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"LOOSE LIPS SINK SHIPS": WOMEN AND CITIZENSHIP
IN WARTIME CULTURE

by
PAGE DOUGHERTY DELANO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

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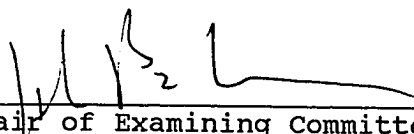
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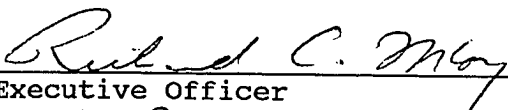
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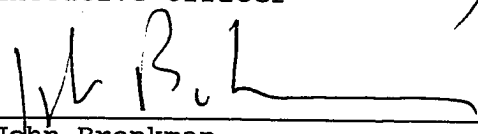
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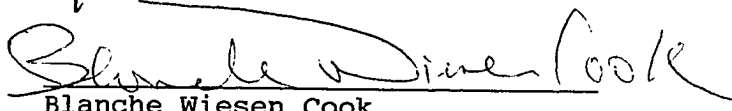
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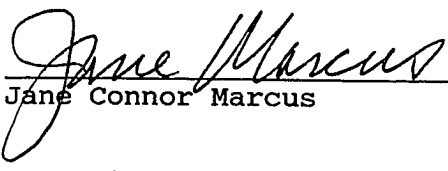

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Abstract

"LOOSE LIPS SINK SHIPS":

WOMEN AND CITIZENSHIP IN WARTIME CULTURE

by

Page Dougherty Delano

Adviser: Professor John Brenkman

Representations of American women in World War II reveal that the concept of citizenship is at least temporarily refashioned. Women's involvement in the nation's public life permits a shift in images of female virtue outside of the domestic, sexually confining sphere. Yet this woman faces restrictions, especially when her "national face" does not fit racial or political norms. Her effervescence is tied to national mobilization; limitations imposed on her show ongoing or re-emergent restrictions of gender relations. In the first half of the dissertation, I move from discussing women identified with the nation, to women with a critical identification, to women excluded from the national face. Working with the trope of lips, images of cosmetics, and the loose-lipped woman, I read memoirs by women, including Japanese Americans, and films which present a critical woman citizen. Fiction by Ann Petry and Chester Himes shows an ambivalent citizen, for whom race and gender are complex constellations. In the

second half of the project, I turn to political conversations about citizenship and gender in images and fiction. The conversation of the female citizen, explored in the "loose lips sink ships"/ security poster campaign, reveals a restriction on women's public speech, implicating as well her sexual freedom. National conversations encouraged attention toward the war, and promoted a sexual, assertive, and virtuous woman. Yet "contaminating" sex was also designated enemy activity, so that female agency was deemed sinister. In conclusion, I read fiction of the Occupation in Germany by Kay Boyle, William G. Smith and Gertrude Stein, which resist a revitalized American nationalism. Fraternizing creates an American 'brotherhood' that writes women out of public discourse except as homebound and sexualized, undermining the sexual and political agency which women require in claiming access to public life. Independence is de-politicized, and the private sphere and domesticity are restored as the essential realm of virtue for women.

Acknowledgements

John Brenkman and Jane Marcus have been instrumental during the months I have spent on this project. I am delighted as well to have Blanche Wiesen Cook as a reader. Together their expertise in matters of politics, theory, gender, and humanity in the twentieth century is unparalleled. I thank John for his consistent enthusiasm, willingness to let me follow the threads of this study, and his insightful reading. Jane's wonderful appreciation, her infectious eagerness to expand the texts of war, and her astute observations have been equally invaluable. I thank Blanche for her readiness to add her wisdom and extensive knowledge of women, public life, and World War II to my study. I have felt support not only due to the command of my three readers in their various disciplines, which is vast, but due also to their distinctive passions for critical investigation and honesty. Their steady-handed encouragement of this at times unwieldy project, as well as their careful reading, has been wonderful. I am glad I have done this project if for no other reason than to have worked with them.

My family, in particular my children Molly and Joe, and my mother Page Wilson, have been truly wonderful. The seeds of this project may have been sewn long ago: my mother began her work life as a writer during World War II, and my

father's job as a pilot was to sink ships. More traceable roots are my husband Skip's practice and historical study of resistance among G.I.s during the Vietnam War, and my own engagement in the budding woman's movement.

Friends and colleagues, in particular Marion Kaplan, Jody Bresnahan, Ellen Geist, Katt Lissard, and Marcia Lipson, as well as Eiko Fukuda, Atina Grossmann, and Jonathan Soffer have given me immeasurable and specific sustenance. I thank also my colleagues at the Graduate Center who read sections of this dissertation, and offered valuable insight, Nancy Berke, Cheryl Fish, Jean Gallagher, Caroline MacKenzie, Debby Nelson, Jay Prosser, Shuang Shen, and David Wolf, as well as Professors Nancy K. Miller, Barbara Bowen, Rachel Brownstein, and Sandi Cooper.

There are many millions of men and women whose lips were sealed forever by World War II. It is one of the terrible paradoxes of war that others came to life in that period. When Elena Kochina celebrated "Bread!", recording her days of starvation in Leningrad's blockade on scraps of paper, I learned again the pleasure of simple things and the necessity of writing. The ongoing courage, generosity, friendship, and willingness to learn of the women of my mother's generation have not been adequately acknowledged.

'Loose Lips Sink Ships':
Women and Citizenship in Wartime Culture

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"The Strife of Tongues and Confusion of Body"

1.

One Soldier

When I think of him, midnight
 Opens about me, and I am more alone;
 But then the poems flower from the bone.--

You came to me bearing the truth in your two
 hands;
 I sit and look down at my hand like an astonished
 Fortune-teller, seeing the mortal flesh.

Your wish was strong the first day of the war
 For it had been strong before, and then we knew
 All that I had to be, you had to do.

Once when you stood before me, kisses rose
 About my lips; poems at my lips rise,
 Your live belief fills midnight and my eyes.
 --Muriel Rukeyser

In "One Soldier," a sonnet which introduces her wartime collection Beast in View (1944), Muriel Rukeyser writes of war as "midnight," an active space and time which must be filled with belief. This belief is not simply "fortune telling" or a willingness to dismiss one's "mortal flesh." In fact, the mortal flesh itself is where desire, necessity, and consciousness are enacted, seen in the mixing of "wish," "we know," and what "had to be." This flesh is crucial as well in being and doing, the poem's existential turn in the third stanza. Not only the abstracted metaphorical hand

bearing truth, but also the real hand is involved in writing, Rukeyser tells us, drawing on astonishment as well as sure knowledge. For Rukeyser, writing is a practice, not solely an idea (or superstructure), arising from experiences and material conditions. This means, importantly, that writing is informed by, or one might say incorporates, the body. While war crystallizes an aloneness of midnight, despair, and corporeal mayhem, kissing reminds us that all human activity is intersubjective. The man who is now a soldier was kissing the speaker, as "kisses rose/ About my lips," an ambiguous phrase which obscures our ability to locate a singular agency; furthermore, this kissing links the erotic with warfare as well with writing.

Rukeyser's concept of sexuality, the erotic as co-requisite to social practice, led her contemporary R.P. Blackmur to offer that she was "confused about sex." (in Schweik 328 n. 11).¹ From our end-of-the-century perspective, it is easier to see (especially considering the

¹ Schweik quotes Blackmur's review: "...sex seems to be the source of what organization there is in Miss Rukeyser's poems, but until she decides whether sex is a predominantly a force or a sentiment, her poems and her readers's response to them will be left at a loss." [In Kenyon Review 7 (1945):339]. Schweik counters: "The distinction between force and sentiment is not sexually neutral; it has an obviously gendered valence: masculine force, feminine sentiment. In terms which comprehend and extend beyond sexuality, the struggle of women for access to and acknowledgement of female force as well as feminine sentiment is a major subject of Rukeyser's poetry in general" (328 n. 10). Schweik focuses on "Letter to the Front."

great body of her work, with its vast concerns) that Rukeyser with prescience suggested a sexuality that confused the gendered standards of female sexuality. Yet such sexuality, as troubling as it was to critics like R.P. Blackmur, did not stand alone. Rukeyser's sense of responsibility, with its political possibility, which I will call public activity, was fused with corporeal existence -- with all the varied nuances and contradictions to be accepted, not denied. While the body is source of metaphor and abstracted meaning ("in our bodies other cities" she writes in "Ann Burlak"), it is also the site of pleasure and social engagement.

The poem gently shifts in the fourth stanza to lips as voice. The speaker's lips perform a dual function, as both site of kissing and voice. Kissing leads quite directly, due perhaps to this protean service, not 'naturally' but in the logic of her development, and in the sonnet form itself, to poetry. The erotic, pleasure of the body, is intimately connected to the writing of poetry. In Rukeyser's poetic order, the multi-faceted work of hands, their ability to "bear" the truth, and likewise to bear a gun, grounds this erotics. The poetry itself, informed as it is by the exigencies of war and of erotic kissing, fills "midnight and my eyes" -- a vision which, she will recall in 1949, as a poet she has a "responsibility... to tell" (The Life of Poetry, qtd. in Schweik).

It is for this partnering -- of the embodied, sexual and the public woman -- that I engage Rukeyser to introduce my study of representations which address female sexuality and citizenship during World War II.

2.

During World War II citizens of the U.S. were warned that "loose talk costs lives." Men and women were urged to "be careful of what you write or say." Such injunctions brought the private desk and the public street corner into a shared space of national interest. In a culture in which the poster is predominantly seen as an advertisement, and in which the political is confined to "politics," such wartime posters resonate still in the memories of many who saw them. An acquaintance recalled recently that as a teenager she was impressed by the vivid posters urging the public guarding of information: "Loose Lips Might Sink Ships" in New York City's 14th Street IRT station. She could tell me where the poster hung, to the left of the token booth. As we discussed the ramifications of such a poster, she insisted on its military function: "It was absolutely crucial to limit discussion of troop and ship movement."

Audre Lorde recalls that

simple conversation became suspect....Despite the fact that I had no secrets at all to tell, I always felt a pang of self-righteous pleasure whenever I passed the corner lamp at 140th Street and Lenox Avenue. From it hung a brightly colored sign of a white man with his

finger to his lips. Beneath his half-turned face in big block letters it warned: A SLIP OF THE LIP MAY SINK A SHIP. I felt my silence socially and patriotically endorsed (55).

Lorde's commentary, recalling when she was seven, suggests the larger political power of these posters. My study considers the symbolic currencies of such posters and other representations of wartime life which specifically present or involve women, which evoke the intricacies of "loose lips," proper and improper public practices and potential dangers or misbehaviors. The discourses put into motion by these posters and other connected practices reflected and helped create a national imagination which both legitimized female participation in the nation and suggested an at times troublesome presence, especially in the making of the victorious nation which was to take its place as primary power in the post-war world. What constitutes female virtue itself shifts. Wartime allowed for a more public and assertive virtue; victory reclaims a more domestic virtue for women.

Furthermore, it is possible to suggest, in post-Irigaray feminism, that the sexual meanings of "loose lips" resonate provocatively, potentially uncoupling a female ungovernability from wartime's phallocentric power. This is not solely a matter of metaphors, for mobilization involved loose and tight reins. In the conjunction between the woman who speaks in public, whom I call the public woman, claiming that term's remarkable prior inflections of prostitute, when public life was restricted for women, and the sexual woman whom I draw

from a variety of cultural representations, lies the crux of my study. While clearly, as my acquaintance reminded me, such posters served requirements of censorship, they continue to stimulate questions about public discourse, public control, and ways the state addresses individuals, as individuals, in gendered terms, in order to contain and discipline them, as Foucault might suggest. Adopting Foucauldian descriptions without however accepting his reading of pervasive control, I believe the anti-talk poster and other representations of model and improper behavior additionally intimate the dangers to the state of speaking, critical women. This then is the germ of the dilemma of the public woman.

The sexual woman is not the same as the sexualized women. I argue that claiming sexuality is an active step in self-identification and subjectivity, while being sexualized, which certainly occurred, meant the imposition of an erotics which tended to serve others' interests and needs, and ruled out intersubjectivity, a term for which I am indebted to Jessica Benjamin. The patriotic pin-up enjoyed by soldiers and sailors in their tents, hammocks and bunks, illustrates the complexity even of this sexualized woman, representing what Robert B. Westbrook calls the war's "problem of political obligation." According to Westbrook, pin-ups "function[ed] as icons of the private interests and obligations for which the soldiers were fighting" (596). I turn more toward the intersection of these interests, and in particular how women

themselves are imagined and imagine themselves in terms of political obligation.

Desire, characterized as lack of control and excess, has been problematic for women, certainly since the modern constructions of the feminine have been in place. The problems have arisen in part because the limitations are in contradiction with another description of woman, as one who is not capable of actualizing her desire, or of agency. Sexual desire has to this extent been denied woman; yet woman is belittled as one who acts only out of unruly desire. Thus her ongoing burden is to control her loose appetite in her small world.² By World War II the dilemmas of female passion may seem to be a release from the real and oppressive events of history-- as women float almost outside history. Fussell relates an account in which Winston Churchill took pleasure in being read Pride and Prejudice, because he enjoyed the "calm lives" of the women characters who faced "[o]nly manners controlling natural passion as far as they could" (my emphasis Wartime 229), giving him a zone beyond military and political concerns. Meanwhile, the bloody and horrendous disruptions of war were engendering new passions, new lives, and new representations.

²This is the paradigm of women's rights which endured far after Mary Wollstonecraft's brilliant but problematic argument. See Cora Kaplan's critique of Wollstonecraft ("Wild Nights: Pleasure/Sexuality/Feminism" in Sea Changes). Joan Landes argues that Wollstonecraft wants women to use reason to repair the domestic sphere, the proper site of their duty (139). World War II shifts this paradigm.

In one sense my argument falls between the work of Susan Gubar's essay "Charred Skirts: World War II and the Blitz on Women," and Westbrook's. Both are intently concerned with representations of U.S. women in wartime culture, and both draw their analysis from visual as well as written sources, in particular the poster in Gubar's case, and the pin-up for Westbrook. Gubar presents a picture of misogyny in wartime American (and in British culture). In her sweeping way, she finds, for example, that "many British and American women writers perceive[d] the Second World War as a threat to the second sex" (228). Yet her evidence is scattered and not closely examined, as to make her argument brittle. Certainly, as she notes, women were victims of the "technological depersonalization of war" (229), but to link this aspect so closely to "fiction about the vulnerability of war brides, women war workers, and female civilians who are threatened less by the enemy than by their so-called defenders" (as she notes when writing about Dorothy Parker, Kay Boyle, and Carson McCullers 228), and to do so with little evidence, neglects critical analysis of either phenomenon. "The good woman in the literature of the Second World War is therefore the woman whose sexual accessibility, or loyalty reinforces the man's sense of his masculinity without this confusion of love and death, sex and murder," (252) she surmises, in a somewhat tautological way. While Gubar greatly enlarges our understanding of gender and war, her writing cannot be taken

as a universal statement about literature of the Second World War. She neglects a reading of even the most "fraternal" of texts as possibly contradictory and even subversive of power relations, including those of gender. Furthermore, her approach avoids embracing literature which doesn't fit this view, or which exposes this view even as it "fits" -- Joseph Heller, John Hersey, Martha Gellhorn, Kay Boyle in her wonderful complexity, and a different Dorothy Parker than Gubar acknowledges here, whose complaints about power, nationalism, brutality and hatred of women suggest an thwarting of misogyny and other forms of power.

Robert Westbrook, less ambitious in his scope, addresses a specific concern about the ideological orientation of the American people during wartime, what he presents as "political obligation." By assessing photographic collections and pin-ups possessed and adored by soldiers, he finds, that such images of women, in their variety, serve as "prescribed icons of male obligation" (589). He finds rather than a political obligation, a personalized, private one in such images. This 'personalization' is an important phenomenon in American political culture, as I discuss in both my chapter on posters and my final chapter on fraternization and nationalism. Clearly, the tone of Westbrook's essay, written some seven years after Gubar's "'This Is My Rifle'" version appeared, is quite different, if for no other reason than that the admiration and attention soldiers gave to the images of women

vie sharply with Gubar's attention to misogyny. Westbrook's analysis shows a connection between the iconic value of woman, and the actual political life of the nation, so that the relations of gender are more dynamic than they are in Gubar's work. But Westbrook both radically downplays the erotic aspect of the pin-up, and the reduction of woman as metaphor for the nation. He gives to everyday women "citizen" status as he describes their posing in pin-up fashion for their soldier boyfriends and husbands, important recognition of their volition and agency during the war. However, further questions about sexuality and militarization, about issues of misogyny and the exclusion of women from the public sphere need to be explored to explain fully the "problem of political obligation," and women as actor, as citizen, as history-maker.

3.

She had a wide bracelet of brilliants, much perfume, and no colour in her cheeks but a dark red lipstick which brought out the darkness in her eyes.

-- Christina Stead (qtd. in Wilson 3)

Addressing this description of a character in Christina Stead's 1945 novel, A Little Tea, A Little Chat³, Elizabeth Wilson elaborates:

This was not androgyny, but the womanly woman, heterosexual as they come, on the streets, but her independence made vulnerable when she unbuttoned her jacket to reveal the bosom of a soft georgette blouse. Wartime New York was a sexual boomtown, a wartime frontier, with servicemen dropping in to meet war widows, permanent or temporary, in search of substitute romance, businessmen in search of a killing and a girl, girls in search of pleasure and profit. Then, the suit could be seductive. (Adorned in Dreams 3)

Stead's woman whose dark red lipstick corresponds with her vision, whose suit permits business and pleasure, offers the reader an image of wartime's 'redressed' woman. While as Mary Ann Doane has pointed out that World War II generated an emphasis on masculinity and a complementary hypersexualization, representation of female independence, however qualified, with its adornment of seduction, was likewise a wartime phenomenon.

Exploring a recharged sense of the masculine following

³London: Virago. This is a wartime novel about New York.

the Vietnam war, Susan Jeffords argues that wars and warriors rely on (and help create) a masculinity which "is used to refer to the set of images, values, interests and activities held important to a successful achievement of male adulthood in American cultures." Masculinity offers "to men substantial structural domination over women even when other forms of dominance are in operation" (xii); war both threatens and validates this structure. There is, Jeffords suggests, a very intimate relationship between masculinity and the military -- and hence, all other 'intimate relationships' in war and in soldiering are colored by this link. Margaret Higonnet and Patrice Higonnet point to war in the twentieth century as a "gendering activity" which "draws on preexisting definitions of gender at the same time that it restructures gender relations" (Introduction 4). I explore the gendering activities of World War II primarily by studying markers of what might be claimed as feminist practices and imaginings. Not all such representations, by any means, can be labeled feminist, let alone claim the heat of what Helene Cixous calls "volcanic" texts. Yet it is possible to consider the range of representations from this perspective, using the lens of gender. To do so, I address cultural representations of and by men as well, reading the two "side by side," as Gillian Beer has argued is important in order "to understand the processes of gender formation within a culture, and if we are to understand the shiftiness with which cultures have laid

claim to the formulation of their predecessors" ("Representing Women" 63).

In this project, I do not seek solely to shed light on neglected works by women during the war, although this is important. Nor do I wish only to instill in readers the understanding that war literature, so long the province of men, does not belong to men, so long claimed through their right to speak "authentically" as practitioners, or through the sheer volume of their productions as writers and critics.⁴ Peter Jones for example makes no mention of women writers in his study of War and the Novelist (1976). Nor do I seek to establish a "female" voice which claims it is antithetical to war, a non-militarized voice whose attention to creativity and progeny suggests a necessary alternative to militarism,

⁴ Paul Fussell is a case in point. His experiences as a soldier allow him to address the audience as if we are like him. He addresses "you" when talking about potential experiences with prostitutes in London (Wartime 109) for example. The dedication of War and Modern Memory to his comrade who died beside him in the war inscribes the male/soldier "code" of war discourse. See Lynn Hanley's Writing War: Fiction, Gender and Memory for comments about this code (23). And the erasure of females in descriptions of war continues. In a New York Times report on children drafted or forced into armies, Bill Keller waited until the 14th paragraph to note that girls were also captured for service, including sexual and domestic activities. Keller describes the situations of more than four boys; photos show boy-soldiers in Cambodia, Mexico and Afghanistan. While he mentions one Mozambican girl, he provides no information about her role in the army. About girls, Keller writes: "Girls were kidnapped for the sexual amusement of the men, or to cook and clean." No further mention is given, leading us to consider that boys, as outrageous as these situations are, are singular, girls only (for) collective (use). (9 November 1994: A 14.)

although such "stories" should be entertained.

I seek a more particular argument about World War II. To use gender as a category of analysis is not only possible, but crucial in enlarging our understanding of modern war, which as a number of writers from Gertrude Stein to contemporary historians argue, is one of the characteristic features of the twentieth century. Frequently the homosocial aspects are left unexamined, leaving us critically unprepared to understand the bonds men enjoy in combat and/or in such complete state-sanctioned absence of women. The masculinity of war, which seems to demand such a sweeping validity in World War II, cannot be fully understood without examining the concepts of the feminine which both accompany as well as underwrite such masculinity. To read of devotion and bravery -- or of the disgust and dismay which fill the pages of so many war writings by men -- which situates men as historical agents in nation states, often in critical opposition within them from liberal or radical perspectives, cannot be seen fully without exploring the positions of women in the warring nation as well--how women are imagined and made symbolic, not only in their victimization but in their assertiveness, how women too see inserting themselves in the national plane, confront their own anonymity, or read their exclusion from the processes of history.

Within the military, homosocial bonding and a new "family relationship," in spite of the sadistic training the military

perpetuated, provided an intensity of experience, and helped knit together what military sociologists call the "informal group" which makes up the unit to which the soldiers feel most direct commitment. Henry Elkin's 1946 essay, entitled "Aggressive and Erotic Tendencies in Army Life," assesses the military's effects:

As soldiers, men entered a peculiar US social organization which required them to alter radically the images they had of themselves and the values by which they lived and which imposed restraints, and offered occasions for the release of impulse and feeling, very different from any they had previously known.

