United States,* Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, General Editor, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2008–

Gross, Andrew S. *The Pound Reaction: Liberalism and Lyricism in Midcentury American Literature*, vol. 7, 2015 (Rob Kroes Publication Award 2013).

The Health of the Nation, eds. Meldan Tanr□sal and Tanfer Emin Tunç, vol 6, 2014 (Izmir Conference 2012).

Mehring, Frank. *The Democratic Gap: Transcultural Confrontations of German Immigrants and the Promiseof American Democracy,* vol. 5, 2014 (Rob Kroes Publication Award 2011).

Forever Young? The Changing Images of the United State, eds. Philip Coleman and Stephen Matterson, vol. 4, 2012 (Dublin Conference 2010).

E Pluribus Unum or E Pluribus Plura? Unity and Diversity in American Culture, eds. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, David Mauk, and Ole Moen, vol. 3, 2011 (Oslo Conference 2008).

Franke, Astrid. *Pursue the Illusion: Ceremonies and Spectacles: Problems of Public Poetry in America*, vol. 2, 2010 (Rob Kroes Publication Award 2009).

Conformism, Non-Conformism, and Anti-Conformism in the Culture of the United States, eds. Antonis Balasopoulos, Gesa Mackenthun, and TheodoraTsimpouki, vol. 1, 2008 (Nicosia Conference 2006).

EAAS Publications in the Series *European Contributions to American Studies,* Rob Kroes, General Editor, Amsterdam: Amerika Instituut, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1980–1988; VU University Press, 1990–2006.

America in the Course of Human Events, eds. Josef Jařab, Marcel Arbeit, and Jenel Virden, vol. 63, 2006 (Prague Conference 2004).

The Cultural Shuttle: The United States of/in Europe, eds. Véronique Béghain and Marc Chénetier, vol. 57, 2004 (Bordeaux Conference 2002).

"Nature's Nation" Revisited: American Concepts of Nature from Wonder to Ecological Crisis, eds. Hans Bak and Walter W. Hölbling, vol. 49, 2003 (Graz Conference 2000).

Ceremonies and Spectacles: Performing American Culture, eds. Teresa Alves, Teresa Cid, and Heinz Ickstadt, vol. 44, 2000 (Lisbon Conference 1998).

Living with America, 1946–1996, eds. Cristina Giorcelli and Rob Kroes, vol. 38, 1997 (Warsaw Conference 1996).

The Insular Dream: Obsession and Resistance, ed. Kristiaan Versluys, vol. 35, 1995 (Luxembourg Conference 1994).

The American Columbiad: "Discovering" America, Inventing the United States, eds. Mario Materassi and Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos, vol. 34, 1996 (Seville Conference 1992).

Victorianism in the United States: Its Era and Its Legacy, eds. Steve Ickringill and Stephen Mills, vol. 24, 1992 (London Conference 1990).

In the European Grain: American Studies from Central and Eastern Europe, ed. Orm Øverland, vol. 19, 1990 (EAAS Translation Project).[*]

Looking Inward, Looking Outward: From the 1930s through the 1940s, ed. Steve Ickringill, vol. 18, 1990 (Berlin Conference 1988).

The Early Republic: The Making of a Nation—The Making of a Culture, eds. Steve Ickringill, Zoltan Abadi-Nagy, and Aladár Sarbu, vol. 14, 1988 (Budapest Conference 1986).

Social Change and New Modes of Expression: The United States, 1910–1930, eds. Rob Kroes and Alessandro Portelli, vol. 10, 1986 (Rome Conference 1984).

Cultural Change in the U.S. since World War II, eds. Maurice Gonnaud, Sergio Perosa, and Chris Bigsby, vol. 9, 1986 (EAAS Translation Project).[*]

Impressions of a Gilded Age: The American Fin de Siecle, eds. Marc Chénetier and Rob Kroes, vol. 6, 1983 (Paris Conference 1982).

The American Identity: Fusion and Fragmentation, ed. Rob Kroes, vol. 3, 1980 (Amsterdam Conference 1980).

[*] Books resulting from an EAAS Board decision to sponsor and finance volumes containing essays produced by European scholars in languages other than English. The selected contributions were translated and published to give the authors a wider audience.