Citing Max Weber, Talcott Parsons and Karl Mannheim, H. Elkin notes that the army is the pinnacle of the bureaucratic structure, Where "impersonality is so pronounced...that the distinctive feature of the individual is not even his name but a serial number" (408). Men who are otherwise civilians, and who do not in ordinary times think of themselves as soldiers, who would not normally find satisfaction in the minute and mundane tasks of military life, adjusted. "The soldier liked being a G.I. It was comforting to feel...[often facing] fear and danger, that his own self was submerged in the anonymity of the mass."

Submersion was, however, countered by a resistance toward the rigid hierarchy and life "by the numbers." Hence the need for release, particularly in the form of griping, an "earmark of social solidarity" (409). Additionally, H. Elkin records "certain negative and aggressive tendencies," a hyper-focus

for example on racism against Chinese in China, southern Italians in Italy, which stems from the soldier's detachment from "home, school, church, from feminine influence and surroundings, [which] loosed him from his previous social controls" (my emphasis). The military's "purely masculine surroundings,...the values associated with virility," allow the soldier to "throw over everything associated with femininity, especially the values which created disinterested activities." A new kind of manliness no longer "require[s] a positive attitude toward women," and leads to a collective behavior, in which such images as pin-ups play the role of "occasions for the social affirmation of virility" (409).

In a companion article, Frederick Elkin explains that the

G.I. did not like or desire women other than as a means of gratifying his self-respect and primitive sexual desire. He commonly referred to women by the profane term for vagina and treated them all...with a degree of bluntness and indiscrimination that did not help to foster international good-will and understanding" (413).

In these observations, we find an unambivalent link between the soldier's sense of himself as a virile fighter and his leaving behind appreciation of the woman at the hearth, or of what we might consider her peacetime virtue. He is dismissive of her domestic comforts, and instead desires an "eroticism [which seeks] to portray a feminine ideal of terms of pure materiality" (H. Elkin 413). And certainly, the feminine ideal itself received mixed support in the nation. The government offered conflicting signals, advertising to lure

women into the workforce, reluctant to commission women doctors to the Army until 1943 (Renov 41), and was woefully inadequate in funding child care through the federal Lanham act. Yet representations of women varied, and included that of the woman in public who could handle herself with self-possession.

Seeing women too as public peoples involves unlacing the borders between public and private. It requires looking at women's activities both in relation to their daily lives and to the public and political events around them. In this I am greatly aided by historical and theoretical work done by people such as Mary Ryan, Glenna Matthews, and Joan Scott. Joan Landes' work on women in the public sphere has provided the ground of my inquiry. In addition, Carole Pateman's studies of women's embattled position in the fraternal nation-state, and Iris Marion Young's work on what the public sphere might look like if women and people of color's differences are truly incorporated have stimulated my look into women in public. In all this, my debt to Hannah Arendt's questions about the human condition should be evident. The pathbreaking work done by feminist literary critics about this century's wars, by Jane Marcus, Susan Gubar, Sandra Gilbert, Susan Schweik, and Susan Jeffords, have helped inform and direct this project. John Brenkman's call to read the barbaric culture of civilization with close, critical scrutiny, his more recent work on the molding of male heterosexuality, and

his current queries into citizenship and race and have provided impetus for my own analysis of wartime desires and practices. The loving, painstaking work done in women's history, in Renate Bridenthal, Marion Kaplan, Atina Grossman's commandingly collective approach, and in Claudia Koonz's and Blanche Wiesen Cook's penetrating work on women active and complicit, heroic and culpable, provide a rich ground in which to dig. The particularly full studies of women in World War II by Leila Rupp, Karen Anderson, Maureen Honey, Susan Hartmann and D'Ann Campbell offer invaluable background for any scholar in this area. John Costello's Virtue Under Fire presents an iconoclastic look at women's wartime virtues and matters of sexuality, and together with the social histories provided by John Blum, Lee Kennett and Richard Lingeman, has been of ongoing assistance. Allan Berube's equally pathbreaking work on gays and lesbians in the military, and Cynthia Enloe's insistent queries into women's relationship to militarism, have likewise been decisive sources. I have also learned from Shirley Geok-Lin Lim, Hortense Spillers, and Hazel Carby, whose vision to expand the boundaries of critical thinking to encompass and articulate the experiences of women of color has bared a way to enlarge my discussion of agency and citizenship so that it is more accurate.

I turn initially to a discussion of lipstick -- because this seems to be the most obvious yet unexplored image of women embodying their public and sexual persons. From the

start, lipstick allowed me a necessary trope by which to query the subjectivity of women, and the interaction of government agencies in promoting the lipsticked woman. As I became more involved in the project, lipstick seemed also a necessary trope embodying crucial signs of assertiveness and sexuality, representing a female discourse somewhat parallel to soldiers' language and community. Closely tied to lipstick are women's lips, with that word's inflections of voice and sexuality. Jeanine Basinger suggests in a footnote that lipstick in films of World War II could be the subject of a dissertation; although I encountered her suggestion well after my project was underway, it verified my own sense of the importance of this image with its literal and metaphorical powers.

The move from lipstick and lips to citizenship may appear arbitrary -- and I by no means claim that lipstick is the badge of female citizenship. But to the extent that lipstick is an assertive public dressing, signifying a sense of self-admiration and thus agency, as I argue in the first two chapters, it denotes the woman as public agent, that is, as citizen. Again, I ground this move in texts of the period. For example, Mary McCarthy, whose collection of short stories The Company She Keeps (1942) I consider to be a key initiating work -- met at the end of the war by Sloan Wilson's The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit -- grapples with this tie between sexuality and citizenship. The central character of the stories, Margaret Sargent, takes her "sexual freedom" won in

a divorce for a "passport conferring on her the status of citizenship of the world" (20), even though, as Paula Rabinowitz has pointed out, she mistakenly assumes that she can claim this status without complications and resistance (13).

In reading memoirs and fiction, the word appears with consistency -- not only in McCarthy's pre-war narrative, but in the memoirs of Josephine von Miklos, Elizabeth Hawes, and Katherine Archibald as they relate their war plant experiences, in the fiction of Chester Himes, and in Kay Boyle's fictive inquiry into post-war Germany. It occurs in Leila Rupp's historical exploration: the "new woman" of wartime exuded a "strong sense of citizenship" (146), and tellingly, in the challenging title of Mine Okubo's memoir of internment, Citizen 13660. However limited the term is, perhaps signaling a rootedness in liberal forms of government rather than in favoring a postmodern dismissal of the nation-state, the concept of citizen offers a valid inquiry into representations of women as markers of national meaning and as makers of history.

4. Tongues, Bodies and Individualities

To yoke sexuality and citizenship together in representations during World War II, in films, posters, fiction and memoirs presents inherent difficulties, yet I believe that even with trouble spots, there is density and

richness in these representations of women and in their relationship to the body politic. I propose not a totalizing theory, but rather a framework for inquiry that allows me to articulate subjectivities of the subjugated, and which helps fashion a politics of gender. Certainly, the very possibility of individuality in modern society, which I suggest is aligned with agency, as well as subjectivity, has been challenged by many twentieth century critical theorists even before postmodernism's autopsy on the subject: for example, Adorno and Horkheimer warn against accepting characters in the culture industry as assertive individuals. Rather,

the individual is an illusion...He is tolerated only so long as his complete identification with the generality is unquestioned. Pseudo individuality is rife: from the standardized jazz improvisation to the exceptional film star whose hair curls over her eyes to demonstrate her originality....The defiant reserve or elegant appearance of the individual on show is mass produced...the peculiarity of the self is a monopoly commodity determined by society; it is falsely represented as natural. It is no more than the...French accent, the deep voice of the woman of the world, the Lubitsch touch. (154)

Acerbic and forceful, this passage points to the grimmest parameters of our culture. Yet I believe Adorno and Horkheimer fail to allow for moments of human agency, as well as of conscious complicity in systems of domination. While they incorporate women into their reading of the enlightenment, they make this woman with the curl or the deep voice symptomatic of "generality's stamp." Women are characterized frequently as mere conveyors of culture's constricting codes, somewhat like rigidified DNA strands,

until no gesture or practice can signify a defiance.

Concerned with noting the subject's masculine prerogative, Virginia Woolf imagines the burdens her writer Mary Seton must have faced in In A Room of One's Own (24). The woman writer is to be daunted by "the learned and the unprejudiced, who have removed themselves above the strife of tongues and the confusion of body." By such elevation, men are locked in to a supposed lack of "prejudice" -- a totally objective and unmoved site -- where all seems secure and reasoned. Women, confined to "the strife of tongues and confusion of body," are locked out, and incessantly in motion. Yet, oddly enough, women must be "protected," a need, which Woolf argues, underwrites the sense of masculine power, self-esteem, and unalterable singular truth, and which is then, curiously enough, reflected by women. In one of her most noted insights, Woolf writes: "Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. Without that power probably the earth would still be swamp and jungle" (35)⁵ Such "service" to the male ego and subjectivity is "essential to all violent and heroic

⁵In The Dialectic of Enlightenment Adorno and Horkheimer note a similar relationship between the containment of women and the enlightenment project. They write, "As a representative of nature, woman in bourgeois society has become the enigmatic image of irresistibility and powerlessness. In this way she reflects for domination the pure lie that posits the subjection instead of the redemption of nature" (71-2, my emphasis).

action" (36) from imperialism ("giving judgement, civilising natives"), to the rise of fascism. And for Woolf of course, it is not power at all for women, but a limitation.

Female subjectivity, in breaking (with) women's supposed "magic and delicious power," is necessarily critical. Because wartime was so horrendous and so appalling, nations so mobilized, the conventional codes of gender were strongly evoked, it was difficult for women not to reflect male, militarized power. Yet mobilization nevertheless stirred the prospects for this critical female agency. The mirror, so to speak, was cracked, or shifted its plane, and light and bodies came at different angles. Such agency found in representations in this period must likewise refigure the role of universal judgment, reason, and the body itself, as Rukeyser has shown us. We might turn to Simone de Beauvoir's concept of the woman as subject, to query this universality. The making of an 'undivided' woman is constituted as it is for men by her sexuality:

Through the identification of phallus and transcendence, it turns out that [man's] social and spiritual successes endow him with a virile prestige. He is not divided. Whereas it is required of woman that in order to realize her femininity she must make herself object and prey, which is to say that she must renounce her claims as sovereign subject. It is this conflict that especially marks the situation of the emancipated woman. She refuses to confine herself to her role as female, because she will not accept mutilation; but it would also be a mutilation to repudiate her sex. Man is a human being with sexuality; woman is a complete individual, equal to the male, only if she too is a human being with sexuality. (682)

Beauvoir's concern with the weight of conformity upon women is important: woman tries to become active in a world "which dooms her to passivity." Yet we may disagree on what constitutes passivity, and wherein resistances may be found. "[T]o the male's phallic pride she still opposes her cult of self; she wants to be seen, to be attractive." For Beauvoir, femininity constricts women; better that woman model herself in such matters after man, whose more self-less, less narcissistic qualities are to be less dividing and admired.

The privileging of the male order is a well-addressed difficulty in Beauvoir's work, especially as we have come to champion dividedness as a metaphor for women's resistant differences. Female desire may draw on both this desire to be seen, to be attractive, and an unruliness that breaks with such performative codes. Distinctions between the good woman and the bad, between virgin and whore, have in fact guaranteed the exclusion of women from this concept of agency. That women's agency, stemming from her own 'private' behavior, tints her presence in the public sphere can be seen as a different kind of citizenship. This "new" citizenship has scant attention in feminist literary criticism. This oversight colors discussions of women in wartime, not surprisingly since citizenship and soldiering become nearly synonymous in national discourses. The politics of war itself further problematizes such citizenship, even as its changing facets shaped by domination, resistance, and heightened

nationalism refigure it.

The public agency I wish to uncover in wartime is critical, active, embodying and displaying the "individualities" which Helene Cixous speaks in "The Laugh of Medusa" (292). Such a woman is not only in the public space, but is in it critically, vocally resistant not only to her own instability within it, but often as someone who seeks to transform such space. In Chapters 2-4, I explore images of lipsticked women, fiction and memoirs in which such images play a central role in order to speculate about female agency and adornment. In two films, Saboteur and Arise, My Love, I find a critical citizenship in women who are not afraid to challenge authoritarian practices. In the fifth chapter, reading Mine Okubo's Citizen 13660, I discuss the memoir's challenge of the shameful, "terrible state" of exclusion from the body politic, moving from the trope of lips to the image of the shamed face. In Chapter 6, I explore the interwoven texture of race and gender in reading fiction by Chester Himes and Ann Petry. Here, the emphasis on lips and lipstick merges with the characters' literal dressing as well as their symbolic sense of "redress." I read the "loose lips" posters in Chapter 7 as complex cultural symbols expressing fears about female discourse and sexuality, at the same time that we can see an emergent resistance to such containment. And finally, in Chapter 8, I look at fraternization in occupied Germany -- in the fiction of William Gardner Smith, Gertrude

Stein and Kay Boyle, to introduce some ongoing questions about women's position in representations of postwar national identity and nationalism.

The "curl" of sexual assertiveness which I point to in the following chapter, popping out from beneath women nurses' helmets, is not that different in appearance from the "curl" as "pseudo-individuality" bemoaned by Adorno and Horkheimer. I put more trust in the play of the dialectic, and as contradictory as this might seem in an essay that explores a few tropes as symbolic currency, I try to honor both the political registers and the vibrant singularities of such gestures and images in a liminal period.

Chapter 2

The Paradox of Lipstick: Dressing for War
Ruth Haskell's Helmet and Lipstick

1. Marking women

The men were in battle dress; they wore rather grim expressions.

A fresh application of lipstick, my helmet at a jaunty angle, and I was ready for anything.

--Ruth Haskell, Helmet and Lipstick
(92, 131)

It is hardly unusual to find mention of American women's attention to makeup and hair in representations of World War II. Rosie, the idealized war worker who stood for millions of women who entered the factories and mills, and who is with few exceptions the single surviving image of woman from wartime, seldom appears without her carefully drawn lip rouge and neatly coiffed hair when she lifts her goggles or welder's mask.¹ Numerous social histories of women in wartime have noted and continue to note that when Veronica Lake cut her bangs, hordes of working women followed suit, linking their devotion to style and movie stars to their commitment to production and safety on the

¹Exceptions are the woman kissing a victorious soldier (see the 1995 U.S. postal stamp from the World War II commemorative series) and a few other images which have managed to survive. The New York Times Book Review's quiz on World War II (6 August 1995) asked readers to identify one female--Rosie.

shop floor.² But it is equally important to note that men "dressed" too; their uniforms were a marker of their place in the nation, and as U.S. Army nurse Ruth Haskell reminds us above, they "wore" expressions full of meaning on their faces as well.

Haskell, an Army nurse who recounted her experiences in North Africa, combines army uniform and 'female' uniform in the title of her memoir: Helmets and Lipstick, insisting that her unit of nurses was not adequately attired until they had put on their lipstick. Indeed, hardly an American text, poster, or film of the era depicts a woman without including her makeup -- or pointedly noting its absence, an absence laden with meaning. As pervasive as it is, this concern with female adornment, makeup in particular, has been underexplored in texts and images from World War II. One might imagine a tendency to dismiss it, not only as a trivial issue, but furthermore as the continuation of feminine practices which, as Simone de Beauvoir writes, like "fashions to which she is enslaved....cut [woman] off from her transcendence" (529) Yet this attention to self-

² Lake's bang-cutting gets particular attention, for example, in Susan M. Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond p. 195; Richard Lingeman, Don't You Know There's a War On?, 158; D'Ann Campbell, Women at War with America, 123. Rupp notes that the poster of three women workers, captioned "SOLDIERS WITHOUT GUNS," was unusual even though "for the first time, the working woman dominated the public image" (165-6). The Norman Rockwell image of Rosie which appeared on the cover of Saturday Evening Post -- muscular, older, her foot assertively laid over a copy of Mein Kampf, is unusual.

fashioning might be seen as something more than false consciousness. As a particularly contested female practice, combining issues of women's presence in the public sphere, eroticism, and collective behavior, it provides a vital subject of inquiry for wartime in particular. This chapter, then, begins a discussion of makeup as a dynamic marker of women's national identity, considering both textual representation and historical practice. The chapters which follow will look at more problematic, and critical representations of the national woman.

Makeup helps inscribe what Elizabeth Arden advertised as a "war face"³ -- the visage of the assertive and devoted American woman involved in the war effort. We see her as well in the U.S. Army Nurses' Corp recruiting poster "More Nurses Needed," and the Red Cross poster, "In Camp...and overseas...Red Cross Workers" [figures 1 and 2]. The representation of this citizen is, however, unstable, for a woman's claim to citizenship in the fraternity which has relegated her to the domestic and to the realm of appetite is an endeavor fraught with contradiction. She is in limbo, fixed between an idealized version and the individualities of American women, possessing civic and sexual agency, yet also caught in the web of gendered codes which have precluded women's access to these aspects of subjecthood.

³ The "war face" appeared in Saturday Evening Post (in Angeloglou 128).

The politics of war and gender further complicate this interpenetration, making claims on masculinity and femininity to be pressed to service, and weakening the private-public distinction -- "families as compared to the nation, mothers [sic] needs versus the needs of the state, individual death as opposed to national survival," which Joan Scott reminds us, "is critical in the formulation of nationalist or patriotic ideologies." Scott asks us to "read the evidence we accumulate for what it reveals about how people appropriate and use political discourse, how they are shaped by it and in turn redefine its meaning" ("Rewriting History" 28-29).

No doubt, makeup at times helps to inscribe the submission and subjugation of woman in the sex/gender system, and I will return to this problematic in the next chapter. But in Ruth Haskell's memoir Helmets and Lipstick (1944),⁴ makeup is clearly a significant aspect of women's experience, as well as a practice where issues of gender and social relations are concentrated. Thus I move to a richer field from which to view the inscriptions of adornment and makeup in a time of militarization, social mobilization, and

⁴The memoir was considered "an interesting addition to the war's library of personal narrative" in Weekly Book Review Apr 2 1944, 10. M.S. Ulrich wrote in Saturday Review of Literature that Haskell was not a very vivid writer: "She has overburdened her account with trivial conversations and equally trivial anecdotes, while in her desire to make it informal she has depended too largely on a sort of flip slanginess. But she is obviously a woman of courage and selfless devotion" (27:64 Apr 15 1944).

shifting concepts of public virtue and national devotion. This text is, I believe, representative of many other literatures by women from the war period but stands on its own as well, to suggest provocative possibilities for women in the imagination and practice of the period.

2. Battle dressing

Ruth Haskell's memoir, Helmets and Lipstick, presents the least ambiguous sense of national identity of the works to be addressed here. Her text seeks a seemingly unproblematic place for women in the public arena, offering as it does a sincere yet cautious account of military nursing which she hoped might help attract other women to the military. In her sturdy, moving account of her service, Haskell tells of her identification with the military and thus the nation as a lieutenant in the Army Nursing Corps. Positioning herself as a mother at the very start of the memoir, she dedicates her text "To My Son." But from here she immediately claims her own revised status, niece to Uncle Sam, on par with his G.I. nephews: "...in these past three years [Uncle Sam] has also acquired many nieces. Included among the latter are the Army nurses" (Preface). Yet, as patriotic as her text appeared, we will find it reveals a more radical affiliation to the nation. While hardly a "volcanic" text in Helene Cixous's sense ("Laugh" 292), Haskell's memoir shows the rub, the discrepancies

between a woman's fashioning of herself and the nation's ability to incorporate her into the body politic.

To give the reader a sense of the memoir, I will summarize it briefly.⁵ Written as a contemporary war account, Haskell begins with her stint at Camp Forrest, Tennessee in training for her nurse duties. The comraderie which men in the military experience is seen to be developing here among women, with a to-be-expected tension between them, divided somewhat by the level of glamour as well as by regions. But the friendships deepen as Haskell is shipped out in full secrecy, through New York, via England, and as the nurses' journey culminates in a hair-raising sail to North Africa. Haskell has told us little of her background, but on the secret sail to the war zone she reveals that she is divorced and mother of a young boy who now lives with her parents in New England, marking herself

⁵Haskell's memoir is one of relatively few autobiographical accounts of American women's military service. It is obscure and unnoted; I came across it in the catalogues of the New York Public Library. Mary Lee Settle's brilliant account of her service in the British military All the Brave Promises (NY: Ballantine Books 1966) has not received the attention it deserves. Campbell notes Mabel Keaton Staupers, No Time for Prejudice (New York, 1961), the memoir of an African American army nurse; Mildred McAfee Horton, "Recollections of Captain Mildred McAfee [Horton], USNR (Ret.)," 1971, Oral History Collection, United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.; Joy Bright Hancock, Lady in the Navy: A Personal Reminiscence, (Annapolis, 1972). See also Ruth Rosenthal, Not All Soldiers Wore Pants, (Rochelle Park, N.J.: Ryzell Books, 1993). For lesbians' recollections in the military, see Allan Berube, Coming Out Under Fire (New York 1990). For memoirs of women in confinement, see Chapter 5.

as different from the other nurses. She has "adjusted her personal affairs," exchanging them for the public affairs of war. After a hair-raising disembarkation, the nurses land in North Africa far closer to a war zone than normal for Army nurses, and their nursing duties are required extensively in the weeks prior to what is most likely the battle of Kasserine Pass. Learning to suppress fear, horror and grief, they face difficult work, which is matched by descriptions of social life between nurses and officers which seems gay and energetic. Haskell's assignment is cut short by a bad back, and she must return to the U.S. Her war service over, she ends her account as well.

For whatever other reasons that she wrote the memoir, Haskell's text seems quite clearly a recruitment effort, heralding the importance and bravery of the Army nurses. One highlighted encounter shows the newfound enthusiastic support for women in uniform expressed by thoughtful men who formerly had serious reservations. Her mix of respecting military security and of openness in telling her story suggests an informality and an attractiveness in military life. Insisting on the importance of military security for example, she tells of the strict secrecy about their departure overseas, the subject of the "loose lips sink ships" campaign; later Haskell reveals that a password comes from a cartoon conversation, but she will not divulge the phrase itself--guarded information which paints both the

popular thrust of the war and the need for vigilance. She stresses inward strengths of many women which can be marshalled to benefit the nation, and that in the process one's sense of oneself--including one's femininity--won't be lost. To this degree, the memoir is a sort of bildungsroman of the female military nurse-- fitting in the tradition of romantic self-construction, as she comes to achievement and thus consciousness as an American woman.

Yet, the framing of the text, in its varied depictions of the female body, allows us to question the 'completion' of this self-construction, and to read the text more critically. In the memoir's opening, the nurse recruits from the South are perfectly happy to have "Madge, our colored maid" (13) help them pack. Thus, we are quickly informed of the existing class and race structure of home front America replicated within the military. Haskell is, however, dismissive of this privilege and of these women, preferring Yankee self-reliance, and packs for herself when their orders to leave arrive. Implicit in this rift is the concept that one's body is adequate and appropriate for the work one faces. The old structure of "colored maid" is not only distasteful but unnecessary. But by the end of the memoir, Haskell's body has failed her. Her back has been bothering her, and at a certain point she can no longer conceal her pain and illness from the doctors. It is, then, her body--inadequate, which returns her to the States and

prevents her from continuing military service. She is not so much wounded as weakened internally. This frame suggests not an essentialist reading of the body, but the 'inevitability' of the female body evoking 'lack' and 'inadequacy' within the framework of a masculinist social structure, and a return most likely to a more traditional motherhood and to anonymity. But within this frame itself, within the text, we see an intriguing picture of the female 'warrior.'

The memoir's title, Helmets and Lipstick, seems carefully to contain 'military' women within a female code, yet the contrast between uniforms of the masculine and feminine, helmets and lipstick, both metonymic images, is now synthesized, and suggests an intrusion into what John Costello has called the "the world of ritualized masculinity" where soldiers "regard their weapons as extensions of their virility" (77). But while both words are metonymic, both are needed in the fashioning of this soldier, the helmet quite crucially, and the lipstick to particularize, to lessen her loss of autonomy. To an extent both words signify attributes of her body--and thus shift to synecdochal status, in a sense being incorporated not only into her text, a form of self-description, but into her daily existence in the theater of war. That "split subjectivity" which Mary Ann Doane finds when the wartime factory woman faces hardship in being both the "masculinized

worker and the embodiment of femininity" (29) recurs in this context as well. But lipstick--notedly phallic in its shape, might also help to redress what Doane identifies as a woman's problematic access to the signifier/phallus, where "she finds herself in a kind of signifying limbo" (10). The fact that lipstick goes on the lips -- which also denote labia, suggests a devaluation of the phallic signifier. The "and" in the title is significant; its linking serves to equate helmets with lipstick, privileging neither. While the title has none of the cataloging or length of a Whitman line, we might consider the conjunction by seeing it in the light of Whitman: by its use of the small connective sign, the title "forges a vision of wholeness out of disparate parts held together by [an] adhesive voice....'And' allow[s] the voice to bind the parts of the world together, to blend them" (Folsom 141).

The uniform, as Lawrence Langer has noted, defines women, as it does men, within a collective national organization, linked to the nation in this case which seems almost genderless. Clearly, of course, it isn't genderless, as the women find out numerous times. Nor do they want it to be; but to be acknowledged as female and equal is desirable. One incident in particular illustrates the gender gulf. As they embark for Europe, the women hike onto the ship under the scrutiny of hundreds of G.I.s. The men whistle, which, although playful, implies a more sinister

and disruptive breach between men and women in uniform (26). One might consider the memoir as a process by which the women learn to whistle, or to whistle back, asserting their own desire.⁶ Wartime involved adornment and varied faces for men as well, so helmets and lipstick are one version of battle dressing. As Haskell tells us, the men also don "dress," that is, battle dress, and they wear "faces," in this instance a "grim" face as they disembark under attack.

Both helmet and lipstick are attended to in the text. Let me begin with lipstick. Christmas in Arzeu, Algeria 1942 finds the women exhausted and lonely, shaken by the bombardment they have faced, the aftermath of the battles, and far from home. The folks back home send seemingly impractical gifts of cosmetics and perfume, and little else. At first the nurses are amused, but then they realize the value of such packages. With utter honesty and without

⁶I believe whistling is emblematic of an assertiveness that women have to lack. And some women involved in the war effort tackled this head on; consider for example a woman worker's experience at Lockheed: "Oh, when a fellow whistles at me, I whistle right back at him. He doesn't know what to do next.'" A group of women at Lockheed organized so that "every time a handsome young buck came through the door, we whistled and shouted..." in Campbell 125-6. Campbell's source for this material is Gluck's Rosie the Riveter Revisited, Women, World War II and the Work Experience (Long Beach: California State University Long Beach Foundation, 1983) a multi-volume series of interviews with women war workers from which the more available condensation, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social change is derived (NY: Meridian 1987).

self-consciousness, Haskell insists:

if I should ever stop using make-up there would be nothing left of my morale. A fresh application of lipstick, my helmet at a jaunty angle, and I was ready for anything. (131)

The other nurses concur. Cosmetics are a socially-honored morale-builder. An extensive discourse in home front culture is built up around them on which I expand in the following chapter. They signify women, behaving as both index and metonymy, enabling a woman to face the onslaught of war and the near-overwhelming emphasis on masculinity.

The military itself had a contradictory position on makeup for its women soldiers. Eager to dispel images of the soft and self-absorbed woman, the Office of War Information at one point stated that the "Woman's Army" was "not a lipstick, hair pin affair" (Government Information Manual for the Motion Picture Industry). Nevertheless, the Army and Navy encouraged women to wear light makeup, although red nail polish and too-bright a lipstick could get a woman an infraction (Rosenthal 41, 83). Makeup might have helped establish a sense of identity in the face of Army-issued girdles, stockings, slips, and bras--all khaki-colored. The WAC uniform was designed by Dorothy Shaver of Lord and Taylor (72), to entice women into service, to create an identity within the organization, but in service to an ideological position of Woman as well, as demurely careful and attentive to her appearance. At the same time such efforts tried to shift attention away from the public's

fears of "'loose' or 'mannish'" female soldiers (Leisa Meyer 584).⁷

But in Haskell's text I consider lipstick, like cosmetics in general, as less an indicator of a defensive posture, and more an indicator of assertiveness which allows conventional gender boundaries to be transgressed. To illustrate, on the troop ship to Europe, nurse Millie's perfume is admired; its name -- "Indiscreet," a sign of the new permissibility of 'indiscreet' behavior. The women aboard ship, aware of the dangers they are heading into, enjoy themselves. "They could certainly dance," Haskell writes, "and it was a joy just to watch them" (13, 30). A spectator in this particular scene, Haskell will become a participant as well, moving from Mother/overlooker to Army nurse/niece / dancer herself. What I want to stress here is the pleasure involved, pleasure that comes not from the 'silly' feminine of self-indulgence which the sex/gender system might attribute to women, but from the sense of agency and permission she has in transit, while no 'ground' is under her. This sailing scene, with its dislocation which forces a shifting perspective, echoes Mary Wollstonecraft's novel Mary, suggesting a female redescription and trespass. In Wollstonecraft's novel, Mary is caught between a man she loves and her husband -- caught

⁷See also Costello especially Chapter 3, and D'Ann Campbell, Chapter 1.

between passion and the rules of proper conduct for women which prohibit divorce. On shipboard sailing home to England from a sojourn in Portugal, Mary drops into a fevered state while she grapples with her dilemma, and resolves to live virtuously but independently (Chapter 20). An allegory for the conditions of women in the end of the eighteenth century, Wollstonecraft's novel represents the rift between proscribed, restricted behavior for women and an independence which acknowledges both reason and desire. Obviously, Haskell's journey is a reversal of Mary's, for it is from 'home' to the 'other' place. But Haskell's volunteering in the Army gives the reader the sense that she is linking affectivity with her commitment to the public sphere. This is true for the men as well--but their 'desires' seem to involve an intensification of their masculinity as they dismiss the domestic sphere for the duration, never having to abandon it as a woman must.

By mentioning her pleasure, Haskell leaves behind some presuppositions about women's behavior. Cosmetics will ratify this pleasure in the war zone itself. Why is it then that I point to cosmetics as more than a sign of sexual looseness and the promiscuity that society feared, or more to the point perhaps, as more than a sign of female self-indulgence? Am I reductively equating indiscretion, as a kind of erotic behavior, with a socially defiant behavior? We need to recall that the fears about mannish or sexually

loose women were intimately linked by the first half of the twentieth century to disturbances stirred by politically and socially, as well as sexually independent, women --linked in a way that Wollstonecraft could barely imagine in her writings.⁸ In fact, Wollstonecraft tended to belittle woman's appetite in the name of a higher virtue which she should be allowed to attain. While Wollstonecraft clearly overpaints the picture of the objectified woman made prisoner of a "sickly delicacy" and other kinds of "artificial weakness" (Vindication 82-3) in order to make her case about the gendered nature of virtue, she is wary of women being "carried away by their feelings" (161).

More importantly, the feminist virtue which Wollstonecraft so brilliantly argues for, and which informs arguments for women's equality in the century which follows, begins to be reimagined in the twentieth. Result of a crisis brought about by disillusionment with the phallic mother of World War I, who brags of her son's involvement in the war, by the dynamic emergence of sexually assertive and independent women of the post World War I era, accompanied by the popularity of psychology, as well as by the mass political movements prior to World War II, this shift in the concept of civic virtue allows women to break with the view

⁸See Joan Landes's discussion of Wollstonecraft; Landes notes that Wollstonecraft compares women to soldiers in their devotion to "fashion, romantic honor and gallantry"; in fashion, women are subject to a "badge of slavery" (130). My reading of Haskell redresses this approach, so to speak.

of republican motherhood as their virtuous public performance, and claim a position not tied to their role as wife/mother/ nurturer.

Mary Ann Doane, in a discussion of women and film, suggests that the diminished celebration of motherhood during World War II arises most especially from the reluctance to claim motherhood as the central role of women when their sons are being snatched from them for the war, because "motherhood is a source of potential resistance" (74). I believe women themselves had been reimagining themselves so that sexual behavior, not veiled in the sanctity of the hushed Victorian bedroom, became more openly imagined. "The idealization of motherhood," Jessica Benjamin argues,

is an attempt to redeem women's sphere of influence, the power of the apron string. However, it pursues this end by idealizing women's desexualization and lack of agency. This attitude toward sexuality preserves the old gender system, so that freedom and desire remain an unchallenged male domain, leaving women to be righteous but de-eroticized, intimate and caring, but pleasureless (92).

The power which is not power, in Benjamin's account represented by the apron, becomes more unveiled. Mary McCarthy's The Company She Keeps, in particular "The Man in the Brooks Brother Shirt," depicts a female sexual assertiveness--in this case taking place on a cross-country train, a train which is often metaphor for the nation itself. Telling the man her "favorite expression," Margaret

Sargent quotes Chaucer: "'Criseyde says it, 'I am myn owene woman, wel at ese.'" (104), a statement which is a prelude to mutual seduction. In Hemingway's For Whom the Bell Tolls, Robert and Maria's sexual union comes soon after they meet each other, because as Robert says, "it is because of the lack of time that there has been such informality" (291). Their sexual encounter links private and public sphere. The "formal" social conventions of "bedroom" and private sphere are overruled, as sex takes place out in the open, and sex and war are intimately linked. Maria is not merely a comforter, enabling Robert to have a "clear head" for thinking more clearly; she too feels the "earth move."⁹

While Haskell works devotedly and heartily as a nurse, oddly enough the social life encompasses more space in her text than the tending of the wounded. To be a "good soldier" in this sense means not to retell the hard work attending bloody wounds, dismembered bodies, or screaming G.I.s, but to share experiences of a more benign military culture. This depiction leads to an emphasis on relaxation

⁹Kathleen Winsor's Forever Amber, the most popular novel of the war, also has a sex-hungry character. However, we should not conflate a sexy female character with sexual emancipation, which McCarthy's character is consciously grappling with. Like Scarlett O'Hara in Gone with the Wind, Forever Amber's aggressive heroine is endearing because she is fearless about both her sexual and public powers. Neither woman does very well as a wife, and hence can never really attain virtue, but this again confirms Doane's view that motherhood, like the hearth itself, can be a drain on the energies of war. In a different fashion, McCarthy's character queries the very boundaries of marriage.

and play, in which a sexual life is implied. In a way, this 'dating' discourse is a genteel parallel of men's wartime texts where whoring and carousing help constitute the soldiers' narrative, helping to concentrate a soldier's identity created by the war experience.¹⁰ As D'Ann Campbell has pointed out, women were less free to gain this 'experience,' or at least reluctant to paint it in autobiography. A "nationwide underground slander campaign, tainting all women soldiers as sexually promiscuous, [which] began in 1943" was deemed serious enough for the FBI to investigate. The FBI attributed the rumors to servicemen in particular (37). In this acrimonious climate, Haskell's text appears rather spunky.

In its travel away from an American geography to the mobile front of North Africa, Haskell's memoir progresses toward an American/female identity, forged by visiting another land. Yet her text is grounded in both her gendered position and in war. War changes concepts of public space and gender roles. For certain women, war places them under fire, forces them to encounter massive violence and deprivation, to consider the political and national stakes of the war, and to imagine a new kind of female heroic practice. Indeed, the transformation is notable, both physically and emotionally, so that before and after are

¹⁰See James Jones's WWII for example, with his accounts of sexually hungry women factory workers whom G.I.s on leave encountered: "Love among the Riveters," 151-2.

radically altered. The women's shift to helmet, pack, and military clothing redresses them for a new "cosmos" where slacks have become the uniform of choice, where hardship, danger and death are omnipresent.

A mother, thirty-three, older than her colleagues, Haskell has appeared burdened by her own body: "I was a great big husky brute," she writes (109); she is "heavy-chested" (59) and she bemoans her "huge frame" (34). But the women's shared anxieties and fears make difference increasingly acceptable, difference which helps construct what Helene Cixous calls "individualities" ("Laugh" 287). It is this shift in their sense of themselves which gives the devotion to cosmetics such an important resonance. As the nurses share their work and space, even as early as their training stop-over in England, Haskell marks the break with the past, illustrated by changes in the sense of corporeal propriety, as well as a change in her sense of her own body. Haskell writes:

Gone were the days when a gal went modestly into the shower in a robe and pulled a curtain protectingly across while she scrubbed herself. After the supper meal those of us who were going to the party tore across the road and undressed in the cold of that unheated building, piled clothes on the floor, and ducked under the shower at once. As we stood around and washed each others' backs,

the women talked (62). Eager to be naked together, conscious that they have embarked on new practices, they share the pleasure of the shower, of touching each other,

and of a shared articulation. Haskell writes an intimate scene, made viewable because of the common purpose. Physical privacy, a shame of the body, is now replaced by collective enjoyment, in eager preparation for their dates.

Certainly undercurrents of same-sex affection appear here, even if this group is said to prepare for heterosexual pleasure, revealed as they make their plans for the night.

"The conversation ran like this," Haskell continues,

"I hope I meet somebody nice at that party. This being engaged is all right, but not very satisfactory when you are in one country and he is in another."

"I sure hope that whoever takes me in tow can dance," I said...."I'd rather dance than eat, and you kids know how I like to eat"....

"I won't believe there's an officer in this man's army who isn't married and hasn't at least two children. And I don't cotton to married men."

"What the heck," picked up Ginny Ayers. "We aren't planning on marrying any of them." (62)

Haskell devotes frequent attention to such preparations, traditionally viewed as feminine concerns, yet one may deduce that, overseas in the stress and dislocation of war, less-than- proper sexual activities are possible. The dating discourse, elusive, evokes an uncircumscribed sexuality for women, beyond the surveillance of the text. By example, Ginny Ayers, the other named participant in this conversation, has adopted the attitude of indifference to marriage or commitment, an attitude commonly associated with the ritual of the masculine soldier.

Interestingly, the bloody hospital gets less attention than these pre-dating scenes. "'This isn't for a girl to see,'" a corpsman tells Haskell as she comes out from a makeshift morgue filled with corpses shortly after they arrive, following a particularly gruesome battle. Although Haskell has looked, "gratefully" she allows him to lead her away (118). One might consider this an odd moment, since surely as a nurse near the front lines she will see such physical mayhem. Perhaps the transformation from singular wounded to collective corpse is too dramatic to engage. But the scene holds more meaning as one to be bracketed out of her sight and from the text. Just as sexuality in her memoir can only be alluded to, and remains private, the room of corpses is not only to be kept from the American public, but should be hidden from an engaged 'girl' as well. But while both sexual relationships and corpses are to be hidden from the reader's sight, the reasons must be far from the same. To the extent that Haskell's text serves as propaganda to encourage women's service, such silence is not surprising in the face of attacks against promiscuous and lesbian servicewomen. Fiction like McCarthy's and Hemingway's notwithstanding, we must realize that women's sexual lives were hardly presented in memoirs of this era.¹¹ Thus Haskell veils the sexual life which

¹¹ Such silence is evident in numerous memoirs of the war period. One noteworthy entry is found in Charles Kukuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, Chronicle from an American

accompanies women's war service. In the morgue scene, on the other hand, Haskell herself is barely permitted the sweeping visual span of death and gore that a male is allowed. Relegated to the same questionable arena as the Red Cross volunteer, the nurse on duty reinscribes women's secondary position, where her role is 'typically' female, to comfort and restore the soldier. The noble, sacrificing nurse who humors wounded American boys is the image which is supposed to surface above the repressed carnage, as, indeed, images of wounded and dead soldiers and sailors were kept from the American public until late 1944. Haskell is expected to experience each soldier's wounds or death individually, while the collective, overwhelming deaths remain obscured and unarticulated.

Concentration Camp, Urbana, U of Illinois P, 1972): "The only thing I won't do is discuss my intimate relationships with girls....Since I feel it is a private matter for me, I also feel that my time in 'reporting' won't be on this subject except in a general way" (103-4). Kikuchi kept his diary as a sociological record of life at the Tanforan Center. Apparently he kept a "personal diary" as well, "about sexual patterns." But he destroyed this diary (Introduction 41). "Lesbian relationships are mentioned in very few memoirs," notes Sybil Milton in "Women and the Holocaust." "The whole subject of sexuality, love, and friendships in prisons and camps requires further systematic investigation" and the subject has been historically neglected. In When Biology Became Destiny, ed. Bridenthal, et al. (NY 1984), 300, n. 100. It is interesting to note that in all four memoirs by former Chinese political prisoners, reviewed in the New York Review of Books, the writers make some account of their sexual practices (Jonathan Spence, "In China's Gulag" 10 August 1995, 15-18). I believe there was a notable shift with the publication of Li Lay Hayslip, When Heaven and Earth Changed Places. In Red Azalea, the author reveals her lesbian relationship when sent to the countryside.

Elaine Scarry has argued that forms of power orchestrate and control discourses of pain, in particular to conceal, disguise, or redescribe the pain of war.¹² "Physical pain has no voice.... [It] does not simply resist language but actively destroys it" (4). The fictions and symbols of war's bodies are thus separated, by language, from the body's realities (62). Scarry writes that in omission,

the fact of injury is now so successfully enfolded within the language that we cannot even sense its presence beneath the surface of that language....The quality of abstraction ...cannot in any simple way be attributed to the categorical evacuation of the body from the text; for the body, exiled in its ordinary form, is allowed to reenter in an only slightly unexpected place. (69, 70)

Haskell's 'redescription' occurs in two places -- in her discussion of the nurses' social life, and in her brief and relatively placid descriptions of nursing wounded men. In Scarry's terms, "[i]t is not that 'injury' is wholly omitted, or even that it is, strictly speaking, redescribed, but rather that it is relocated to a place...where it is no longer recognizable or interpretable" (71). For Haskell, the language of the nurse to describe her work cannot match the language of her own body. Kept from the image of

¹² The Office of Censorship prevented publicizing casualty lists connected to specific military units and exact locations, for security purposes. Yet this "security" measure also serves to veil the extent of injury. Local papers could print information about casualties without these specific details. (Wartime Censorship of Press and Radio, compiled by Robert E. Summers, 265.)

hundreds of corpses and thus a more sweeping view of war, she is directed to attend to death individually, where an already-established language of grief or patriotism is available. Thus she is to remain a griever when nurturing has failed, reinscribing war's expected position for a woman, as she celebrates the soldier's bravery, his own link with his mother, and thus with his nation. Her service as an American is reinforced in this process.

But the fact that Haskell has peeked, however abjectly, confuses the permissible roles. In spite of our being ejected from it, the room of corpses is insistently present and alarming, in spite of the sliver of language ascribed to it. This pull between real corpses, disappeared, and nearly symbolic wounded, present in the text, serves to inform one of the important ambiguities of Haskell's text. The more Haskell encounters individual wounded men who are thrilled that "a woman, an American woman" is present, the more she is named citizen. But her national position is idealized, rooted in static and limiting concepts of gender; this creates a weak substitute for civic agency. She is "proud to be a nurse, to be able to help"; she wants to send boys back to the front "to beat the pants off the guy that got you" (112), evoking a desire to emasculate the enemy which can only arise in the context of hierarchical gender roles. The alarming congruence of the disguising of corpses, and cosmetics' 'disguise,' must be noted, for this works against

the autonomy she articulates in other instances, which also derive in part through making up.¹³

And what of the helmet? If we think of the helmet of the 'helmet and lipstick' pair as symbolizing both the man's transcendent identity within the nation and, concomitantly, his phallus, the combination of helmets and lipstick seems disjunctive, a combination which reminds us that women's claim to such autonomy is problematic. But in this context, we might consider how Helene Cixous ventures to dismiss the emphasis on identity by way of hat: "unlike man, who holds so dearly to his titles...his cap, crown, and everything connected to the head, woman couldn't care less about the fear of decapitation (or castration), adventuring, without the masculine temerity, into anonymity, which she can merge without annihilating herself..." ("The Laugh of the Medusa" 292). With less invested in the phallogocentric value of the helmet, and abandoning the Hegelian, masculinist concept of civic duty which is based on annihilation (as Genevieve Lloyd and Jean Bethke Elshtain have both described, for example),¹⁴ the nurses wear the helmet for protection in

¹³ See Ellen La Motte, Backwash of War (1916) for a brilliant discussion of the requirement for women's bodies in the war zone -- not wives, but women, "who only mean distraction and amusement" (102-3). Jane Marcus has a rich discussion of nurses' bodies' as "zones interdits" in "Corpus/Corps/Corpse: Writing the Body at War," the Afterword to Helen Zinnia Smith's Not So Quiet... (1930, Reprint Feminist Press, N.Y. 1989).