Individual Conference Volumes Published before 1980

Vistas of a Continent: Concepts of Nature in America, ed. on behalf of the European Association for American Studies by Teut Andreas Riese, Anglistische Forschungen 136, Heidelberg: Winter, 1979 (Heidelberg Conference 1976).

Contagious Conflict: The Impact of American Dissent on European Life, ed. A. N. J. den Hollander, Leiden: Brill, 1973 (Geneva Conference 1972).

Diverging Parallels: A Comparison of American and European Thought and Action, ed. A. N. J. den Hollander, Leiden: Brill, 1971 (Rome Conference 1967 and Brussels Conference 1970).

The Role of Universities in the Modern World: A Transatlantic Dialogue, Bonn: Cultural Affairs and Educational Exchange Unit, United States Information Service, 1965 (Aarhus Conference 1965).

"Special Issue European Association for American Studies," *The American Review: A Quarterly of American Affairs*, published under the auspices of the European Center of American Studies of the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center, vol. 2, no. 4, March 1963 (Cambridge Conference 1962).

Annual Conference of the European Association for American Studies, Berlin, 27–30 September 1961 [Berlin: EAAS, 1961]. Eighteen typescripts of papers presented at the conference.

Proceedings of the Second Conference of the European Association for American Studies Held at the Fondation des États-Unis, Paris September 3–6, 1957, Paris: European Association for American Studies, 1957 (Paris Conference 1957).

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the following institutions for their generous support of the 2014 EAAS Conference: The Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, The Embassy of the United Sates in The Hague, The City of The Hague, The Netherlands American Studies Association, The Roosevelt Study Center (Middelburg), Leiden University College The Hague, The Eccles Centre for American Studies at the British Library (London), The European Association for American Studies, The University of Amsterdam, The VU University Amsterdam, The University of Groningen, Radboud University Nijmegen, and Utrecht University. We would also like to extend a warm thank you to our colleagues on the NASA Board for their endless enthusiasm and tireless efforts to realize this conference, as well as to the EAAS Board members, in particular President Philip Davies, Secretary General Gert Buelens, and Treasurer Adina Ciugureanu, for their ongoing support and encouragement. To both NASA and EAAS we are very grateful for enabling us to purchase the cover image license. Finally, we are grateful to Raquel L. Raj and Aynur Erdogan for their assistance with proofreading the final draft, and to the series editor Hans-Jürgen Grabbe and to Wiebke Kartheus for giving final shape to the manuscript.

AMANDA GILROY AND MARIETTA MESSMER

Introduction

On July 4, 2015, roughly a month prior to the Ferguson anniversary, Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote an open “Letter to My Son,” in which he explained:

> I am writing you because this was the year you saw Eric Garner choked to death for selling cigarettes; because you know now that Renisha McBride was shot for seeking help, that John Crawford was shot down for browsing in a department store. And you have seen men in uniform drive by and murder Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old child whom they were oath-bound to protect.

Coates’s letter is filled with despair at the relentless violence that keeps haunting black people in the US and elsewhere, and he tries to prepare his fifteen-year-old son for survival in a world that he perceives as both “terrible and beautiful.” In many respects, these words reflect a tension that has shaped the entire history of the United States since its inception. A society defined by its firm commitment to the ideals of justice, liberty, and democracy, the US has nonetheless frequently undermined its own core values by violently attempting to spread and superimpose them on other nations or cultural groups, even at the price of actual conflict or war. This paradox manifests itself in the domestic as well as the foreign policy realm.

At a domestic level, the US was one of the first nations in modern history to establish a democratic and egalitarian form of government based on the Enlightenment principles of equality, political and civil liberties, and freedom of speech. At the same time, these principles have, from the start, had different meanings for different groups within the US and have repeatedly led to violent racial, ethnic, gender, and class conflicts. As George Lipsitz reminds us, “[i]t took a bloody civil war and mass mobilization by newly free black people to compel Congress to pass the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments” (125). Yet according to Lipsitz, these constitutional rights “were [almost immediately afterwards] undermined by new regimes of racial repression. [. . .] In the nineteenth century, criminalization and mass incarceration proved to be efficient mechanisms for perpetuating the social and economic relations of slavery” (132). In effect, this meant that free “blacks essentially became citizens without rights, deprived of the equal protection of the law supposedly guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment” (126).