¹⁴ See Genevieve Lloyd, "Selfhood, War, and Masculinity," 68-71; Jean Bethke Elshtain, 74-5.

war's conflagration. The helmet does not restrict them to a masculinist 'discipline' nor does the helmet conceal their own identities or sexualities.

All of them had been good soldiers. And it was also true that you could put a girl into pants and give them the same treatment as a soldier, but somehow she always remained feminine. Curls popped out from under helmets, lips shone with lipstick of various hues, and all of us wore perfume or cologne of some sort. (159)

While this may seem to be an attempt to placate a public's fears of 'mannish' women in the military, we might read another message altogether. Haskell makes no apology for the sexually symbolic curls. Curls delimit the feminine -- both gender and sexuality, and further, playfully mimic an erection, as they "pop" out. Hair is joined by the shining lipstick, again marking the woman's luminous sexuality, indicators of what I suggest are sexual agency, "the prerequisite for civic agency in its widest sense" (Engelstein 196). The nurses, grown into "good soldiers," evade the helmet's power to define them as citizen soldiers in which gender is meaningless, i.e. in which masculinity is the only performance for soldiering. Gender is in fact crucial in this consideration of citizenship and national identity. Stepping forward as "American," as Uncle Sam's nieces, in the sororial/fraternal state, they have the quality of anonymity which Cixous has noted, but embody "individualities" as well in the variety of their colors and

scents.¹⁵

There is a tension in feminism which not only needs to be addressed but, as this tension appears in Haskell's writing, she can help us address it. For the tension between the real, needed helmet as a denotative object, a steel bucket-shaped thing which protects the head from bullets and other projectiles, and what is connoted, the metaphorical helmet, divides theoretical questions of women's practice and the language which imagines it. It is a tension between what is coded in the rules of gender, and what can be transgressed or appropriated, and thus perhaps transformed. Not really a question of either/or, both significances must be given attention. Clearly it is hard to de-gender, or de-signify, the helmet. The helmet is used for war, war is a gendered and gendering activity, and we think of the helmet first and foremost as sitting on the heads of men soldiers. Nevertheless, it offers, objectively, a form of protection for anyone who might don it in a battle situation. Once a woman dons it, it might

¹⁵ Life addressed "girls in uniform" in the factories who also exhibited the disjuncture of wartime femininity. The importance of hair as a sign of unruliness or compliance should be noted again: "'Although Marguerite [Kershner] looks like a Hollywood conception of a factory girl, she and thousands like her are doing hard, vital work....Now, at day's end, her hands may be bruised, there's grease under her nails, her make-up is smudged and her curls out of place. When she checks in the next morning at 6:30 a.m. her hands will be smooth, her nails polished, her make-up and curls in order, for Marguerite is neither drudge nor slave but the heroine of a new order." (my emphasis, qtd. in Anderson 61).

cease to become a "male" object, although such appropriation, because of the complexity of its connotations, is not automatic. Athena is the exception. Outside of battle, worn on the head of a soldier, because it is made of steel, a helmet denotes strength and tenacity. On the metaphorical side -- and this fuses its standing as metonymy and as synecdoche, for in Cixous's reading, helmet not only stands for head but becomes an attribute of the phallus ("Laugh" 292) -- we note the wide symbolic purposes to which helmets were put; for example, in American propaganda the German helmet could connote the enemy and fascism. A German woman could marry a soldier at the front by standing with his helmet. Or consider the feverish attention General Patton gives to his polished helmet, as Margaret Bourke-White observes as he poses for her camera.¹⁶ He feels his helmet must evoke Patton, synonymous with power and might.

From a Cixousian reading, the helmet suggests those masculine things connected with the head, which Cixous characterizes as the "head/ genitals" binary which inscribes a "dictatorship of its parts" ("Laugh" 293). The helmet does not explain war, and does not cause war, but it seems linked with, signifying a masculinity which is rooted in, and causal of first patriarchal, then fraternal violences.

¹⁶See Rest Quietly, Dear Fatherland, Margaret Bourke-White's account of entering Germany with American troops in spring 1945. General Joe Patton posed for her.

Yet the helmet is also, notably, worn by Athena, the active female citizen, highlighting her chastity. An image of the helmeted Athena is the insignia of the Women's Army Corp.¹⁷ We must beware of unequivocally equating the helmet with masculinity. As John Brenkman cautions, in discussing the need to explore both coercion and consent, "[r]adical critique always needs to guard against projecting a single explanation of oppression and injustice" (128).

But Cixous's text is interesting as one avenue to explore. Here men have a dual fear of castration and decapitation, and thus the helmet serves not only to protect, but to insure the primacy and fusion of this economy. Women have no use for this economy, not only due to anatomy ("woman does not bring about the same regionalization") but because of their practice. In a brilliant and energizing move, Cixous claims a different kind of consciousness for women, contrasted to the stuff of the head as well as the central and centralizing force of the penis, one that can encompass and benefit from women's divided, parcelized, and even demeaned selves: "On the one hand she has constituted herself necessarily as that

¹⁷Life, for example, is not adverse to showing images of helmeted, armed women, at the outbreak of war, celebrating Athena but not limited to her. In 18 drawings and painting representing women warriors in "Speaking of Pictures," even Clara Barton is armed. "Indeed, some [women] appear ferocious enough to justify Kipling's contention that the female is more deadly than the male." January 4, 1943, 6-7+.

'person' capable of losing a part of herself without losing her integrity." Because of women's experiences of caring for bodies, because of their forced subservience -- this is practice, not biology-- women are really in a better position to know about life, or rather, "about living and about the relation between the economy of the drives and the management of the ego than any man" (259).

Cixous's sweeping decenteredness is a call for a more fully democratic way of living, loosed from any one authority, religion or singular values, a move which is both intriguing and adept. Yes, within this framework Cixous notes a paradox, one which propels a feminist freedom. If there is a 'propriety of woman' -- continuing the play on words, with voler (steal/fly) and propre (belong/clean),

it is paradoxically her capacity ["cap"?] to deappropriate unselfishly, body without end, without appendage, without principal 'parts.' If she is whole, it's a whole composed of parts that are wholes [in English we can note pun on holes], not simple partial objects but a moving, limitlessly changing ensemble, a cosmos tirelessly traversed by Eros, an immense astral space not organized around any one sun [pun on son in English] that's any more or a star than the others. (293)

This paradox is of course the deconstruction of "whole" to reveal a vibrant collectivity which helps compose a 'truer' subjectivity, and it is one of feminism's important contributions to the concept of intersubjectivity. Yet I would argue that Cixous has not fully explored the histories in which Medusa stares out.

Woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies....Woman must put herself into the text--as into the world and into history--by her own movement.

Thus she urges at the opening of "The Laugh of Medusa" (279). But the roots of the violences are more complicated. Actual status, or standing -- a position -- is at times less astral and more specifically grounded. We might call this history, or politics--but this returns us to a different concept of the helmet, as well as of one's relationship to a state--involving an engagement as well as critique. Cixous is helpful in locating and celebrating pleasure, but it is left as an imaginary. Certainly Cixous is instructive in reading a depropriating view of the helmet, but this co-exists with a different view of the helmet, as protective device, and emblem of a particular nationality and its military which is fighting others, and someone paradoxically, in mythological terms sign of the chaste fighting woman. While women might seem not to have nations (as Wollstonecraft and Woolf have both proposed), they do claim national positions, however unstable they are. Thus I claim a referentiality of the helmet which shows woman putting herself into the world, into a collective, just as lipstick is a kind of co-existing "text" which women appropriate, a writing red, a small step in "blazing a trail in the symbolic."

Men do not fear taking off the helmet, or cap, in

appropriate situations. Haskell writes a scene in which the women too have taken off their helmets, perhaps impetuously--but the collective performance shows that they have less awe of the helmet's singularly symbolic, phallogocentric resonance. The unit of nurses is watching "our fighters battle Messerschmitts," a kind of fire-show, when a major comes upon them, "savagely" yelling.

"Of all the darned fool performances I ever saw!" said he, crawling rapidly out of a foxhole. "Here I have all my men with their noses to the ground, and wearing helmets, and my nurses stand out in an open area, bareheaded, watching the show! Whatever were you thinking of, or weren't you thinking?...Women, women, women! Just when you think you can depend on them, bang, they go feminine on you."

The major suggests that not thinking and being without a helmet are synonymous--evoking the gender bias that thinking is a masculine practice of the head/phallus, and that women aren't capable of serious thought. But following this tirade, he reluctantly admits: "'Not that I don't admire such courage and audacity. The truth of it is, I do!'" (186). For they are looking women, shedding their helmets as a group to take in the fiery spectacle of war, exhibiting a kind of selflessness which in some situations is described as stupidity or blind willfulness, those characteristics also said to inform heroes.

Lest the reader think that I privilege lipstick and helmets as women's dress for wartime, I want to show another context in which taking off one's hat indicates a woman's

civic agency. In her memoir about working in home front factories, I Took a War Job (1943), Josephine von Miklos rebels against the constraints of vanity; she rejects the "pink ribbons and rosebuds" of her pre-war activities to sign up for a munitions job. "And so I said to hell with the life I have had, and there is going to be a new one now....To hell with dreaming of bigger and better jobs, and of making love to Fifth Avenue" (4). Initially Miklos works in a brass factory. Keeping with the security-minded tone of the times, she hides the name of each plant she works in, but notes that this first company "used to make lipsticks and compacts and electrical fixtures and brass buttons and pins. It made gadgets for shaving and gadgets for the kitchen" (13-14). Thus she accounts for a transformation from manufacturing for private consumption to production for the nation, allegory for the people themselves.

In part, Miklos's lively memoir explores the reluctance of many working class women, not new to the factory, to commit themselves to the war effort. Such a lack of involvement is hardly progressive; their inalcitrance does not translate into a class conscious critique of the nation, but merely tells of a dulled passivity and non-engagement. Miklos brings a different kind of engagement to her work, which she transmits to her colleagues, who eventually earn their plant a much-coveted "E" award from the Department of

the Army. In particular, this engagement is inspired by Miklos's own self-conscious assertion as citizen/woman. This citizen/woman combination adheres in a way that is difficult to undo, even if men around her are slow to acknowledge it. As an immigrant from Austria she feels particularly hostile toward the Nazis, grateful for her opportunities in the United States, and devoted to the war effort. In addition, she has shown us that she is conscious of the cultural constructions of femininity -- citing the pre-war world commerce of vanity she has emigrated from.

The culmination of Miklos's memoir comes in a scene of helmets in a Brooklyn factory where the resistance of the male workers to the new women has been painful and longstanding. In this instance she recalls a dramatic change:

....On Mondays...the Coast Guard band.... starts the concert with the Star-Spangled Banner. And as we run out from our various shops, we stop as soon as we hear the melody. We all stop. The men stop and the handful of women. We stop, rain or shine. The yard is full of frozen statues when that melody rings, and, rain or shine, the men take their helmets off and lift their faces up just a little, and square their shoulders, straight and hard, just like that. And on one Monday a guy next to me nudged me and whispered:

"Take your hat off, lady, you got to take off your hat."

I did. When the song stopped, I turned to him and smiled: "Do we women take our helmets off too?"

"Lady," he said, "you're a worker and workers take their hats off when they play this thing."

O.K., pal. I'm taking my helmet off, every Monday now. That man hasn't the faintest idea how happy he's made me. For once I wasn't "a woman in the yard." (215-6)

To unpack further this ritual of civic silence and the ceremony of the doffed helmet¹⁸, let me briefly turn to Dorothy Parker. In "Soldiers of the Republic," a story published in the New Yorker in February 1938, Parker writes that some women in war zones had "seen and heard too much to be knocked into silence."¹⁹ The Swedish nurse who has "seen too much" possesses the speech of community, of experience and exposure, of maintaining memory, of translation for the uninitiated -- speech which Parker herself carries on. Miklos, in this instance in the factory yard, celebrates a collective silence, a silence of ritual and respect²⁰, but she also depicts a site of transgression -- women crossing a border into territory from which they have previously been excluded. Historically in the development of modernity, femininity and domesticity have

¹⁸One notes of course the similar gesture of man taking his hat off in front of woman. Perhaps both removals represent acts of submission to the symbolic, one to women's virtue, one to civic cohesion -- but I think the gestures differ as well. In church, in front of the flag, women are expected to keep on their hats because they neither remove themselves from their ties to shame, nor assert themselves as individuals. But I do not want to equate the man's gesture toward women with that toward the state.

¹⁹"Soldiers of the Republic", reprinted in Here Lies, Collected Stories of Dorothy Parker, NY: Viking Press, 1939.

²⁰I will examine national 'silence' further in my chapter on the "Loose Lips Sink Ships" posters.

been the operating values through which women distantly participate in the state, and they have been excluded from the public rituals which articulate a body politic except through these modes. Miklos, like Parker before her, shows us an instance the transformation of things and people, thus changes in practices and in the symbolic values of these practices. As Republican soldiers show us, and as the narrator articulates, significances of things themselves have changed, both in use and social meaning: "Each one lit his cigarette with a contrivance of yellow rope that stank when afire and was also used, the Swedish girl translated, for igniting grenades" (263).

This reading is intended to explore the possibility of looking at makeup in a more provocative way than it has been considered in the past -- not to highlight the practice itself, but to see it as indicative of an assertive woman who emerges in the course of the Second World War. In the following chapter I look more broadly and speculatively at cosmetics as a wartime practice. My concern is with what Joan Landes calls the "problem of women's subjectivity within the gendered republic" (199 Landes). Like the helmet for Miklos, signs of women's public "dressing," lipstick is transformed into a symbol of female self-composure in Haskell's memoir, as well as a means of fitting in and finding comfort. I use self-composure to suggest both self-composition and its sense of composure. Hers is not a

particularly unruly self-assertion. But Haskell, between the reliance of maids--an upper-class 'solution' to being confined to the domestic sphere, and her own failed body, writes a text of active participation. Her illness implies the difficulty of fully penetrating the body politic, but nevertheless, Haskell's text of fulfillment and purpose is testimony to a process of transformation for women which the Second World War inadvertently assisted.

To read Helmets and Lipstick for its moments of resistance permits us to consider a national identity available to women as participants in the public, crucial events of the day. While tied to conventional female duties in a masculinist organization of power, Haskell upholds pleasure of the body, naked and un-uniformed, which complements and helps engender its uniformed, national position. Makeup, as an equal component of the uniform, informs self-assurance and voice, for as we've noted, the nurses have also learned to whistle. The voices they adopt are their own, frequently in contrast to masculine expectations. As one nurse summarizes toward the end of Haskell's tour, "'Africa has done much for me. My boy friend won't know me!" (180). Louise, the changed woman who has spoken, recognizes an integrity and a revised self, not tied to her boyfriend's earlier view of her.



Figure 1 "More nurses are needed! All women
can help--learn how you can aid in Army hospitals.
U.S. ARMY NURSE CORPS



Figure 2 "...In camp...and overseas.
RED CROSS WORKERS serve our fighting
forces."

Chapter 3

Lipstick, Sexuality and Citizenship
Speculations

Not every girl, by any means, can be a Helen of Troy, but you can never aim too high. American women are almost the only women on earth who still have on their dressing tables all of the little props and aides to loveliness....This Christmas of all Christmases you will want to look your prettiest. Your mouth will be a bright inviting flash of color if you choose the right lipstick. Experts tell you to choose one that is strong and red.

--Kiley Taylor, *Women's Activities*
Page, New York Times, (December 21, 1941).

A man's white handkerchief, lipstick-smearred, was on a window sill....The ashtrays were piled high with cigarette butts, the lipstick-marked ones outnumbering the plain whites....the sandwich had one bite out of it, and even that bitten crescent had lipstick around it.

--Frederic Wakeman, Shore Leave 120-121.

1. Public virtue: vivacious, infectious women

When Howard Hughes hired an airplane to 'write' two large circles in the sky over San Francisco, the wartime population below was to know that the circles represented Jane Russell's bosoms (Costello 151). This sky spectacle was intended to market his box office and pin-up star, and it might have as well soothed citizens' concerns about the terrible events which they imagined occurring in foreign skies. The "two great reasons for Jane Russell's rise to

stardom" according to Hughes, were her breasts.¹ In this odd counting are we to question if perhaps breasts aren't one quality, and if so, what is the other of the "two" -- another sexual place? Or if bosoms are "two qualities," as in "a pair are," then women are infinitely subject to linguistic and mathematical redescription. One imagines these puffs of air dissolving into the heavens, leaving no trace of symbol, and certainly none of the real Russell. The circles suggest 'nothing' space into which one (a man perhaps) could imagine entering, then lose oneself, until the circles once thought of as parts of a body fade, then disappear without a remainder. There is truly no there there. Thus, a woman's ultimate absence evokes her presence as a symbol -- symbol of the "universal" female sexuality in a troubled time, even if it reduces her to breasts, and is against her own interests (Landes 189), requiring her own effacement. Katherine Archibald sensed this in the shipyard where she worked as well. "Whatever the degree of

¹In 1941 the Hayes office blocked the release of Hughes' film Outlaw for what Variety noted were the "bosom shots" of Jane Russell (For the Duration 162). In 1942 Hughes began a massive publicity campaign to stir interest in the film. Censorship over provocative images of scantily clad women plagued wartime viewers. Postmaster General Walker forbade Esquire to pass through the mails in 1944, until the courts cleared it of charges of "lewd and lascivious" imagery (Costello 152).

adjustment" for women in these news jobs, she wrote,

whatever the outward appearance of harmony, the ancient doctrine was never wholly abandoned--that the real and only power of women was the power of sex and that their sole contribution to the field of masculine endeavor was one of negative distraction (16).²

I cite Hughes' sky-writing to contrast it to lipstick, another kind of writing which marks female presence and sexuality, prominent during the Second World War. Lipstick, marking on a face's lips, border of the mouth, suggests a stamp far more visceral, and a trace which lasts in time, as Frederic Wakeman describes in Shore Leave, where lipstick marks remain as the detritus of a party held by war fliers on leave in San Francisco. Lipstick connotes the material surfaces and real practices of embodiment, in this case echoing the physical intensity of warfare itself, and the complexities of wartime desire. Lipstick is worn most frequently and notably in 1940s America and other nations where it is culturally acceptable, by women, with some slight exceptions -- actors, men in drag (including male soldiers dressing as women), children dressing up. It is worn for looking good, it is worn for kissing, it is worn for parties, it is worn for going out and being seen, it is worn for work; it is put on privately, at the bathroom mirror, or it is applied publicly, in restaurants and in subway cars.

²Cited in Costello 175.

Lipstick crosses over between private and public activities. It links reflexivity with outward practice: from a person's own image of herself in the mirror, in a reflexive gesture, to a public practice, where one acts outwardly. It must be reapplied frequently, as if cosmetic time is intensified and repeated outside of real, historical time, suggesting endless repetition. But it leaves marks, a kind of Kilroy-was-here of the mouth, the vaguest of historical records. Lipstick on a collar is the record of a union, perhaps sign of an unfaithful husband, yet it is not the opposite of a cuckold's horns. Unfolding a variety of meanings, lip rouge suggests both acceptable behavior and transgression. At times transgression is condoned, and at other times it is to be limited.

By the 1930s makeup promised the fulfillment of consumerism, modernism, and a female youthfulness which bespoke economic, social, and sexual independence. It was applied by black and white women, working class and upper class.³ To be worn when venturing out, cosmetics inscribed

³See Kathy Peiss "Making Faces." She writes that beauty culture provided the first arena for African American women to enter large scale entrepreneurial life, involving a range of products and arenas for selling them, from beauty parlors to door to door sales (155-6). Peiss addresses contradictory motives for many women's involvement: "Cosmetics communicated the self to others and infused the self with a sense of esteem and legitimacy" (157). Make-up played on the tension between "Anglo-Saxon gentility and the exploitation of 'foreign' exoticism." (157). And, citing Gwendolyn Robinson's work, she notes that "the dominant culture's ascription of promiscuity to black women led them to stress the importance of looking respectable," that is,

the possibility of the virtuous woman making a foray into the public sphere, especially when nineteenth century concepts of "virtue"--woman's moral authority and civilizing influence in the private sphere--were being replaced in the twentieth century by psychology and sociology (Ryan). Such images of independence did not suggest that women had any function in relation to power, although women could range quite freely in films (often as long as they ended up domesticated or punished at the end--but the images were available, nevertheless). Rather than actually signifying real women, these images, enhanced by adornment, were metaphorical. For Barthes, fashion is a "'healing goddess' [which] substitutes for the body an abstract, ideal body; this is the body as an idea rather than an organism" (in Wilson 58). Practically, this abstracted woman marked America's growing cultural hegemony, fulfilling Veblen's idea of "conspicuous consumption" on a national scale--the well-adorned Woman meant the nation was well-- heralding a cultural quest that would reach its greatest gestures of appropriation only after the war ended.⁴ In wartime, the image of the beautiful Woman was meant both to contain women and to stimulate war mobilization. But within this space, women themselves often refused to be contained.

by wearing cosmetics (156).

⁴See Serge Guilbaut, How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art. Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound. My final chapter returns to this issue.

Perhaps one of the quirks of makeup is that women both assert themselves, and simultaneously claim modesty or unassuming virtue. Allure but not allure, not really. The brazenly sexual is not the message. Murray Wax suggests that this interest in fashion and making up are a "civilized game," one of "sociability, not of sexuality....Cosmetics serve to transmute the attraction between the sexes from a raw physical response into a civilized game" (45). In a sort of sensible 1950s sociological approach, Wax credits women with some agency, some sense of social practice in his analysis -- but one which in his estimation effaces her sexual agency. I don't mean to suggest that face painting is necessarily sexual, but the raw physical presence is at times indicated, and it borders on erotic practice. Take lipstick and kissing, for example.

World War II was of course not a civilized game. Six years of total war saw the death and destruction of over 50 million people, including methodically and mechanically-planned racial genocide, and vast aerial bombardment. It produced the largest upheaval of populations the world had ever known, and the most massive violation of national boundaries since colonialism's sweep into Africa and Asia in the previous century. Combatants and non-combatants together experienced war in ways which had previously been unimaginable. The United States, while not occupied or invaded, undertook mobilization for total war, and

experienced a national dislocation -- including the entrance of 7.5 men into the military, and the accompanying movement of more than a million people around the country -- women moving to be with their drafted husbands, or male and female workers relocating for work in war plants. Although large numbers of American women moved in and out of the labor force, more than half of adult women worked during the war for some amount of time (Hartmann 79). At war's end, Margaret Mead reminded the nation that the turmoil women faced did not compare to what men who'd gone to war had endured. While women's wartime experiences could be "a useful supplement to the men's," she argued that women experienced the war not in a collective sense but rather

as individuals, through the absence or the loss of the men they loved. But physically, here at home, they have been safe and their children have been safe. They have been asked to go on living pretty much as they did before... [facing] a thousand little irritations and no big ones. Nothing has happened on the home front to mobilize all of their strength and to put petty details in their places. Because there were no big difficulties, little ones have loomed large. (289)

Mead is, to say the least, defensive. A national mobilization did occur which underwrote the unprecedented machinery of violence and power of the U.S., and women were not left to experience the war only as individuals; furthermore, their behavior had an impact on American culture. Histories and cultural accounts of World War II have tended, however, to leave the experiences,

imaginations, and cultural productions of women largely unarticulated. These experiences include not only the standard matters of wartime life, but the more specific practices as well which show the registers of gender and other roots of power, and conversely, of agency -- certainly makeup is one such practice. Cosmos, the word from which cosmetics is derived, means "order, ornament, world or universe" (OED) -- we might think of both the cosmic order being fully shaken in wartime, and the cosmetic matters as indicators of this turmoil.

In the preceding chapter I have explored the interruption of the military helmet by lipstick. In this chapter I look more speculatively at women's adornment to suggest disruptions of the masculine narrative of World War II, and to evoke the image of a 'national woman' whose virtue arises in being public, assertive, and even sexual. To illustrate the range of representations of female adornment, consider the film Schindler's List (1994), where lipstick and rouge are produced, so to speak, for a crucial need. When the women who comprise "Schindler's Jews" face a selection in the concentration camp of Plaszow, hurriedly they prick each others' fingers, and with the blood drawn they paint their cheeks and lips. This band of women make themselves up in near panic; yet they are highly inventive,

in this case to look healthy, precisely not to be noticed.⁵ Certainly, this scene allows us to consider the unrepresentable -- the alternative to such life. As Bakhtin writes, "authoritarian discourse cannot be represented--it is only transmitted" (784). Blood transmits the painful deaths surrounding them, as well as their inventiveness in escaping such an outcome.

But while makeup has been used over the centuries to cover up and contain, that is, to create the rosy visage of health, the women in Schindler's List assert a nearly extinguished agency to thwart their murderers by their transformation of blood into cosmetics. The women have already learned, through the sexual enslavement of a fellow prisoner, that beauty is dangerous. Their makeup is an act of defiance of a system designed to destroy "the juridical person," as Hannah Arendt has pointed out, was the intent in the death camps to crush the possibility of resistance or spontaneous activity (Totalitarianism 145). We might read this scene also as a female blood-letting which both affirms the female body's menstrual bleeding, and creates an impenetrable face, a kind of Medusa, which depowers the looker, at least in the imagination of the wearers.

Among imprisoned women, methods of destroying identity

⁵Schindler's List, dir. Stephen Spielberg. 1994. Thomas Keneally's novel has a different version of this scene, occurring at Auschwitz. When the Schindlerfrauen face a roll call, they "rubbed clay into their cheeks to induce a little bogus color" (416).

in the Second World War were legion: foremost was to deny and obliterate distinctions of gender. The most brutal of these efforts was the absolute reversal of gender 'privileges' -- Jewish women were killed precisely because they were women. For those allowed to survive, at least temporarily, bras were taken away and hair was shorn.⁶ Deprivations in war-ravaged areas provoked varying degrees of de-feminization -- and whenever possible, attempts to compensate for it. Russian-born Marie Vassiltchikov writes of an eagerness for hats, after clothing was rationed in Germany.

12 May 1941. [Hats] have come into their own now. They provide a sartorial diversion and we are slowly accumulating them. At least they change one's appearance a bit. (50)

Women carefully guarded what remained of their lipsticks and colognes. Margaret Sams, imprisoned in the Philippines, writes of the absence of those luxuries with dismay, coupling them with a distinctively American attitude of self-presentation. "Women, particularly American women, have always prided themselves on their appearance," she writes. When her "large bottle of Elizabeth Arden's

⁶ See Gerda Weissman Klein's memoir All But My Life NY: 1957 and "The Story of Ruth," as told to Sylvia Kramer by Ruth Nebel in When Biology Became Destiny ed. Bridenthal, Kaplan and Grossman, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1984. Both contain compelling accounts of such loss. Klein recalls the horror when her hair was cut; Nebel tries to hold on to her bra as a measure of identity. See also Marlene Heinemann, Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust. Westport: Greenwood, 1986.

Bluegrass cologne brought [to the internment camp] purely for morale building purposes" is "looted" by another internee, Sams is distraught (63). The women internees' inability to "look presentable" lessened their morale, thus weakened their sense of integrity as both women and American nationals.⁷

Susan Gubar points to an insistence on an "impersonation of femininity" in the bombed cities of Britain, and state-sponsored encouragement to maintain the semblance of domesticity by preparing meals that resembled pre-war fare even if made from odd substitutes, and to keep

⁷"...[T]he thing that hurt our pride, even more than the lack of privacy and the lack of food, was the fact that we could never look presentable. There were a few women who always managed to hang onto a little fingernail polish, and a little lipstick, and a little perfume, but the great majority of us had to content ourselves with looking even worse than nature intended for us to look. There were several lovely blondes and redheads in the first few weeks of internment, and I could not help feeling very sorry for them as nature began to take them over.... Such a simple, private affair as shaving one's legs becomes a major problem" (77). Sams also recalled how women dealt with their menstrual cycle: each woman sewed her own cotton pads, embroidered her name in them, and gave them up to a washing committee, who returned them clean for the next period.

Sams' worries turned to food in the later months of her imprisonment. Clearly food and shelter were the primary concerns for those in the most dire of straits.

Elena Kochina writes of her constant thoughts of bread during the siege of Leningrad:

"Bread!
We almost never talk about it, but we think about it constantly.

Bread!

Soft, fragrant, with a crunchy crust. The thought of it drives us crazy." (2 January 1942, Blockade Diary.)

Kochina's other concerns were for finding fuel and scraps of paper for writing.

making oneself up by whatever makeshift means were possible ("Charred Skirts" 241⁸). In occupied areas, fraternizing American G.I.s sought to claim victory by extending the American image of the feminine, providing lipstick, colognes and stockings to worthy women. These transactions often involved sexual exchange. Punishment was also meted out to women by classical practices of de-feminization: the "coiffure of 1944," as Gertrude Stein writes, was applied to French women for the sexual /national transgression of

keeping company with the Germans.... [A]nd naturally it is terrible because the shaving is done publicly, it is being done today. It is as I have often said, life in the middle ages, it certainly is most interesting and logical it certainly is. (Wars I Have Seen 242).

With these phenomenon as background, I would like then to go beyond a valid but incomplete view of lipstick, like other cosmetics, as an enforcer of the image of reified and subjugated women, to explore the paradoxes of women's self-adornment which help engender a civic/ national identity. Making up, in this sense, suggests a making of oneself, a way one presents oneself to the world. Thus, visages like the one Elizabeth Arden offered as the "war face" have far wider implications than solely the commodification of women. Such an image has value as the indicator of a certain material level of life in the war-ravaged zones -- that one

⁸ I refer to Gubar as the author of this article, since it is a rewriting of her earlier "'This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun': World War II and the Blitz on Women."

is still a woman possessing some normal things of a normal life, like hair pins and powder, in spite of the untold horrors of death and destruction. Furthermore, it designates a symbolic femininity by which a woman not only endures the war, meeting war mobilization and its upheaval with self-possession, but by which she might assert herself more strongly in the course of the war, as citizen who possesses sexual agency.⁹ This is not to say that individual and collective cultural life, as a "system of symbols by which man infers significance upon his own experience" (Geertz 250), is stable and not under redescription, surveillance and attack. But these aspects of agency should not be lost sight of.

Certainly advertisers, public officials, and producers of culture on the U.S. home front offered women contradictory messages. A 1944 lipstick ad in Screenland, depicting a woman in uniform, soothes a readership which might have been disturbed by the militarized woman by insisting "[w]e are still the weaker sex" (qtd. in Kidwell and Steele 143). In this vein, cosmetics helped to restore

⁹Susan Gubar uses the word "impersonation," to stress the constructed aspect of femininity--and the ideal which cannot possibly be carried out during wartime. I prefer to think of make-up as a practice, linked to subjectivity. I don't think our terms contradict each other, since impersonation can imply agency, as it is conscious manipulation. The question of course remains whether one has any choice in being like or not. Stein will argue that post-war America makes people be like each other, without distinction, although her critique is not connected to cosmetics.

"balance" to the economy of gender in a period of hypermasculinization. But the emphasis on masculinity, stirred by and aiding the movement of nearly 10 million men into military uniform and a dramatic increase in industrial production, could not be fully matched by a complementary emphasis on femininity, for women were needed to do men's jobs, and in many homes the swarthy protector was gone. In this tumultuous context of shifting gender roles, when the pre-war attributes of femininity were disrupted by alternative images and practices, cosmetics helped to reinscribe femininity. Furthermore, femininity itself was not a static category. As Eric Leed argues in discussing World War I, modern war allows a "promiscuous" mingling of classes and social roles (49). Likewise, Mary Ann Doane has pointed to a lessening of class conflict, so that identities of male and female are given far more attention. Thus the female body "constituted the crucial problematic to which countless cultural artifacts and public utterances were addressed" (29, 33). And, as I have suggested above, the image of the virtuous woman based in domesticity and motherhood, previous decades' markers of proper female activity, was countered by images of wartime virtue for women--the production worker, the take-charge woman who confronts difficulties and deals with them in the absence of her man.

So it is not surprising that the War Production Board (WPB) chose to keep cosmetics from the list of restricted

industries. The manufacture of "face powder, lipstick, rouge and deodorants" could continue. Instituted by the federal government to oversee national production and help orchestrate public campaigns addressing production and accompanying scarcities, the WPB operated by strict enforceable restrictions and quotas. But the agency also understood that good morale and interest in the war were necessary components in the vastly (and to some, unbelievably) increased production which would be needed to beat the Axis powers, not only in supplying material to England, China, and Russia, but in realizing the massive weaponry US troops needed.¹⁰ As it did with many other items, the WPB established controls over materials of adornment such as clothing construction. For men, a "victory suit" was promulgated. For women, a "no fabric over fabric" rule was put into effect: "no pleats, patch pockets or full skirts, with limited use of embroidery." Military needs for rubber and nylon demanded restrictions in

¹⁰My step-father, Thomas W. Wilson Jr. was on the staff of the Office of Price Controls. He recalls: "We had unbelievable power. We could pick up the phone, call Detroit and tell them to cut back on production. If they didn't agree to it, we could limit their quota of steel." (In conversation, May 16, 1994). In Washington Goes to War, David Brinkley argues that war itself, in a far more sweeping way than the depression and its spawning of government agencies, saw the real concentration of central power as we know it.

the manufacturing of girdles and stockings.¹¹

Cosmetics, relatively cheap items available to large numbers of American woman, were not to be added to the list of rationed items, even though they were made from petrochemicals and dyes which could be redirected toward war production. The WPB spokesman's rationale was telling. Cosmetics were needed because the American woman's "resultant vivacious spirit, self-confidence and geniality, being infectious, are transmitted directly to the male members of the family" (qtd. in Renov 19). This odd language draws a fine line between sexual infection and infectious sexuality, and persists through the war: while the assertive and sexually-evocative woman is required in wartime, her sister the sexually independent woman is maligned for being the enemy who transmits VD to the male member. But the lipsticked woman in wartime ads appeared to be "the symbol of fine independent spirit," and of the "free democratic way of life" (Doane 28-9). Ways were found to maintain makeup production even when metal packaging had to be redirected to war service. Revlon's lipstick, for example, was consequently bound in plastic and finally in paper (Tobias 81).¹² And advertisers such as Hold-Pin Bobs

¹¹See Lingeman, Blum, Gluck, Kennett, Costello, Doane for brief discussions of women's clothing, girdles, stockings, and bathing suits.

¹²Business was good for cosmetics companies. Coty and Estee Lauder got their start during the war. Margaret Allen writes: "Governments realized the necessity of keeping up

insured the public: "Beauty is her badge of courage...It's a tonic to the war-torn nerves of those around her" (in Lingeman 123). The home front's "makeup ritual could become a patriotic duty. Along with such ordinary objects as rubbers tires and canned goods," Jane Gaines writes that "lipstick was elevated to a symbol of democracy and freedom" ("War, Women and Lipstick" 43). This interest extended to concern for allied nations as well. Eager to show that the Soviet Union provided such fashions for its women, screenwriter Howard Koch added a cosmetics store to his script Mission to Moscow (1943).

In part, the emphasis on cosmetics may have increased in opposition to the National Socialists' severe prejudices against such artifice. Both the U.S. and Germany upheld conventional roles about women's primary importance as mother and housewife, but while cultural images in the U.S. presented the independent woman as well, the Nazis from their inception had made this role of mother/wife, exaggerated and stripped of as much overt female sexuality as possible, central to its vision. In a rarified and cleansed Germany, women's primary task was to bear children in dedicated service to the nation. The New Woman of Weimar

the morale of women as they worked in the munitions factories or were engaged on other war work. Providing cosmetics was one relatively cheap way of making them look good and feel good. Lipstick, which little more than a decade before had been regarded as suitable only for fast women, became a priority item." (45)

Germany and of international presence, independent, sexually active, with her bobbed hair, shorter skirt and cosmetics, was singled out as particularly detrimental to the morality and well-being of the German nation. The challenge she offered was met by a feminine Germanic type, often a peasant, dredged up from a mythic past. This composite of a natural/national woman was celebrated, beautiful and fecund without explicit allusion to sexuality. She was contrasted to the cosmopolitan Hollywood-influenced woman whose independent course and explicit refusal to be mastered by a man portended the refusal to submit herself as well to the will of the nation, especially as it was embodied in the state.¹³

As for clothing, the Nazis "condemned the foreign influences -- of Paris and the United States -- which, they claimed, had encouraged German women to adopt a style of dressing that was either frivolous or else an imitation of men's clothes, and was in any case decadent and not

¹³ In discussing the evolution of make-up practices in Europe, Angeloglou notes that in the late seventeenth century, "Germans were still dour, living in a puritan society where women retained something of the modesty of the medieval wife" (54). Clearly, German practices in Nazi Germany have historical roots as well as the immediate political goals of the nationalization of women (to use De Grazia's term, 6). See George Mosse, Sexuality and Nationalism. "Nationalism looked back for its inspiration to pre-industrial values" --including images of "timeless beauty" which could be applied to women (31). See also Cornelia Usborne, Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany, in which she discusses fears of the "moral decadence of the bourgeoisie" (9).

conducive to a healthy rate of population growth." Smoking was also discouraged, as champions of the nation and racial purity blared that "German women do not smoke" (Stephenson 190). The National Socialists chose to downplay the image which too closely linked German women to other European women. "[E]dicts were issued castigating and ridiculing women who 'shave their eyebrows, use rouge, dye their hair' in an altogether foreign manner.... 'For good health the javelin or the pole-vault are of more value than lipstick'" (191). This attitude was vociferously enforced; zealous Nazis accosted women in the street and wiped cosmetics away. A Jewish woman in Hamburg wrote in her diary that she was told to remove her makeup because "German women do not wear lipstick." She replied, bravely mocking the new category of "German women" from which she was being brutally excluded: "I am not German, I'm Jewish."¹⁴

Another woman recounted the racialized policies toward women:

"Women under Hitler, that was something completely dreadful. A German woman does not wear makeup, she may not smoke, she should have a thousand children....[sic] Ach, that still brings a chill to my spine".... And everything having "a tone of physical desire," she said with increasing anger, "was called 'Jewish piggishness'...It was dreadful" (Karma Rauhut qtd. in Frauen 344-5).

¹⁴ This account comes from Marion Kaplan's history in progress on Jewish women in daily life during the Third Reich. See also Claudia Koonz, "Beauty and the Beast, The Aesthetics of Nazi Bio-Politics" in Culturefront, Winter-Spring 1994, 97-99.

To stretch the point to booster American nationalism, the press harped on the allies' resilience in areas of beauty, and the enemy's shortages and hardships. British women were inventively responding to bombing raids, finding in them the opportunity to ratify their femininity: a chemist for Dorothy Grey Cosmetics Ltd. insisted in January 1942 that "London members of the Women's Auxiliary Forces take time out after bombing raids to reapply their lipstick and remove the shine from their noses before they tackle their other tasks" ("Cosmetics Supply Is Held Adequate").

As for the Axis nations and their conquered states, The New York Times reported shortages with zeal, even before they joined the war. In March 1941, they announced "Vichy Has Lip-Stick Rush as Women Fear Rationing," as if the Vichy government could barely control an unruly and thus potentially resistant populace jamming the stores for maquillage. "The government has had to appeal to the people to be reasonable." In this case, the people of Vichy France continue to exhibit a healthy appetite; their unsatiated desire could only indict the bankruptcy of the Vichy regime. A June 1943 article assesses Italy and Germany's inability to meet women's beauty needs: "Italy Aids Women to Keep Looks While Nazis Impose Dowdiness." With a frankness about the connection between cosmetics and sexuality that seemed reserved for discussions of the enemy, a former correspondent notes that "women in Italy are encouraged to

keep themselves attractive to the menfolk-- though the means at their disposal is limited," a practice which the writer links to the fascist "'more babies' campaign" which also includes special allotments of linen to newlyweds ("sheets for twin beds are not permitted"). That the state penetrates the bridal bed is insinuated here, as is their rigid hand in deciding to what purpose clothes can be put, since Mussolini has forbidden the wearing of mourning clothes. Thus there is a rearrangement of personal symbols and rituals in the interests of the state. The article points out that the restriction on mourning "keeps the Italian people from realizing the extent of casualties." Efforts to maintain "the maximum of chic" are done within conventional gender rules which have loosened in the U.S.: "slacks...are strictly forbidden. Pants are the exclusive prerogative of the male. Through all this," the article continues, "lipstick of bad quality is plentiful." By its immediate vicinity to slacks, lipstick is made the exclusive prerogative of the female, for Italians a manifestation of femininity which seems grounded in exclusion and containment, and which the Italian Fascist state can supply only badly.

As for the Germans, they "[l]ive without Beauty," as a former correspondent from Germany reports in the remainder of the article. This scenario is "unrelieved by even the simple pleasure of dancing or having a few friends in for

tea." The reporter presents statistics which show vast numbers of German women moving into the workforce, a figure capped with the statement that "[p]leasure is virtually unknown to the German woman." The argument is not that German men gain no pleasure in looking at such dowdy women, but that the women themselves have lost their glow. To a reader trained in the link between a woman's vanity and male morale, such a description is in fact telling of the German home front's despair, bleak news meant to warm the hearts of the American audience. "The clothing ration and an almost complete absence of cosmetics and toilet articles make it impossible for her to look attractive," the writer continues. "She can still buy face powder, but lipstick, fingernail polish, perfumes have virtually disappeared, now that the loot from France and the Low Countries is exhausted," news grimly made dimmer by a "constant dread of news from Russia." I have added emphasis to words which are to impress upon the reader the totality of this situation, and the U.S.'s superior strength in everything from makeup to beautiful women to material goods. Such reportorial authority gives the reader a sense of 'complete' knowledge about Germany, and reassures her of the U.S.'s ability to see the whole picture. The article is placed below another "woman's article" which celebrates "The Beauty Quest," and another article on new hats.

Even these two small articles gloat over the contrast--

America's open quest of beauty is to be honored, and the goods for it are available. The image of the lipsticked, independent woman was paid homage and enjoyed on the American home front and in the theaters of war, through the photographs soldiers carried into battle, through the pin-ups they studied on their foot lockers, through the magazines they read. These images merged an ideal of domesticity with those of women with a public character, and various shades of the erotic. This odd, eclectic fusion of home and nation linked a purity and distance from war with engaged pleasure based, to some extent, on consent. Robert Westbrook finds that wives and girlfriends women had photographs of themselves taken in bathing suits to send to their loved ones overseas. This repeated gesture might be thought of as more intimate and sexual, rather than a reified sexualization. Mechanically reproduced images and advertising certainly have roots in manipulation, contributing to the reification of women. Furthermore, there is a well-described intimate linking of warrior identity and misogyny. But the tension between these aspects of subjugation and the space a more assertive woman was creating is left unconsidered in such simplistic causation. Alongside men's fears that a woman left at home "must be busy, and/I wonder who's the guy" (qtd. in "Charred" 230) existed the woman who was busy -- with her work, her children, and perchance someone with she had met

in the dislocation of home front life, a woman who was as unapologetic as the soldier who had his own intense bonding and relationships. There was also a space in which women felt the freedom to engage in lesbian relationships.¹⁵

A male professor who had served in the infantry in World War II cautioned me once, as we casually discussed this project, not to "rewrite history." Nearly every soldier in the European theater, he believed, had scrutinized images of Chilli Willie, a scantily clad pin up. Then he recalled his time in Germany, pouring over the war's most popular novel, Forever Amber, with his buddies. "It was delicious," he remembered, a novel quite sexy for its time. He might have been recalling the shared excitement, the woman character's sexual adventures so closely bound to political events, that seemed a compelling escape from the daily duties of war and occupation.¹⁶

Gubar argues that soldiers' anger over imagery enshrouding a female domesticity was a sign of their

¹⁵See Dorothy Parker's poem to her husband Alan Campbell, "War Song" which, by acknowledging his potential unfaithfulness, may permit her own, and Margaret Long, Louisville Saturday (1950), a novel in which women -- single and married, hunger after, and engage with soldiers. One chapter represents a woman who acknowledges her lesbian desire. The Victory girl, I believe, claims some aspects of this sexual independence. The paucity of representations of such women can be explained by a complex set of factors, most particularly I believe due to self-censorship, since this 'middle woman,' although she existed, faced constant redescription.