It took almost another century until the fight for civil rights by a large number of disenfranchised groups, including African Americans, Chicanos/as, Native Americans, women, and homosexuals managed to capture the attention of the entire nation again. Yet, in addition to peaceful demonstrations, boycotts, and sit-ins, the 1960s and 1970s were also characterized by violence and state repression. This manifested itself in the nationwide race riots in 1967 that led to the establishment of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), the Stonewall Inn riots of 1969, and the armed standoffs during the American Indian Movement's 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, to name only a few examples. It quickly became clear that what initially had seemed the crowning achievement of this era, namely the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its reaffirmation of the American constitution's color-blindness, could not quench the pervasive forms of (institutionalized) racism, sexism, and homophobia that still continued to shape large parts of US society during the second half of the twentieth century.

As the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, on August 9, 2014, has so vividly thrown into relief, these conflicts continue to haunt the United States to this day. For this reason, Ta-Nehisi Coates is quite pessimistic about the chances for change in the near future. Writing in 2015, George Lipsitz confirms: "Phobic fantasies of demonized monstrous black criminality stand at the center of the national political imaginary" (119), and he continues by drawing a dark picture of contemporary race relations in the US:

> The events that took place in Ferguson on and after August 9, 2014, could have happened quite differently if the current Supreme Court had not consistently followed in the footsteps of the *Dred Scott, Plessy, and Brown I* and *II* decisions. Michael Brown might have been in a very different kind of school if the Supreme Court had not terminated voluntary school desegregation programs in the 2007 *Parents Involved in Community Schools* case. The Ferguson police force might not have been more than 90 percent white if the court had upheld affirmative action programs in police departments in the 2009 case of *Ricci v. DeStefano*. [. . .] By disaggregating the killing of Michael Brown from the conditions that made it not only possible, but likely, the press, politicians, and political activists leave us living with injustice yet lying about it. (135)

In the arena of foreign policy and international relations, a similar discrepancy between ideal and reality manifests itself throughout US history. Writing to William Carmichael in 1790, Thomas Jefferson sought to highlight the newly independent republic's dedication to peace after a long period of European conquest and colonization by emphasizing that "[c]onquest [is] not in our principles; [it is] inconsistent with our government" (qtd. in Coffman 158). Yet only half a century later, as a result of the Mexican-American war of 1846–1848, the

US annexed a substantial part of Mexico's territory in the name of manifest destiny. Many scholars see the subsequent decades between the end of the Civil War and the Spanish American War of 1898 as the crucial turning point in US history, with the US gradually turning into an "imperial America that was able to project its power convincingly across the globe" (Black 1–2)—a shift that was facilitated by both economic and ideological factors, including, among others, the US's rapid industrialization and its need for new markets and new lands. At the heart of this development stands an "expanding definition of *national security*, from a narrow concept of continental self-defense to an expansive global vision" (Engel, Lawrence, and Preston 3). The latter is most aptly exemplified by Theodore Roosevelt's "Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine" (1904), a document that officially consolidated the role of the US as an "international police power," prepared to intervene internationally "in flagrant cases of [. . .] wrongdoings" (502). This policy doctrine set the stage for a wide range of twentieth-century military interventions, including in Latin America and, more recently, the Middle East, whose transgressive nature has since met with harsh criticism.

At the same time, it is especially the US's engagement in Europe during and after World War II that has thrown into relief the nation's crucial international role as liberator and promoter of justice and democracy. In particular, the so-called Marshall Plan not only facilitated the political and economic reconstruction of western Europe but also ensured the region's unprecedented growth and prosperity during the postwar decades.

Only months after the end of the war, however, the US-Soviet alliance began to disintegrate, and the second half of the twentieth century was thus shaped by a number of Cold War conflicts, including the Korean War, the war in Vietnam, and interventions in various Latin American countries. For this reason, the eventual demise of the Soviet Union at first "produced euphoria among Americans, who thought they had arrived at what political scientist Francis Fukuyama called 'the end of history'" (Engel, Lawrence, and Preston 331). Yet, as Engel, Lawrence, and Preston have also noted, "rarely did the United States intervene as often and as widely as it did in the decade following the end of the Cold War"—including in Panama, Somalia, Haiti, Afghanistan, and Sudan—and they "fought three major wars—one in the Middle East and two in the Balkans" (331). This heightened military activity can in part be attributed to the Clinton administration's conviction that globalization "would inevitably lead to the spread of American values such as democracy and capitalism" (332). Yet frequent Latin American, Asian, and Middle Eastern resistance to this capitalist version of a "democratic peace" "meant, paradoxically, that the attempt to spread these ideas [. . .] often occurred through the use of force" (332). Ultimately, however, it was 9/11 and the ensuing War on Terror that has most profoundly reconfigured the US's foreign policy agenda. At first, the war against

al-Qaeda received both international and domestic support, "[b]ut in 2002, as it became clear that the Bush administration was using 9/11 to justify an invasion of Iraq, which seemed to have no connection to al-Qaeda, the United States had to operate against fierce popular and political resistance around the world" (354). On one level, it can be argued that "the War on Terror seemed to offer the Bush administration an opportunity to pursue" its foreign policy goals of spreading capitalism and liberal democracy "with unprecedented vigor" (355). At the same time, however, "in pursuing its goals so aggressively, the administration created profound hostility and resistance in other countries. As a result, in its search for security from terrorism, and a world order more amenable to American interests and ideals," the United States, paradoxically, found and still finds itself immersed in multiple wars and conflicts, both at home and abroad (355).

It is this ambivalent role of the US as a global promoter of liberty, justice, and democracy, as well as a global agent of conflict and war, that has formed the basis for the theme of the sixtieth EAAS anniversary conference "America: Justice, Conflict, War." It was in 1954 that Americanists gathered for the very first European Conference of American Studies Scholars in Salzburg (Austria). Since then, Americanists from across Europe and the US have convened in twenty-five cities in nineteen European countries to date. The 2014 EAAS conference was hosted by the Netherlands American Studies Association (NASA) and held at Leiden University College in The Hague. Internationally best known as the "City of Peace and Justice," The Hague is home to the International Criminal Court (ICC), the Institute for Global Justice, and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). And of the six principal organs of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice is the only one that does not hold its meetings in New York but in The Hague's Peace Palace. These surroundings, it was hoped, would inspire lively discussions on the multifaceted challenges of global justice and international peace diplomacy facing the US and the world today—challenges that increasingly tend to transcend the boundaries and responsibilities of individual nation states.

This volume offers a selection of contributions to the 2014 EAAS Conference. Comprised of sixteen essays written by emerging as well as established scholars from across Europe, the United States and Canada, this collection addresses the aspects of war, conflict, and justice from historical, cultural, political, and literary perspectives. The section on war that opens the collection deals less with what one might call the experiential veracity of war, that is the immediacy of combat at a particular time and place, and more with the ways in which US wars have been mediated through representation and reinscription. The essays focus on what comes before and after the actuality of war, from the politi-

cal language that fostered the Civil War to the visceral trauma that haunts survivors of 9/11, among other events. In this arena, literature plays an important role. The first three essays engage in various ways with the ability of novels, memoirs, and short stories to represent the unseen or unacknowledged and so begin the work of healing, for their authors/narrators, and perhaps more importantly, their readers. Jenna Pitchford-Hyde analyzes how texts including Anthony Swofford's *Jarhead*, Gabe Hudson's collection *Dear Mr. President*, the novel *Yellow Birds*, and Colby Buzzell's memoir *My War: Killing Time in Iraq*, make visible those "invisible warriors," veterans of the two Gulf wars whose physical or mental trauma has been concealed from public view. She argues that two issues of medical ethics—non-consensual medical experimentation on soldiers and the pressure to get the injured back to the combat zone—are both framed by entrenched ideologies of masculinity. The texts under consideration not only give a voice to those returning from Iraq but also open up military medical ethics for debate in the public sphere. Significantly, however, the authors' intentions—most are veterans themselves—are directed not to the cessation of war or some future state of peace, but to the pragmatic ideal of a "justly waged war."