¹⁶Conversation with the late Professor Robert Adams Day, New York, May 1995.

misogyny ("Charred Skirts" 226, 228). Yet one might consider that this anger is more complex, at times representing frustration with the very idealization of the nation altogether. If little seemed sacred in the diminished values of the American G.I., wasn't even that 'privileged' space of the home and hearth also to be mocked?

Patriotism, to an extent, came in doses of the particular, in messages to recall "things," and gestures of home. In their cynical, brutally democratic way, some G.I.s may have turned on these signs as well. We certainly have a record of soldiers belittling sentimental notes of patriotism that they were supposed to fight for. In this context, it seems that the effervescent, even "infectiously" assertive woman - while attracting wolf whistles and serving as a locus for the reinforcement of narratives of masculinity -- subverted images of female passivity, and inscribed women into the imagination of national space without the apron.¹⁷

This is important to consider from the women's perspective as well. As Carol Vance has suggested, "the subtle connection between how patriarchy interferes with

¹⁷ The film Stage Door Canteen combines aprons with public service on hostesses who drink coffee and dance with visiting soldiers and sailors. The aprons, while they are meant to restore some semblance of the domestic as well as to diminish their sexual availability, do not prevent coupling from taking place -- in this sense they seem to be a gesture toward the pretense of domestic sanctity. The central female character does, however, plan to give up her acting aspirations for marriage to G.I. "California" -- but he is shipped off before they can marry, and the film ends. We don't know if she waits for him or not.

female desire and how women experience their own passions as dangerous is emerging as a critical issue to be explored (4). What Vance allows us to contemplate is another way of reading female desire, perhaps as an aspect of the intensity of sexuality in wartime. When Archibald writes, from her observations working in the shipyard, "that the real and only power of women was the power of sex and that their sole contribution to the field of masculine endeavor was one of negative distraction" as I mentioned at the start of this chapter; the concept sounds damning. Yet we might further probe her statement. Certainly some women saw their contribution in the workplace as political, and tried to avoid using sexuality as a means of negotiating. What is the source of Archibald's 'negative'? Those officials involved in curtailing the spread of venereal disease made female sexuality a "negative distraction," as I discuss in more detail in the chapter on posters. But Elizabeth Hawes, a comparable observer of factory life, saw female sexuality as less of a burden, and more of a sign of women's humanity. Thus, sexuality as a negotiating symbol, as one articulating cultural life, should not be limited to "confusion" about the body, but can direct us to see active women whose dressing suggests they have a sense of addressing the world.

2. Victory red

Certainly colors such as Elizabeth Arden's "Montezuma Red"¹⁸ and "Victory Red" (Fussell 149) marked a female 'combatant' --not in the sense of her being literally armed, but involved by adornment, and thus a participant in the cultural discourse of war, where militarization and erotic desire combined.¹⁹ While "red is the primary color with the longest wavelength perceptible to the human eye" (Roach and Eicher 24), red also holds symbolic currency, evoking rage as well as blood. In the suggestion of blood as cosmetics, the lips and the partnering of sexuality with death cannot be discounted. Recall Troilus's speech to

¹⁸ In Blum: "Elizabeth Arden's newest lipstick color....inspired by the brave, true red of the ...scarf and chevrons of the Women in the Marines....A tribute to some of the bravest men and women in the world" (20).

¹⁹ Not all uses of "victory" of course connoted sexuality -- victory gardens, victory bonds, and so on. But the "Victory girl" was certainly a sexualized characterization -- the "quixotic" girl, the "pickup girl," women who had frequent sexual encounters with soldiers and sailors as if in service to the nation. The "V" of V-girl suggests the tainted "v" of "venereal" as well as "vagina." Sex ranged from patriotic to enemy activity. (Costello praises the French prostitutes who served the Resistance, for example.) Women who slept with occupying soldiers were treated as collaborators). Such women's activities stirred fears among public health agencies that "sex was a Nazi weapon"; some were alarmed by "Panzer divisions" lurking around home front military bases (in Costello 85-86). See my Chapter 7.

Paris about despair over Helen: "Helen must needs be fair/
When with your blood you daily paint her thus" (Troilus and Cressida I.1.92-3). Nor can we fail to see the connotation of menstruation, so that lipstick might seem to reinscribe women's bodily activity and defy the male's fear of contamination.²⁰ The mixed metaphor of lips being armed is difficult to conjure (think of the head being footed), but the resonance of the destructive might which female lips possess as mouth and as labia is potentially alarming. Certainly the phrase "armed lips" shows the problem of assigning one meaning to makeup. But the "flash of color" which New York Times writer Kiley Taylor urges is both "inviting" and "strong," an effort to fuse the comforting woman and the Amazonian in one face, as well as to enlist a complicit woman, like Helen of Troy, in the mobilized nation.

In Three Guineas, Virginia Woolf has given us a scathing critique of masculine adornment such as the uniform, worn "to advertise the social, professional or intellectual standing of the wearer." Without mercy, she

²⁰ The relationship between menstruation and contamination is rich in war texts. See, for example, Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer's discussion of connections between death and femininity, which they draw from anthropologist Maurice Bloch. In discussing Claude Lanzmann's Shoah, they suggest that "the feminine connection to generativity is eradicated, which seems to make the...connection to destruction, doubly terrifying." In "Gendered Translations: Claude Lanzmann's Shoah," in Gendering War Talk, ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (Princeton Univ. Press, 1993), 13.

turns on the "barbarity" of men's belief that, "by wearing pieces of metal, or ribbon," they express their worth. Fighting for an anti-war stance on the eve of the Second World War, Woolf aims not only to explain women's lower status but to unclasp the patriarchal choke of militarism: the

finest clothes are those you wear as soldiers....[a] splendor invented in order to impress the beholder with the majesty of the military office, partly in order through their vanity to induce young men to become soldiers.
(21)

Power, with its attendant attractions, sexual as well as political, comes first and foremost through religious, royal, and military dress, Woolf reminds us, and any community it shapes is a patriarchal hierarchy wedded to military might, aimed at reproducing itself, as well as seeing itself reflected in those excluded, that is, in women. Thus Woolf dispels the notion that women's self-devotion and interest in beauty, in the heart, or in the hearth, can be compared to the might which men of power wield. Antithetically, she links vanity and weak dispositions to male behavior, disrupting the regime by which these are the supposed characteristics of women, used to validate their exclusion from public life.

But there may be another slant to the uniform. While the "sexual attractiveness of the uniform" adds to the hypermasculinization which Costello and Doane have pointed to, the leveling of social barriers and the creation of a

sense of community (Leed 45, 42) engenders shifts and dislocations which keeps the feminine from being a static position. Indeed, the contradictory nature of World War II itself requires a reconsideration of Woolf's critique. In one sense the war was a continuation of patriarchal, militarist practices on all sides. However, in another sense, it was a popular, people's war in which genuine mass mobilization and the willed involvement of people including women within different warring states became decisive components. This is in spite of the fact, as Blanche Wiesen Cook reminds us, that "as united as Americans were...there was no agreement about the nature of American democracy, or the purpose for which the arsenal of democracy was forged."²¹ Certainly, much of the canonical fiction about World War II criticizes the hierarchy and practices which incurred "religious, royal, and military dress," even while, as Susan Gubar has insightfully pointed out, the poisons of misogyny and exclusion of women resonated (she cites in particular The Naked and the Dead in "Charred Skirts" 248).

These contradictory signs in fact impel us to read uniform/lipstick even more candidly. In Lawrence Langer's view, uniforms connect a soldier to a collective,

²¹ My final chapter addresses the immediate post-war period, and gender's role in constructing a post-war nationalism--by reading fiction of "fraternization" in occupied Germany. Differing views of American democracy are in much evidence here.

masculinized organization whose rules he follows and with which he identifies. The uniform signifies his distinction or difference at the same time that he gives up some independence to be part of this collective ("Clothes and Government" 125, 127). This is a regime of the brother in a fraternal state rather than the relationship of a patriarchal one. Makeup, like clothing and hairstyle, can be read as signs of women's difference and distinction, what thus constitutes women's social meaning. It does not necessarily imply her exclusion, although her physicalness, her appetite and flesh have historically been grounds for a belief in her inability to handle public life, and thus for her suitedness to affairs of the body and family. Nor does it mean that a woman has equality or full participation in the fraternity, but it is not fully the sign of her exclusion. In "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," F. Scott Fitzgerald gives a somewhat humorous rendition of this "difference," for Bernice receives wanted attention from the young men around her (who constitute the public opinion of a fraternity in a double sense) as soon as she begins to talk of cutting her hair, for she signals her possible difference. When her hair is ultimately cut (not by choice, but by her jealous cousin), she faces the reality of having to accept responsibility for this "difference," this subject position, in a period when women were beginning to claim the right to inclusion in public life.

In a way then, yes, makeup verifies and validates women's conceptions of themselves in a period when their self-assertiveness and attention to war is required. The calls to women to work, the honoring of riveters and grenade makers²² articulate this need; and in this context femininity is valorized, but it encompasses the split subjectivity Doane has described. This virtue encompassed a femininity not so attached to private concerns--or rather one that could to an extent address private and public concerns. Thus it seems valuable to consider makeup as a marker, both constituting and limiting this active woman. A correlative to the uniform, cosmetics permits a way of reading the conjunction of women's self-consciousness and public performance in a critical political period.

By the late 1960s, the move from World War II to a repressive sexualized 1950s would appear *seamless*, so that 1950s images may seem an easy continuation of wartime images. The 1960s saw growing hostility toward cosmetics among many women: a whole counter culture widely rejected makeup, linking it to the submissive and oppressive domestic realm of women in the 1950s, arising from and encouraging a

²² See Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Wartime Relations and the Status of Women During World War II, (Westport, Greenwood, 1981), Susan Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s (Boston: Twayne, 1982); D'Ann Campbell, Women at War with America (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1984), and Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II (Amherst, Univ. of Mass. Press, 1984).

profound critique of gender relations. Many recent critical approaches to self-adornment and cosmetics have extended this view, tending to see them as a means to disempower and discipline women. In contrast, other critics see making up as a potential aspect of female pleasure, stemming from an analysis which incorporates passion and pleasure in the female body into critical theory.

These differences over cosmetics as domination or assertion re-enact other conflicts in feminism -- between 'an erotic subjectivity' and anti-pornography views, between what Joan Scott calls "difference" opposed to "rights" feminism which when pitted against each other fail to illuminate the issues which cause such contradictions (lecture at CUNY Graduate Center March 3, 1994). What, for example, of a cultural view of beauty which is based not on submission but on action, or even Alexander Pope's "armed Beauty"? Pope presents a "virago" unleashed by "Cosmetic Pow'rs" -- ferocious, avenging, singular in "The Rape of the Lock," playing out the conflict between erotic desire and the repression of cultural conventions forming in the eighteenth century and the tension between international accumulation of commodities and an economy of moderation. Mary Wollstonecraft feels enough discomfort with Pope's depiction of women to repeat it in Vindication of the Rights of Women, that "every woman is at heart a rake" (117). Rather, she argues, women need "to be allowed to have reason

to govern their own conduct" (120). Women had been trained to be "slaves of carnal lust," exhibiting "depravity of appetite," consenting to being "[s]tanding dishes to which every glutton may have access" (138). Instructed in the connection between subjugation and carnal lust, feminism has grappled with this dilemma. Indeed, the extent to which makeup itself is an aspect of modernity -- and this may be part of what the women in Schindler's List are grasping -- should be considered. Here is the place in which female embodiment is seen as contamination -- not just in terms of sexuality but in terms of the modern enactment of it. Iris Marion Young, in trying to consider the means by which a heterogenous public can be enacted, has questioned the degradation of female desire and a woman's consequent exclusion from the body politic in the name of "impartiality." She argues that "desire, affectivity and the body" need to be incorporated into the realm of reason for this new public ("Impartiality and the Civil Public" in Feminism as Critique 66-7.) By implication, I believe that Young's position leaves open the possibility of various presentations of the self, and a way to accept the body's pleasures, including self-adornment.

Sandra Bartky, by contrast, writes that a "fashion-beauty complex" systematically organizes women's self-adornment through a "vast system of corporations -- some of which manufacture products, others services and still others

information, images, and ideologies--of emblematic public personages and sets of techniques and procedures" ("Narcissism" 39) with the effect that women are both limited and limit themselves to an infantile and alienated self-involvement which cannot lead to self-conscious subjectivity. In her study, Bartky has raised a valid critique that Foucault does not specifically address gender. But her view that makeup is linked solely to the "production of 'docile bodies'" by which women see their bodies as inferior, and through which they are limited to an interest in the trivial and their 'mere bodies,' leaves little room for a description of women's agency in arousing, to perform various kind of "woman" roles, other than being fooled and taken in by such practices ("Foucault, Femininity" 65).

For Bartky, the use of cosmetics inevitably induces in woman "an estrangement from her bodily being" ("Narcissism" 40), creating an obedience to "imperatives which are both capitalistic and phallocentric." For support, Bartky draws on Simone de Beauvoir's characterization in The Second Sex of the narcissistic woman as one who wants to evade "the anguish of freedom," "to escape the burdens of subjectivity by identifying her entire self with her bodily self" (Bartky's words 39). Woman, Bartky argues, "has been seduced by a variety of cultural agencies into being a body not only for another, but for herself as well" (my emphasis). Bartky calibrates her argument on a female sense

of "lack"; women's ritualistic approach to makeup is enacted "to lessen their sense of bodily deficiency" (41), as if there is an absence to be "made-up" for. Certainly advertising and the fashion/beauty complex has turned women into the crudest of commodities--and this is done to any and all objects which are available -- here one sees the Foucauldian temptation to 'move beyond' gender, for men too are chewed up and reified in these tentacles of power.

But what of a female assertion of sexuality, and a denial of female 'lack'? Luce Irigaray's celebration of female anatomy/sexuality offers a more helpful approach: "We're fine in the lowlands. We have so many spaces to share. Because we are always open, the horizon will never be circumscribed" ("When Our Lips" 75). Irigaray calls for a constant, "undivided... luminous sexuality," in which I imagine makeup may or may not play a role, as long as it does not "make us disappear." (69) Her celebration of self-involvement honors and indulges the female body. While calling for an "undivided" sexuality, she does not deny, as the lips metaphor--being both open and closed--suggests, a body which is both open and closed; it is a body not predicated on duality and mutual oppositions which leave woman as a permanent other, and lack, to be appropriated by the masculine subject. But while Irigaray is helpful in reading the sexual aspect of lipstick, her disinterest in "reading dead bodies" and a dismissal of the nation state as

phallogocentric make it difficult to imagine a woman's national identity in the Second World War, or anything as immediate and specific as cosmetics in her theoretical exploration. If the body is a passive instrument upon which power inscribes itself, then the terms are those of subjugation. In a theoretical frame, however, in which intersubjective relationships are not only recognized as valid but honored, we might expand our interpretation. This is what Jessica Benjamin in The Bonds of Love calls "the idea of mutual recognition... mutuality, territory in which subjects meet" (23, 25) where being for an other may not be restrictive, which is contrasted to Freud's view where "merging was seen as a dangerous form of undifferentiation" (47). To be a body for another is not an undesirable situation when conditions of control and domination are not the effect. Furthermore, I like to assume that women have some agency in these matters.

Jane Gaines argues that critiques such as Bartky's are overly "moral" and anti-pleasure. It is, rather, possible to reclaim female "indulgences" and turn them into powers ("Introduction: Fabricating the Female Body" 5). Gaines draws on Carol Ascher's view that "self-decoration" may provide "women a sense of potency to act in the world" and on Elizabeth Wilson's efforts to rescue feminism from a

"refusal of the body" (6).²³ In this way, Ascher pinpoints a way to reexamine the U.S. in wartime: cosmetics may in fact allow women to have a sense of themselves as sexual beings, and in spite of the difficulties and problems such a state of being bears, face painting may give women "a sense of potency to act in the world." Cosmetics on the lips may assert some disruptive voice/labial power, not as a disguise or veil but as assistance in dressing for self and interactive engagement. During wartime, when one is limited and burdened from so many angles, such a sense of potency becomes critical; likewise, to make women impotent, conceivably power needs to challenge, threaten or destroy "made-up" woman.

"A man's clothes, like his body should indicate his transcendence and not attract attention," Simone de Beauvoir instructs. "Moreover he does not normally consider his appearance as a reflection of his ego" (529). Fashion, she argues, enslaves women. In a telling footnote here, however, Beauvoir acknowledges that this is a trickier issue: homosexuals "regard themselves...as sexual objects"

²³ See Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality" in Snitow et al. ed., Powers of Desire; Elizabeth Wilson, Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity. Goffman also notes the "ego-supporting influences of cosmetics" and the effect of appearance on self-identification." His chauvinism notwithstanding -- noting that feminist militants in the Chinese Revolution tends to be unattractive," he considered that in "appearances...selves are established and mobilized" (Presentation of Self in Everyday Life cited in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order ed. Roach and Eicher, 130-223)

so their attitude toward clothing differs from straight men. "In particular," she adds, "the current 'zoot-suitism' of American Negroes, with their bright-colored and showily tailored garb, has very complex causes" (n. 1). But for women she will allow no such performance, rather privileging the need not to "attract attention." Let us instead reconsider the woman's mouth which "will be a bright inviting flash of color," the phrase with which I began this section, indicating a transcendence, a female embodiment and virtue which may differ from a man's, but helps claim her position in the nation. Caught between images of abstracted women and unformulated imaginings of public virtue, at times facing terrible subjugation, or idealized in the service of oppressive nationalisms, women in this gulf also claimed presence and agency, voice and assertion, forms of civic virtue in the Second World War.

Chapter 4

Model Citizens: Stealing Away and Facing Authoritarianism
Arise, My Love and Saboteur

Following the credits in which the shadow of a figure in a hat looms on the wall of a factory, Alfred Hitchcock's 1942 film Saboteur opens with the shot of a counter girl applying lipstick as she faces a mirror. Next to her, her counterpart, the counterman, dries coffee cups. The camera pans past another waitress who stares into the distance as she eats a banana, and across the near-empty factory canteen, protected by armed guards, "decorated" with a Red Cross poster. A bell rings, and the man announces "here come the wolves." His phrase, which combines hungry workers with lusty men, plays against the seemingly trivial role of the woman in wartime public life: men are active and seekers, women are narcissistic and to be sought after. But the viewer of Hitchcock is trained to see otherwise, so that what initially appears on the screen is to be examined and subverted. The woman wears glasses. Whether this suggests that her vision is improved, or that she is an unattractive woman for whom make up will do little good, is not clear. It seems a throwaway image, except that visual clarity becomes an obvious motif in the next scenes, when ogling a blond worker plays a role in an accident between two men, followed by a scene in which the film's protagonist picks up

a one hundred dollar bill dropped in the bumping, and remarks, "So that's what they look like."¹

As I have argued earlier, gender complicates the relationship of citizen to state, since women's participation as citizen is in fact suspect in the formulation of republicanism. Yet wartime not only requires, it demands women's participation in public life, and in the U.S. this has particular manifestations. This chapter continues the discussion of the 'national face,' of women's subjectivity and their relation to public activity and the state in two wartime films, Hitchcock's Saboteur, and Arise, My Love, (1940), whose screenplay was written by Billy Wilder and Charles Brackett. I turn to representations of women's efforts to be engaged in the events of their time, of women's whose engagement necessarily includes opposition to a monolithic national identity which would restrict a autonomous or individual agency. Thus, I examine gendered concepts of the nation and citizenship, and explore ideological and pragmatic views of citizenship which mobilized the nation. Women's immersion

¹ The opening shadow suggests that much is obscured. Michael Sherry writes that his title for his study of war in American 1930 to the present, In the Shadow of War, the U.S. Since the 1930s, comes from a poster in Newsweek Dec 8, 1941, in which airplanes cast ominous shadows over an American middle class home. Hitchcock's shadow of an advancing man in a hat on the factory wall suggests the mental, that is, ideological underpinnings of a fascist war as well. Concerning vision, Marshall Deutelbaum argues that "what things look like...remains the central focus" of Saboteur (59).

in the national effort by breaking with restricted views of female behavior, and in particular, by being critical of authoritarian powers, suggests a re-description of active female citizenship.

The New Deal brought large numbers of women to work in government agencies, based, as was the case during the Civil War, on the understanding that

the expertise associated with women's sphere seemed especially salient for dealing with a crisis, the crisis being, of course, the dislocations occasioned by the Great Depression. This also indicates the progress for public womanhood proved ephemeral: it was not based on a widespread acknowledgment that women had the same right to, and the same general capacity for, public service as men. Therefore, when the crisis ended, the number of women in responsible positions declined precipitously (Matthews 187).

The primacy of waging a massive war meant that a huge number of civilian men were brought into public service, in addition to those 7.5 million in the military. Increased military production, the coordination of an immense economic experiment, and the fielding of a massive army with all its social ramifications required daring economic strategies and aggressive organization, skills that were deemed the province of men. "In consequence," Matthews notes, "women were on the periphery of power during the 1940s" (187). Many women who had championed women's rights subordinated their rhetoric and program to support for Roosevelt's administration, rallying "women to defend American democracy in 'field and factory; in hospital and arsenal; in clinic

and club'" (Cannon 110), but this did not result in more power for women.