In the following essay, Angeliki Tseti tracks shared experiences through the photo-textual narratives of Jonathan Safran Foer's novel *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close*. Engaging with recent theory in the field of Memory and Trauma Studies, Tseti asks how can a literary text address the ineffability of trauma? How can it help us to "work through" the traumatic experience? She argues that a productive approach is "bimediality." Thus, Foer exploits the photograph's affective potential by placing images in dialogue with written narrative, ultimately creating new "topographies" in which memories surface and are shared. Since the reader must labor to produce meaning from the verbal/visual interplay, he or she becomes part of the memorial community. Like Oskar on his quest through New York City, the *process* of putting people, objects and events into conversation is the point of multidirectional memory. Lisa Marchi further explores the postwar dilemmas of trauma and medicine in her readings of Rabih Alameddine's *Koolaids: The Art of War* and *I, The Divine: A Novel in First Chapters*. If the fissures and aporias of bimediality are productive in Tseti's reading of Foer, likewise here queer pathologies of "displacement, dissonance, disturbance, disorganization" are seen as "regenerative." Thus Alameddine's resistance to normality, which is encoded through a focus on disease and formally through narrative fragmentation, is viewed as an act of ideological dissidence. Characters with HIV, as well as Sarah, the Lebanese American survivor of war and gang rape, are seen as agents not victims; as such, their lives become legible and livable or grievable, depending on the particular plot. Ultimately, it

is precisely their vulnerability that enables new modes of personal connection within the novelist's vision of a more egalitarian society.

The final essays in this section take up the performative role of rhetoric and its material consequences. In "Invisible Scapegoats, Invisible Victims," Nathalie Kuroiwa-Lewis explores President Obama's rhetorical leadership, notably his ability to institutionalize high-tech warfare that renders victims and warfare itself invisible to the public eye. Through close analysis of a range of speeches, Kuroiwa-Lewis argues that, contrary to claims of his difference from the Bush administration, Obama's discourse facilitates the same model of preemptive force. Rhetorically removing the US soldier from the battlefield allows Obama to legitimate drone warfare, and future wars. If Kuroiwa-Lewis imagines a future in which wars are out of sight and out of mind, but none the less real for all the theater of rhetoric that obscures them, Jelte Olthof's contribution takes us back to a moment in history when rhetoric seemed to offer conciliation but led eventually to the Civil War that (almost) tore the nation apart. Focusing on the Missouri Compromise that seemingly settled the question of the expansion of slavery, Olthof demonstrates via rhetorical analysis of the Congressional records that the Compromise ironically had to divide the nation into two peoples in order to preserve the fiction that the United States was a union. As Jefferson predicted, "every new irritation" exacerbated the divisions between slave and free states. In this sense, the very language of conciliation sowed the seeds of the future war.

The essays in the second section are linked by their concern with issues of conflict. We should note here that the boundaries between war and conflict, in American history and rhetoric, as well as in literary and media representations, are permeable and unstable. Olthof's essay is about a conflict that led to a war, while Kuroiwa-Lewis analyzes the ways that war may lead to rhetorical conflict. Likewise, in this section two essays (by Jelfs and Miernik) center on the cultural and ethical conflicts generated by the post-9/11 War on Terror, while others revolve around confrontational responses or resistance to historical violence (Bold, Carter, Tóth). The section opens with Christine Bold's tour de force reading of the late nineteenth-century Seneca performer and playwright, Go-won-go Mohawk. Tracing Mohawk's image across representations in the popular press, in her best-known stage melodrama, and in a series of dime novels, Bold argues that such a reconstruction challenges the "violence-justice equation" that shapes popular frontier discourse. Thus Mohawk deconstructs racial binaries, traversing a "queer" or "hybrid" space that enables her assertion of Indigenous creativity and agency. Matthew Carter's essay also turns to a text that contests the hegemonic tropes of frontier mythology. Discussing the Coen brothers' film *No Country for Old Men*, Carter analyzes the film as a postmodern response both to 9/11 and the Western genre, as well as the frontier fictions

that continue to shape the US cultural mindset. Especially in its challenge to the "six-gun mystique," as John Cawelti defined the myth of the gunslinger as hero, *No Country*'s narrative trajectory refuses to be haunted by, and thus doomed to repeat, the imperialist brutality of the past.

If violence against Indigenous peoples is highlighted in the margins of Carter's essay, in György Tóth's contribution, Native Americans are back center stage. In "Performing 'the Spirit of '76,'" Tóth uses Diana Taylor's concept of 'scenarios' to analyze Native American interventions in institutionalized memory of the national past. Specifically, in the Cold War era and beyond, Native Americans strategically performed their own 'countercommemorations' of significant events as part of their assertion of sovereignty. Focusing on a number of case studies, including the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee and responses to the bicentenary, Tóth documents a *counter* use of memory in the service of social justice.

Tim Jelfs's essay on Nicholson Baker's 2004 novel *Checkpoint* brings us into the conflictual US public sphere in the wake of 9/11. Exploring this maligned novel, in which the protagonist, Jay, wants to kill the president, Jelfs argues that it makes a significant contribution to current debates about citizenship. In response to the state's violence in Iraq, Baker's Jay feels compelled to violent action, raising important questions about the legitimacy of violence in relation to justice that resonate with the ambivalences of US history. Ultimately the constraints on action, endured by Jay and other US citizens, speak to their circumscription as disempowered "imperial subjects." In the final essay in this section, Mirosław Aleksander Miernik offers a more sanguine view of the potential for critique of the abuse of power. Through close analysis of their music and lyrics, as well as promotional material, Miernik considers how musicians variously contested the military campaign in Iraq. From Ministry's exploitation of the visual and sonic aesthetics of punk, to Tom Waits's poignant lyrics, and Nine Inch Nails' innovative alternate reality game, these artists help to foster (potentially) activist political communities.

The collection concludes with a section entitled "Justice." Attentive readers will have noted that the organization of essays within the book reverses the order of its title (and the title of the original conference). It is an attempt to shift the focus once more from Coates's and Lipsitz's darker visions to an emphasis on the nation's ongoing commitment—however imperfect—to social justice. In other words, while liberty and justice for all in a peaceful nation may never be finally achieved, it should remain a crucial utopian horizon for thinking within and about the US. The opening essay by Theresa Saxon shows, in any case, that justice is always haunted by its precursor or precondition, namely injustice. In her analysis of the Ghost Dance of the Lakota tribes of South Dakota, Saxon exposes, like Tóth and Bold, contestations of the violence-justice equation that

framed Native American practices. She documents how the dance was deliberately misunderstood in the nineteenth-century US cultural imaginary as symbolizing war, while for the Lakota themselves it offered a "counternarrative" to non-native sites of power that curtailed tribal life. Saxon uncovers both Native complicity and resistance within colonizer history, so there is no clear and unambiguous border between colonizer and colonized, nor a definitive line between the past and present-day interpretations of Indigenous activism.

In the following essay, Maria-Sabina Draga Alexandru sets out from the premise that public space, notably the urban street, is a site for the articulation of justice in the new millennium. Tracing a new "nomadic ethics" through the streets of New York City in Salman Rushdie's novel *Fury* and Michael Almereyda's film *Hamlet*, Alexandru contends that the fact of being seen on the street or through the technologies of media embodies the characters' sense of accountability, to family, community, or other more abstract morality. Moving across spatial, temporal and cultural barriers with the characters, we—the audience and readers—become witnesses to their ethical visibility. Urban space becomes a theater of ethical questioning and the postmodern home of a "social unconscious." Staying in the city, Jerzy Durczak reads Junot Díaz's short stories as purveying the same themes of ethnic and social trauma as hip hop, but in a different tone of restraint rather than excess. Just as hip hop testifies to injustice, Díaz's stories foreground the bleak lives of Hispanic immigrants in New Jersey's dreary projects. In a sense, they are "recordings" from the inner city, ethnographic accounts of minor insurgencies (and collaborations) against structural race and gender inequality. Susann Köhler shines a more optimistic light on the city, in her analysis of urban gardening and social activism in Detroit. As she notes, in a landscape of postindustrial decline, garden projects are more than merely aesthetic: they involve the redistribution of power and resources to regenerate local communities. Her particular focus is on the role of alternative (social) media in representing the views, voices and protest trajectories of urban garden members. Online media platforms function as "alternative public spheres" that support creative redevelopment and social justice. Websites, blogs and videos promote sustainability and help empower local communities, as well as offering multiple points for users to join food justice activism. Thus, importantly, urban gardening in Detroit, as practised by the likes of Earthwork Urban Farms and the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network, encompasses online representation and offline action.