Nevertheless, women's involvement was needed. War in fact required a reconstitution of the gendered terms of citizenship --for the loving mother now was required to render up her children to the state to turn them into soldiers. The home, as Higonet has noted, was upstaged by the home front, and women were expected to look toward the government as their guide and center. For men, citizenship was militarized and remasculinized; by law, after the passing of the 1940 draft law, citizenship and military service for young, healthy men were synonymous. While considering mandatory service for women, as the British had done, the majority of U.S. policy makers agreed to table such a drastic step. Yet in the space of revised home front, where men had a new socio-sexual involvement with each other, the possibilities for women were quite open.² In her story "The Lovely Leave," Dorothy Parker describes a

²Wartime government swelled with new agencies, buildings and personnel. To illustrate, the capitol's population rose from 621,000 in 1930 to over a million by 1942. This population of course included women: "They came on every train and bus, nearly all of them women, wearing dyed-to-match sweaters and skirts..." They were, according to David Brinkley, dubbed "government girls," who "helped break a taboo that had kept women largely out of federal jobs for a century and a half" (105, 107, 245). This growth needs also to be seen as what Michael Sherry calls "the militarization of social change." "During the war [it] had been intense and profound--unique among the nation's modern wars because of the sheer numbers mobilized in the war effort and the political and ideological stakes involved in the global struggle." (112)

floundering wife who must revise her own sense of herself after realizing her husband has "a whole new life," and she seems to have only half a life. Mary Lee Settle joins the women's auxiliary of the Royal Air Force in England. Drawn to an internationalist democracy, deploring the hypocrisy of upper class British and racial prejudices of anyone she counters, Settle forges a critical voice in her brilliant memoir All the Brave Promises³. In such texts we see the representation of a woman's self-consciousness being forged on new ground.

Citizenship and devotion to the nation were expected to be synonymous, but a more critical citizenship is certainly evident in many texts such as these. This position of critical citizenship challenges the conventional and more restrictive limits for woman's behavior in public as well as the acceptable bounds of her sexuality. While Ruth

³ Settle's memoir All the Brave Promises, Memoir of Aircraft Woman is one of the most impressive and damning of memoirs from the war period. Her title, incorporating a number as Mine Okubo's does (see Chapter 5), insists on the cipher aspect of citizenship and its manipulatable position under authority's thumb. For example, when she notices that the poor working class British women are starting to "get some glow to their skin" and to fill out physically during their military service, she writes: "I saw all this without conversion, only with horror that such a life, such indifferent regimentation, such ciphering, was better than they had known before. It presented a terrible social excuse. I saw, as a twinge at the corners of my mind, how fascism feeds the unconscious body and how the luxury of freedom without responsibility can produce a twisted body somewhere as a dark mirror for every healthy, privileged one" (55).

Haskell's memoir Helmets and Lipstick endorses women's participation in the state, the films I discuss suggest an engagingly critical citizen who maintains her independence and defiance as part of her national identity. This protagonist opposes a monolithic national identity which would restrict autonomous or individual agency. The woman's "model" position shifts -- from being a representation of the 'national face,' to one whose image allows for more imagination and play. Not surprisingly, lipstick becomes a dramatic emblem in both films, again signaling both public voice and female sexuality, but in the process we get a sense of an assertive and independent woman character who has, I believe, received little critical attention in studies of the period.

I use the term "model" both seriously and playfully. Both women characters, Gusto (Claudette Colbert) in Arise, My Love, and Patricia (Priscilla Lane) in Saboteur initially offer model characters of the feminine, that is, behavior that was generally accepted, Gusto as a flighty, sensationalist reporter, a New Woman confused by love, and Patricia literally as a model. Their transformations into active, critical citizens suggests a refiguring of the possibilities of gender. Initially, I present a brief discussion of nationalism, gender, and ideology. With this context, I explore the two films by Hitchcock, and Wilder and Brackett. This reading prepares the way for a

discussion in the next chapter of fully restricted citizenship with the internment of Japanese Americans.

1. Nationalism, ideology and gender

Wartime sentiments clearly activated concepts of nationalism in new and concentrated ways, since activities which may be only dimly considered in peacetime are now organized and acted out in the name of "the nation." I use nationalism as an objective term somewhat synonymous with patriotism during the intensity of wartime. (Clearly it also gets manifested as jingoism and flag-waving chauvinism at times -- I will identify such instances more specifically⁴). Yet nationalism among Americans was presented as a relatively unideological entity, or so it might seem.

An important illustration of the discourse of the non-ideological is found in The American Soldier, a culmination of wartime surveys of among combat soldiers and others about military mores and manners, published in 1949. The majority

⁴Benedict Anderson notes that nationalism, like the nation, has "proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse" (3). He turns to depicting a nation as an "imagined community." Nationalism implies a commitment to a nation's sovereignty, its limitation, and its manifestation as a community, as a "deep horizontal comradeship," to the extent that its members are willing to die (and "not so much to kill") for this "fraternity" (6-7). Obviously, there are different degrees of intensity in commitment to these different aspects.

of soldiers insist that they are fighting not for abstract ideals, but rather for the pragmatic goal of getting the job done (Vol. 2 109).

Officers and enlisted men alike attached little importance to idealistic motives -- patriotism and concern about war aims. Their evaluation appears to be in fundamental accord with other sources of evidence, although attributable in part to a socially prescribed avoidance of idealistic references. (111)

Stouffer et al.'s attention focuses in large part on what motivates men in combat. Continuing the interrogation of patriotism, the authors note the pressures exerted by small groups, which "imposed stringent norms on the expression of attitudes in this sphere" (150). They find a general mistrust of flag-waving.

The core of the attitude among combat men seemed to be that any talk that did not subordinate idealistic values and patriotism to the harsher realities of the combat situation was hypocritical, and a person who expressed such ideas a hypocrite.... One may conjecture that tender-minded expressions of idealism seemed incompatible with the role of the proud and tough combat man[T]he combat soldier lived in a world in which actions spoke louder than words. (150)

This emphasis on "actions" contrasts with the state-centered fervor of war mobilization in Nazi Germany and Italy. In Italy, for example, in legal terms the family was treated as a public institution. The state claimed "'all in the state, nothing outside of the state'" as its ideal (De Grazia 88, 79). The American denial of an ideological glue which binds the nation together in favor of pragmatism seems

spontaneous and honest, and to an extent it reflects a basic cynicism of the citizen soldier toward nationalist idealism. But even as a supposed disavowal of ideology, it is itself a groomed aspect of the ideology of American nationalism in the discourse of World War II. In the military framework, this discomfort with the national ideal plays an important role in the debate over small group behavior, so that devotion to the small group is seen to release the soldier from responsibility for the political and ideological framework for which he fights, and suggests further that the politicized soldier is not necessary.⁵ The motives become essentially economic and gendered. One harks to the "way of

⁵ The debate about the value of the small group over devotion to the national cause is a significant one in military spheres. How, for example, to create conformity and respect for discipline, at the same time that the American concept of the individual is maintained? How to have pride and respect for the institution of the military, as manifested for example in the uniform, and yet create a sense of fraternity. See Stouffer et al.'s discussion Vol. 1 and 2, and Kennett's G.I., The American Soldier in World War II 82-90. The small group, to an extent, becomes emblematic of the nation--small communities banded together by chance or temperament, and bonded by a collection experience and discourse.

Omer Bartov's discussion of ideology in the German army is also instructive: small "primary groups" were seen as most "conducive to morale." In this family-type setting men were addressed as Kinder (children) by officers (30, 31). In questioning the idea that German soldiers were motivated by organization and not political indoctrination, he shows that in fact the primary groups ceased to exist, and discipline based on ideological conformity held the army together, as it enacted or supported atrocities. The army protected the SS for example in Poland when they carried out their brutalities. Bartov notes that when captured soldiers on the western front disavowed the importance of ideology, one should question whether such responses are trustworthy (31, 64).

life" in the American standard of living, and one shows that one is a man. In a less popular war, such as the Vietnam war, this narrow thinking becomes even more emphasized, for to consider the 'whole picture' can lead to questioning the American imperial enterprise.⁶

Reporting from the Pacific in the Second World War, John Hersey for example reminded the nation that heroes were "'just American boys.'" The skills that allowed them to persevere in combat were rooted in the culture of hard work and pragmatic determination (in Blum 59-60). Another observer of G.I. culture, Ernie Pyle, found little interest in the Senate's resolution calling for the formation of the United Nations. "'The run-of-the-mass soldiers didn't think twice about this bill if they heard of it at all'" (qtd. in Blum 68). At the end of World War I this gap found articulation in the aftermath of the First World War, made clear to anyone who read A Farewell to Arms. Here Hemingway attacks the hooey of World War I idealism, in favor of concreteness. Frederic Henry thinks about the words of war:

⁶Stouffer et al. discuss the internalization of values which occurs within the small group. This internalization is especially effective

when informal group codes largely reinforce the requirements of institutional authority. A person would have to be beyond range of reward and punishment by either his group or formal authority before purely external motivations would cease to push him in the direction of conformity. However, internalization has the advantage of making motivation independent of external surveillance or reward. (Vol. 2 118)

Such behaviors, including the activities which denote masculinity, are assessed and enforced by the small group.

There were many words that you could not stand to hear and finally only the names of places had dignity.....Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers, the numbers of regiments and the dates. (185)

While Henry's sentiment is a critique of bloated patriotism, it contains the concept which Gertrude Stein will turn to in Wars I Have Seen, that Americanness seems embodied in the names of places (246). Stanley Cooperman notes that Hemingway's attitude is reversed in his enthusiastic anti-fascist introduction to Men at War (1942), in which "the introductory essay is primed with all the political, military, and patriotic sloganeering so totally rejected by Frederic Henry, and other World War I protagonists" (197). But on closer consideration, we see that in insisting on the importance of places in A Farewell to Arms, Hemingway is not so much rejecting patriotism, as much as the abstracted discourse --a which is more manipulatable and 'universal.' The places themselves embody Americanness, to be imagined with specific images, as William Carlos Williams writes, "no ideas but in things."

What we realize is that there were contradictory discourses at work -- one aspect of which could divulge a despair and righteous anger about American political life, which ultimately suggested a "spiritual nothingness without alternatives" (Cooperman 234). Nevertheless, an array of

patriotic films, posters, songs, and fiction and memoirs did proclaim a "groundswell of patriotism" following the attack on Pearl Harbor, when defense bonds and stocks were immediately bought up. "Labor unions took no strike pledges; businessmen vowed to put patriotism before profits" (For the Duration 14), and artists and performers directed their work towards the war.

The renewed emphasis on masculinity that preparation for war and the war itself brought, within the military and throughout the nation, is a correlative of such pragmatic mobilization. Stouffer et al. pay special attention to it in their surveys. Never challenging its ordinary role as the existential underlining to soldier behavior, the authors note that to "be a man" is the essence of the call to the American soldier. Allowing for varying conceptions as to what masculinity is, they focus on "a core which is common to most: courage, endurance and toughness, lack of squeamishness when confronted with shocking or distasteful stimuli, avoidance of display of weakness in general, reticence about emotional or idealist solutions, and sexual competency" (131).

While the first three qualities, "courage, endurance and toughness," are to be expected, the two which follow are clearly behavior which is markedly not a woman's. That wartime masculinity is defined by "reticence about emotional or idealist solutions" is an interesting conflation -- to

think as an idealist, that is, broadly and abstractly, is linked with the sappy and the womanish, and certainly no man is to cry. The final attribute, sexual competency, means potency and assertiveness. However, the breadth of masculinity slips in this description from courage to domination, even to rape, revealed in references to booty the masculine soldier can expect, which appears in a discussion of combat incentives. Incentives range from the "jewelry store [and] camera shop," to "gratifying contact with women." The payoff for masculine behavior means the permission to loot, including this euphemistic term for forced contact. In this context, Lee Kennett reminds us that there were 402 cases of rape by American soldiers in March, 1945 in Germany, and 501 in April, which he assumes are "the tip of an iceberg" (G.I. 218).⁷ The military analysts themselves decline to pursue this aspect of gratification: "The extent to which this occurred is not known, probably could not be ascertained with any high degree of accuracy, and is not important for present purposes" (Stouffer my emphasis, 171). Furthermore, as a

⁷See Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will, 75-78. "I am not suggesting that an equality of rape existed in World War II. I doubt that it did. But Allied soldiers did commit rape, with gusto" (63). Fearing rapacious, "sex-starved soldiers," the Japanese government began setting up brothels for the American occupiers six days after their surrender. In conspicuously vague language, the New York Times reports: "Despite their theoretical ban on prostitution, the American military authorities in at least one area apparently asked the Government to set up a brothel" ("Fearing G.I. Occupiers").

number of writers including Cynthia Enloe, Nancy Huston, and Nancy Hartsock have reminded us, "the military has to constantly redefine 'the front' and 'combat' as wherever 'women' are not. Women may serve the military, but they can never be permitted to be the military" Does Khaki 15).

The war-ready devotion of the citizen relies on a principle which is

primarily male--male obligation and male glory--but women are crucial to it nonetheless. They may provide inspiration or less noble models of debased creatures whose at least partial victimization is required to sustain the brutalized super-manhood cultivated among certain groups of socialized warriors. Above all, women are called upon in a variety of ways to offer their crucial confirmation of the manhood of men in the service of war-linked collective glory. (Lifton 244-5)

The "womanly" attributes of women enable masculinity and characterize the national sentiment, however pragmatic and material it is, although the domestic duties of women cannot be so gloriously upheld in the face of complete mobilization. We find appreciation of an American woman's voice or ministrations, in "figures of mercy and tenderness and innocence unscathed by the brutal realities of war" (Honey 137). Women, to an extent, are allowed the emotional or idealist solutions -- in part in contrast to the masculine concreteness and unemotional force of men, especially since the home front is so distanced from the zones of war. Censorship and press restrictions help maintain the distance. Women can embody the "nation" -- in

part because they have always been associated with specific details, things and places, yet this becomes oddly abstracted.

We see in Haskell's memoirs that a woman maintains her national embodiment not only for others but for herself by wearing lipstick and perfume; she recognizes her national identity in seeing a geography which she can liken to her home's, in feeling a regional bond which helps locate her in the regional mix of the nation, i.e. the definition of the nation. Her ideological motives are downplayed through the entire memoir; Camp Forrest's training means that "our minds are crowded with memories of all the fun we enjoyed there" (16). This does not imply urgency about war training, but it is not that different from what one might expect of young men's exploits at training camp, although the civility expected for women is not replaced by anything like the intensity of homo-social bonding and masculine discourse which sexualizes or militarizes much behavior. The motivation for nurses' service is diluted: before embarkation, the Assistant Chief Nurse charges Haskell and her fellow nurses: "Keep well, and remember you live in the finest nation on this earth. Be a credit to that nation, the uniform you wear, and most of all to yourselves" (26). While this may sound like an endorsement of Emersonian self-reliance, the level of generalization about the nation, its embodiment in uniform, and its conflation with self offer

scant motivation.

Going overseas does not make someone less American; many critics who address travel writing have noted that the experience of being outside the nation, of experiencing the nation as an other, actually intensifies one's identification as an American, and I have noted earlier that Haskell has validated herself as an American by acknowledging the foreignness of her situation. Overseas, the moments in which Haskell is seen symbolically by the American soldiers get special note; she becomes image and body of the nation. Through her, soldiers experience 'the nation.' And while she has learned to whistle, suggesting that she has acquired a voice of power, we see from a more cynical stance that the text is framed by white American female physical inabilities. Some women have "Madge, our colored maid" at Camp Forrest, suggesting that their own frailty is honored, and at the memoir's close Haskell's own physical decay prevents her from carrying out her work. Thus the 'national woman' can be both empowering symbol and, in real life, outside the text, physically weak.

In Mary Settle's memoir, she displaces her own citizenship by working for the British military, yet she insists on maintaining an independent political position which upholds the "idealistic referent" of American democracy when she resists the racist attitudes of the British officer class. "'I absolutely forbid my girls being

seen talking to American niggers,'" the assembled recruits are told during a sex lecture. In distressed reaction, Settle writes, "What I had escaped from to war had followed me, the mouths grinning around 'bunchajews,' 'bunchaniggers' I knew...that the brutality of mind we fight, we fight in the country of the mind" (44). Listening to a working class woman who says, "'She's not fucking well going to tell me 'oo to see,'" she throws her lot in with the "unknown" people rather than seek officer status. She prefers the company of the working class women who have a "saving dumb insolence" (45). She also contradicts the observation that "by nature and by upbringing," the average G.I. is "not political-minded" (Wecter 555).

Yet Settle cannot escape being a sign of home and a metaphor for the American nation. She recalls an incident when her voice over the radio, female and American, thrills American pilots for whom such a voice means the nation, and she herself cannot help but be moved by this explosion of excitement because her voice enacts the nation, what Anderson describes as a "special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests," which evokes a kind of abandonment that stimulates the imagining of the national community (145). Her job is to listen to pilots'

radio signals and help bring them back to the air base.

From the overlapping answers, the radio operator in the plane sorted out the faint American lilt left in my disciplined voice. The plane flew toward it like a homing pigeon and landed, and a crew of fourteen homesick airmen from a Flying Fortress piled into the control tower to find the American girl. (77-8)⁸

Nor is such an escape from the symbolic fully desirable -- or rather there are moments when abstract and concrete meet. This convergence is the emotional high point of a collective vision, where the power of the trace of American voice, both symbol and material sound, to "home" the 14 fliers, provides a moving scene. Indeed, the assertion of the American woman not only as a gravitational force, but as an active participant in the democratic process is honored by a number of observers of the war. Agnes Meyer's collection of newspaper articles, published as Journey Through Chaos, heralds the war as "a woman's war" -- noting the crucial contribution of women in Britain (123), and suggesting that women's activities in the U.S. also deserve attention and assistance, with housing, childcare, and other facets of support.

But how is this woman imagined theoretically? In Benedict Anderson's description of the nation as an imagined community, one precondition for its being imagined is found

⁸Canadian soldier Henry Broadfoot finds an old friend from Toronto while he was stationed in London. "She was Toronto, she was home....above all, she was home and I needed a good dash of home right then," he writes (457).

in the decline of a "a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable." With such modern distinctions, there becomes a way of linking "fraternity, power and time meaningfully together" (36). Anderson points to print capitalism as one of the major factors of such a change which allow for simultaneity and a refiguration of time. He reminds us of Hegel's statement that the morning newspaper replaces morning prayers. But it seems also that the newspaper is used not only to create a public consensus but to inform a citizenry, a term which Anderson rarely uses (136), opting for terms which describe other relationships to the nation -- a nationalist (62), creole (63), rebel, newspaper reader, native (123); at times the people are identified by their particular nation, such as Mozambiquian (134). He frequently uses a collective term, such as community, masses, (80) population, classes (76) or inhabitants (137). While the involvement of a member of a nation is enacted in many spheres, the nation-state does posit an individual relationship to the nation as citizen as well, however alienated or contested that position, which cannot be glossed over.

Furthermore, while none of these terms are particularly gendered -- to the extent that these are people "fatally embedded in history" (145), or are people who are self-reflexive and outer-concerned at the same time (36), because he does not specifically counter the stereotyped limitations

of women, Anderson strongly suggests that the nations' inhabitants are a fraternity of men. Indeed, he uses the term without acknowledging its masculinist register: those that shape the "limited imaginings" of the nation are a "fraternity" (7). Women's most significant role in many national movements has been in fact to represent the cosmological, the timeless, if not the moral values of motherhood which are untarnished by the daily workings of politics and economics and in this sense remain pre-national. As Nalini Natarajan writes for example, the figure of the mother "suggests common mythic origins. Like the land..., she is eternal, patient, essential." As a result, women are excluded from being "meaning makers in their own right" (83-84). Yet women have a place in the nation: "All narratives imagining nation -- sophisticated postmodern as well as mass cultural -- collude in the engendering of nation as male through their representation of the female body" (88).

Given that limitation, how does one read any positive position for women in the narrative of the nation and women's role in it? How does gender help structure thinking on the nation, since women are clearly in the nation whether or not they have voice or power.⁹ How do we read women as

⁹One interesting image to note here is the recurring representation of the naked woman who escapes from the Gestapo --she is political in her involvement in the resistance, but she needs to be undressed, and thus made "natured," in her heroic effort to escape their clutches.

citizens? My concern lies with interrogating the issue of citizenship in this formulation of the nation -- for I am concerned not only with someone being an inhabitant, but an active participant -- self-reflexive and outer-concerned. To approach such a position, we also need to consider how women are imagined -- representing as they do language, tongue, the land, the backward timeless sweep 'before' history of the nation.¹⁰ This metaphorical role ends up limiting women's "self-flexivity." Because women already "reflect" the image of the nation, they cannot see themselves, perhaps like the model. Thus, the metaphor itself needs to be 'read' differently, which I think begins to happen when a woman character is herself newspaper writer, agent of the imagination and of telling history.

A crisis such as World War II brings theoretical critiques of the nation state into conflict with practice in sharper ways than are otherwise imagined. On the one hand, the democratic ideals of the nation are held up to scrutiny, and this is particularly true for the United States since it

I discuss this image in Chapter 7.

¹⁰Yuval-Davis and Anthias note five ways in which women have tended to participate in ethnic and national processes and in relation to state practices. These are: (a) as biological reproducers...; (b) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups; (c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; (d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences...; (e) as participants in national, economic, political, and military struggles. (7)

sought to lead the allied nations against the Axis, and are highlighted in some forms of propaganda. On the other hand, the powers of the state itself are intensified, concerning production, centralization, growth of government arms including but not limited to military and police. Yet oddly, the power of the state, which is so sharply criticized, now seems to be tolerable if not admirable and endorsable -- engendering what the Left called the united front -- so that economic unity, military might, a disciplined army, even the restriction of individual rights are to be condoned while masculinity is praised.