In the final essays, Delphine Letort and William J. Leahy look directly at issues of social justice as encoded in the US legal system. Letort analyzes the filming of a trial in the self-reflexive documentary series *The Staircase*. By highlighting the constructedness of the camera's gaze, the director, Jean-Xavier

de Lestrade, exposes how narratives of guilt or innocence are created and consumed by jurors and other audiences. Like the jurors in this complex and sensational murder story, we must participate in making meaning, though, as in a real courtroom, the narrative is not neutral but framed by a range of prejudices and affiliations. In the end, Letort demonstrates not only the fragility of the jury system but the difficulty of being a member, vicarious or otherwise, of the "community of justice." The last word goes to William Leahy, whose contribution shifts the tone and focus of the collection. Leahy's very personal essay documents his own commitment to the ideal of equal justice throughout his professional career. He speaks to us here as someone who has long labored as a public defender to "ameliorate" the class and race injustices of the US criminal justice system. Leahy invites us to think about the right to counsel within a global not just an American context, so that nations may learn better practices from each other in a transnational conversation, and he concludes with a concrete proposal for just such a global forum.

Susan Sontag claims that "[t]he nature of moral judgments depends on our capacity for paying attention—a capacity that, inevitably, has its limits but whose limits can be stretched" (226). The essays collected here ask us to stretch these limits across disciplinary boundaries, and pay attention to the complexities of war and conflict, justice and injustice. Through their analyses, they make visible the strategies of disempowerment that permeate US history and culture. They show how novelists and filmmakers, politicians and pop cultural performers in the past and the present day, have challenged injustice in its many forms. As the Dixie Chicks so memorably put it in the furore that followed lead singer Natalie Maines's public critique of war in Iraq: "[They're] not ready to make nice."

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I WAR

JENNA PITCHFORD-HYDE

Invisible Warriors: Trauma and Ethics in the Narratives of the Iraq Wars

Introduction: Invisible Soldiers

Veterans of the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) and the Iraq War (2003–2009) are significantly absent in popular media. While a select few veterans have featured as examples of the idealized American hero, the vast majority, especially those suffering from psychological or physical combat trauma, remains hidden from public view. This essay argues that the controversial nature of the medical care these veterans received (and the policies that determined it) is at the root of this representational media absence. It suggests that the reluctance to represent physically or psychologically injured veterans stems from the deep-rooted ideologies regarding US national identity that influence government policymaking. Crucially, this essay suggests that literary responses to the conflicts provide vital representations of injured veterans and reveal the extent to which soldiers suffered combat trauma in both wars despite the absence of representation in the US media.

Through an examination of Anthony Swofford's *Jarhead* (2003) and Gabe Hudson's short story collection *Dear Mr. President* (2002), this essay explores the ways in which the narratives of the Gulf War address both the ethics of medical treatment of soldiers and the difficulties in representing the controversial Gulf War Syndrome. It also examines how texts such as Kevin Powers's novel *Yellow Birds* (2012) and Colby Buzzell's blog-turned-memoir *My War: Killing Time in Iraq* (2006) address the increasingly conflicting interests of military medicine and provide a counter to the lack of media representation of veterans.

Military Medical Ethics and the Iraq Wars

The Gulf and Iraq wars presented soldiers with numerous threats to their physical and psychological wellbeing, but the two conflicts differed both in terms of the nature of these threats and in the medical treatment soldiers received. George