In this context it is important to note that democratic rights, such as free speech, the right to assembly, and the right to criticize the government, with significant exceptions, in particular effecting African Americans, Japanese Americans, and women (concerning their assembly), were left overall intact. This is not said in order to "celebrate" the U.S. state during World War II, but to note that it could function in wartime with relative stability, in spite of vast mobilization and social upheavals. Some credit for its smooth functioning is due to those who had in normal times, sometimes antagonistically, advocated the extension of democratic rights and opposed unjust governmental authority, and who now stepped back -- the Communist Party for example promoted a no-strike clause among workers over whom it had influence; Roger Baldwin of

the ACLU personally intervened to oppose litigation against Japanese American internment (Daniels), (although the ACLU in general supported Japanese American defendants), and as Karen Anderson points out, sent out a letter to branches of his organization "urging them to deal sympathetically with the police" when single women were detained for VD testing after being rounded up by the police in areas where they seemed to threaten servicemen or defense workers (109).

National cohesion thus took on a refashioned urgency, which for the cultural critic serves to illustrate the importance of historically situating critiques, including of the nation state. The metaphor of mobilization is useful here. In such a time of crisis, any state must rely to an extent on the mobilized people for this cohesion. Historians of National Socialism, for example, point to the vast network of "citizen" support in carrying out the initial repressive measures of the fascist state. The police apparatus including black shirts and storm troopers was far too small to bring about the ensuing repression: instead, citizens took it upon themselves to tell on their neighbors, turn people in, and argue for the racial policies of the Nazi nation after 1933. Claudia Koonz and Renate Bridenthal have shown how individual women and some women's organizations participated to an extent, with various levels of self-conscious awareness, in the establishment and carrying out of National Socialist power ("Beyond Kinder"

56). This is not to say that the individual people are then equated with the government. But the complexity of the relationship can be investigated and described in more detail.

Likewise, the concept of a fully abject population must be questioned. Susan Gubar has argued that in World War II "women were also victimized by men who presumably were on their own side" ("This Is My Rifle" 230.)¹¹ Her sweeping exploration of texts by men and women provides important insight into wartime representations, but a unitary framework of power and a disavowal of agency fails to illuminate contradictory aspects, for example the instances in which, and how, women sought agency, claimed voice, named themselves not necessarily by the limited and essentialist confines of the past but in the context of world-sweeping issues, and sought a voice in the war effort. For example, both the title of her original essay and its later printing as "Charred Skirts," note the "blitz on women" -- suggesting that the bombardment of Britain was of equal destructive

¹¹There has been a tendency to romanticize women's communities. For example there is a kind of essentialist nostalgia which Susan Stanford-Friedman extols in Harriet Arnow's novel, The Dollmaker. The protagonist and her family are drawn from a kind of edenic semi-rural past into involvement in the war effort. A more critical reading might note that the woman's past was not so great, with its lack of medical care, isolation, etc. No doubt the wartime work experience is alienating and ultimately devastating for the abject mother in this novel, but to suggest that the past is to be idealized is an oddly uncritical reading. See "Women's Autobiographical Selves."

might as the attitudes and images which depicted women. Furthermore, to mix discussions of propaganda in England and the U.S. with little regard for the differences of context, especially when erotic imagery is discussed, fails to distinguish both between the U.S. as a kind of "occupying army" in England, and its more uncontrollable behavior on the U.S. home front. While Gubar's research and amount of material covered are impressive, she perpetuates the same kind of uncritical assessment which Sandra Gilbert employs in her essay "Soldier's Heart," a methodology which Jane Marcus argues shows a failure to consider the state's power, to read women historians of the period, and to consider how women saw themselves ("The Asylums of Anteus" 54-57). Contrary to Gubar's information, some women sought public involvement, in a way in which what Julia Kristeva calls women's time (monumental, eternal) and historic time could be articulated together. Elizabeth Hawes's demand for citizenship in Wenches with Wrenches, or Why Women Cry is instructive. To counter the "disgusting war against the WACS" arising from a public outcry against contraceptives to be provided for them, she insists on women's right to be "treated as full-fledged adult citizens" (161, 2). Citizen is a term which is drawn on by numerous writers time and again, a possibility which is often not fulfilled in wartime representations, but one which seems to embody an individual's active role as participant in the national

drama of wartime life.

2. Representing women's citizenship in two films

"In the western and detective film, aggressivity or violence is internalized as narrative content. In maternal melodrama, the violence is displaced onto affectivity producing tear jerkers," writes Mary Ann Doane in her discussion of women in wartime films (95). In spite of the proliferation of both violence and tear jerker sentiment, Doane argues that the image of the maternal was displaced by a different type of woman. I find this woman, assertive and non-maternal, in both Arise, My Love and Saboteur. Other films in this category might include To Be Or Not To Be (1942), Carole Lombard's final film before her untimely death, in which she plays a sexually independent (and married) actor in Poland, directed by Ernst Lubitsch, as well as Shadow of a Doubt (1942), Lifeboat (1944), and the brilliant post-war critique Notorious (1946), all Hitchcock films. Such films are mediated by a critical view of the state which insists that any event -- accident or planned -- not only be grist for the mobilization of the citizen, but become a lens through which community is constantly interrogated and refigured. The couple plays this role well -- certainly in Hitchcock's films, we see the interrogation of the heterosexual bourgeois couple. Depicting the couple also enables the filmmaker to interrogate an

intersubjectivity, where the erotic and militarized imagination combine to suggest love of country and mutual dependence, yet the solidity of the couple itself is maintained through its imaginative and resolute opposition to authoritarianism. In addition, these are inherently feminist films in the sense that they represent split subjectivity and women's active challenges to it; they accept the independence of the female character at the same time that they honor her interdependence and commitment to the community.

Such films of national endeavor distinguish themselves from domestic or womanly-sacrificing films such as Mrs. Miniver (1942), Casablanca (1942), While You Were Away, and Stagedoor Canteen, where, for example, the women volunteers at the meeting place for soldiers wear aprons to signify their continued domestication. Thus, while Arise, My Love and Saboteur seem to fall within the conventions of the heterosexual couple, both have established the independence and agency of the woman in the couple. The woman's erotic desire is not expunged from the text or made to represent the bad women. While this is more so in Arise, My Love, in both films, woman's desire is evident without making her symbol for the sexualized or the maternal, the conventional standards of what the soldiers are fighting for. Violence is neither internalized nor displaced, but is the object against which the protagonists act.

A note as well on repetition. If we work with Kristeva's concept of eternal and monumental time, we might see that repetition as a narrative device is a 'feminine' insertion -- for repetition is not a very accurate 'historical' description. While situated in historic time, both films rely on moments of repetition to mix these 'versions' of time in a way that challenges the distinction between eternal and historic time. Furthermore, both films use the sign of female narcissism and independence, lipstick, to bring home their powerful point of engagement.

Arise, My Love, co-written by Billy Wilder and Charles Brackett, whose first collaboration created the erotically-charged, politically sharp Ninotchka (1939), is a self-consciously anti-fascist film directed at a pre-war U.S. audience. Its dramatic climax employs the trope of lipstick to crystallize the film's call for an independent, public woman. When Gusto, the woman protagonist, exposes the Nazi hatred of the lipsticked woman, and insists on her own dramatic making-up by announcing her "lips will be as white as chalk," she proclaims a woman's internationalist resistance to fascism.¹²

¹²Gusto is not the first woman character of Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder to enjoy the symbolic currency and actual practice of lipstick. During her visit to Paris, Ninotchka "revels in the use of lipstick," among other bourgeois practices (Koopes 188). See Koopes and Black also on the creation of the cosmetics factory in Mission to Moscow (1943), where "a display worthy of Fifth Avenue contains an assortment of creams, powders, perfumes, and lipstick....This would have been news to Ninotchka," the

While "ostensibly a romantic comedy" the film's anti-war message brought "a storm of protest," screenwriter Wilder's biographer Tom Wood writes. "Every isolationist and America firster decried it as warmongering and jingoistic" (64). As the first Hollywood film of the late thirties "to utter the word war," it broke with Hollywood's unstated ban (Dick 20). Wilder, himself a Jewish exile from Germany in 1933, clearly had a sense of urgency in addressing this question. The film was released shortly after the Germans took Paris. Likening it to Hitchcock's Foreign Correspondent (1940) as one of the strongest anti-isolationist films, Bernard Dick notes that in spite of its message, it "scarcely caused a political ripple" (25), perhaps because war did not seem inevitable. However, two days after the second dialogue was produced to protect the filmmakers from a German refusal to show the film, the Nazis banned the showing of American films (81).

To summarize briefly, the film unites Tom (Ray Milland), a pilot who fought against Spain's fascist Loyalists, with Augusta Nash (Claudette Colbert), a self-interested woman reporter stationed in France. She resists his amorous advances because she fears they will interrupt her career, but ultimately, with the backdrop of the start of World War II, she falls in love with him. Love starts to turn Gusto, as she is called, domestic. Tom is reluctantly

authors add (198-9).

agrees to return to the far safer U.S. with her, but plans are thwarted by a German U-boat. He joins the British Air Force, and she somewhat stoically resumes reporting, until the ruthless advances of the Germans through western Europe turn her into a stalwart anti-fascist reporter. At movie's end, they resolve to return together to the U.S. to urge preparation for the inevitable, but politically necessary, war against Germany.

The film begins at an 'ending,' with a whimsical scene in which Tom is about to be executed by the victorious Fascists for serving as a pilot for the Republican army. In spite of his internationalism as an American volunteer, his seemingly unideological bravado matches that of Marlene Dietrich's as she faced her executioners in Morocco (Josef von Sternberg's film), and serves initially to depoliticize the film and soothe the audience which might be hostile to an ideological message so early. A humorous yet daring ploy by Augusta, pretending she is Tom's wife, releases him from jail. Augusta mocks the conventions of marriage, all in order to get a good story and advance her career. The scene further serves to toy with the banal sentimentality of the fascist jailers, whose mawkish heartstrings are jerked by the "wife's" plea, and we begin to sense the subtle political message and the stirrings of a deviant woman's role. As they leave the jail, she shows Tom a ring, and says "That was all the make up I needed." She infers that

make up offers a symbolic performance, which will be announced again in her discussion of lipstick with the German conquerors.

Escaping from Spain to Paris in a stolen airplane, the two begin to get embroiled in the inevitable love story. Gusto resists an encounter, focused on her career. Nevertheless, love it is, with the increasingly serious threat of war moving to the film's foreground. A rendezvous at an inn in ill-fated Compièrès occurs as Poland is invaded by Germany, so that love and war are simultaneously "consummated." Seeking safety for love instead of her career, she rejects her choice assignment in Berlin, and aims to sequester Tom in the peaceful U.S. The audience begins to acknowledge that she was right to fear falling in love, because we like her as a reporter. When events force both Gusto and Tom back into the deluge, and separate them. She grows more committed to her position as witness, and more furious with each Nazi victory and accompanying atrocity. Briefly, the film's narrative is taken over by documentary war footage and newspaper clippings, and individual desire is eclipsed by the objective accounts of war.

The film's climax occurs when France falls. Gusto finds herself again at Compièrès, covering the surrender (a repetition as well, the astute audience understands, of Germany's surrender to France at the end of WWI).

Exhibiting the same guts she showed rescuing Tom from the Spanish prison, Gusto asserts her most independent and defiant position in a scene with Hitler's adjutant. She shows us that the mockery of the Spanish jailers was a dress rehearsal for this war. "You will have to remove your lip rouge," the German officer insists, if she is in Hitler's presence, covering the surrender. "Don't worry," she snaps, "my lips will be as white as chalk."

This self-conscious transformation allows Gusto to encourage Tom, emerging demoralized from the woods of their first lovemaking, now with a broken arm/clipped wing. They realize they must return to the U.S., she to speak about the war and he to train pilots. "Arise, my love," Gusto says, repeating Tom's words from their "flight" from Spain, a phrase from Song of Solomon, the Old Testament's celebration of passion. Gusto has taken up the discourses of freedom and eros as the film ends. As the film began with an "ending," it now ends with a "beginning"--the effort to encourage American participation in the war.

From the start, Gusto has seemed no stranger to love, playing well her role as Tom's wife, and knowing how she fares when she falls in love. Her self-knowledge has trained her in the difficulties of being sexually independent in the male world of public life.¹³ Gusto

¹³Martha Gellhorn followed the events leading up to World War II with passionate and partisan horror. Her own novel, A Stricken Field (1940), portrays a woman newspaper

bears no apology for her ambition, nor for her desires. Rather, the films asks how a woman might combine erotic desire and public life. She is both active reporter and sexually active woman, and both aspects of her subjectivity demand acknowledgment. Some new space must be created, yet this demand cannot be separated from the need for action in the face of war.

The Brackett/Wilder team wrote strong roles for "interesting women with exciting minds," because they "sensed that the mind is the most powerful erogenous zone" (Zolotow 81). Among such actors, Colbert ranks as "the wittiest and most self-sufficient of heroines through the 30s and 40s" (Renov 160). Augusta Nash is apparently modeled after newspaper correspondent Martha Gellhorn (87), who covered the Spanish Civil War and there began a relationship with Ernest Hemingway. Charged with an androgynous name, where the feminine a of Augusta changes to a masculine o in Gusto, august power combines with gusty, gutsy energy. The mix allows her not only to be a daring wit, but to experience her own erotic body. A scene which highlights her erotic independence reveals the powerful

correspondent who becomes involved in smuggling out accounts of repression and torture against Jews and resisters in German-occupied Czechoslovakia. The narrator of the novel is a hard-living, astute, and experienced woman. Knowing she must appear to drink as much as the men, she has the bartender in the Prague hotel give her drinks with food coloring that look like bourbon and water, so she can guzzle them down.

sexual charge in the film, which yet manages to evade the 1933 production codes.

At first every stereotype about the New Woman as masculine and aggressive seems to be coming true. Distracted by Tom's invitations, Gusto is ostensibly trying to write another article about his rescue in her Paris hotel room. But it is clear that she concentrates on denying her desire, to protect her career. Yet she cannot get him out of her head. It is not loss of virtue, but of independence she worries over. To prevent herself from going to meet him in the cafe (the public world where male desire and power are represented), she determinedly packs every single shoe she possesses into a suitcase, for room service to cart away. The film has already undermined the sacredness of marriage in the ruse in Spain. Now, in the enclosed space of her hotel room, with Tom on her mind, Gusto weighs the conflict between career and sexual appetites. If we indulge in the symbolism of the shoe, we see that it represents "the female sex organ," a woman's "lowly nature." We can turn to Cinderella's shoe as the conflict over her appropriation of her vagina. Moreover, "for the ancients [shoes] were a sign denoting liberty" (A Dictionary of Symbols). Female liberty here is equated with sexuality. In contrast, for men, not only do these desires not conflict, but the joint realization is seen as appropriate.

But she must repress her sexuality because it conflicts

with her independence. Feeling some relief when the suitcase is taken away, and her ability to go outside limited, Gusto still cannot escape her own body and desire. Lying on the bed, she rubs her breasts and then caresses her neck, an auto-erotic gesture that re-presents to the viewer Gusto's sexual desire. Should we view this autoeroticism as a scene of immature sexuality, before the woman discovers the phallus? I suggest rather that the viewer finds pleasure in watching a woman interrogate her own body, as she claims that she not be split as a subject in her desire for another and for public voice, where her own sense of the affective might have room for expression. This inquiry, however humorous it is in its frantic expulsion of shoes, provides valid commentary on the dilemma a public woman faces. The process of creating subjectivity itself is important, and not to be turned from. To see the actor engaged in this process presents a liberatory moment for the viewer.

In the lipstick scene, the penultimate scene of the film, Gusto must again independently come to terms with sexuality and her public voice, now in a deadly serious context. She does not want to back down from being the New Woman whom the Nazis vilify, yet she must record the signing of the surrender, as a resistant witness. However, she does not give up coloring herself, as she moves from red to white. This dynamic refusal signifies an

"uncontrollability" which is both political and sexual, for what else does lipstick doubly signify here? She maintains her right to control her lips, that is, her sexuality as well as voice. Gusto's original self-transformation as "wife" has served her own ambition. In this second change, from "lipsticked" to chalked, from witness to active speaker, the terms change dramatically. While chalk has connotations of death and weakness, as well as identification with those whom the Nazis have silenced, it is also a writing instrument, the tool teachers use to instruct. Her transformation allows her to go from narcissism to public voice, without losing her subjectivity or her sexual independence. The combination of the two in fact informs her as a vital agent in opposition to the war. There is not reconciliation as much as a new force created.

As the words from Song of Solomon are repeated again, this time by Gusto, we see private and public desire combined. The affectivity and desire in the public sphere which Iris Young points to is enacted in Augusta Nash's character. For we need not see Nash's hunger as limited, nor her dilemma as unrealistic -- but rather that the personal desires and energies can be carried over into public practice, as Young suggests, instead of suppressing these in the name of a coldly objective rationality. This polity is

invaded with differentiation: the specificity of women's bodies and desire, [and by inference] the difference of race and culture, the variability of heterogeneity of the needs, the goals and desires of each individual, the ambiguity and changeability of feeling. ("Impartiality and the Civic Public" 67)

While this "invasion" may seem impossible in wartime's critical setting, the intense conflict experienced by *Gusto* allows us to consider such a leap. It is contrasted to the repressed scene of lipstick demanded by the fascists, evoking their uniformity of gender, along with the repression of racial difference and public voice.

A sexually independent and vocal woman violates Nazi strictures. The Germans require war correspondents who are pliable and submissive to the oppressive fraternity of men and its embodiment in the state. Moreover, the lipsticked woman is anathema, to be cleansed and erased. Yet *Gusto's* shift from red, as desire and rage, to chalky white does not create cleanliness, or anything representing the German state, but the white rage of outspokenness.

While safely ensconced in the protective coloring of the heterosexual couple. *Gusto* is not returning to the hearth. She will join Tom in warning and warding off the enemy, a direct violation of Goebbels' cynical insistence that "'[t]he female bird pretties herself for her mate and hatches eggs for him' while the man 'wards off the enemy'" (in Whiting 74). That the liberated zone is only pointed to, and is a place outside the film itself, suggests that

such a possibility is be imagined but may be difficult to represent. The image of "voler" (to fly), Helene Cixous's term of stealing and flying in the feminist text, comes to mind here, for Gusto will "fly home," not in fearful flight, but to warn the community. Women who warn, like Cassandra, have frequently been regarded as dangerous. Gusto is certainly dangerous to the Nazis, and compelling to the audience.

*

[I]t was too late for me to deny the possibilities of where I was, the recognition that I was trapped among the thousands within a system where, if we were protected from the cruder psychopathic actions (and often not from those-- authority, let loose, finds its own excuses), we were exposed naked to the illogical flicks of the human mind that forced us into diminishing situations, anonymity, debility of soul.... Authority, to the anonymous, had long arms but no discernible, respected head. What strength I found, I found in the surviving underground, among my friends.

-- Mary Lee Settle, All the Brave Promises, Memories of Aircraft Woman 2nd Class 2146391
(153)

While Wilder and Brackett's film could handle war with a certain humor and panache since it was made before the U.S. actually went to war, Saboteur tells more the serious and threatening tale to a home front audience of an airplane factory worker whose friend has been killed in a saboteur's explosion. The tension between anonymity and being recognized is played out in a number of ways in this patriotic, but nevertheless politically critical film.

Barry Kane (Robert Cummings) is mistakenly thought to be the criminal. He goes underground, chasing the supposedly respectable citizens across the country, in a thrilling pursuit of justice, a cleared name, and exposure of a fascist Fifth column inside the US.¹⁴ Kane is forced to unite with a woman who for a good part of the movie does not believe him: she is a model, and to the extent that she tries to bring Kane to the police, Patricia, or Pat (Priscilla Lane) behaves as a 'model citizen,' yet the interrogation of this term lies at the heart of the film. When she is at last convinced that Barry is being victimized by the Nazi ring, Pat picks up his cause, and helps bring the criminals to justice, first by using lipstick as a writing instrument, then by "tailing" an enemy agent so that he is caught. Ironically Pat must defy the powers of the state and the signs of gender to protect the nation.

Justice, which is seen as somewhat comprised, and the apparatus of police that supports the state, is portrayed as blind and bumbling. When the film appeared, Barry Crowther worried in the New York Times, Hitchcock and his writers misdirected their scorn:

Their casual presentation of the FBI as a bunch

¹⁴The film begins on the west coast. Hitchcock certainly could have played on anti-Japanese sentiment, but it is noticeably absent. While he may have been concerned with the evils originating in his native Europe, the saboteurs are clearly western European-oriented, and the movement to maintain democratic rights is directed at the eastern shores of the U.S., the center of power.

of bungling dolts, their general disregard of authorized agents and their slur on the Navy Yard Police somewhat vitiates the patriotic implications which they have tried to emphasize in the film. One gathers that the nation's safety depends entirely on civilian amateurs. (qtd. in Morella 68)

This "bungling" is precisely what contributes to making this film so intriguing as a political and gender commentary of the period. Blindness here is not another term for impartiality; rather the police favor the well-connected, and undermine democratic values as a result. Indeed, the blind character, Patricia's uncle, is the one who sees the farthest, believing that one's duties as a citizen "sometimes involve disregarding the law."

Joining in the extensive debate about Hitchcock's attitudes towards women, Tania Modleski argues that Hitchcock is both sympathetic towards women and misogynistic. "What both male and female spectators are likely to see in the mirror of Hitchcock's films are images of ambiguous sexuality that threaten to destabilize the gender identity of protagonists and viewers alike." Modleski cautions viewer and critic to resist a "monolithic view" (62, 66)¹⁵. I read Hitchcock's framework in Saboteur

¹⁵ Mark Crispin Miller writes, that unlike Griffith and Eisenstein, "Hitchcock mistrusted the new medium [of film], with its coercive images and credulous crowds. The process of spectacle -- plays, concerts, circuses...--is always charged with menace in his films....In Saboteur, a comic shoot-out in a movie coincides with (and conceals) a real shoot-out in the movie theater" ("Memoriam AJH" in Boxed In 236). My reading of Saboteur is indebted to Miller's work.

not as a misogynistic and antagonistic trap but as a critical description of multiple figurations of power -- frames and representations which the viewer must dismantle or reconfigure. The value of skyscrapers, of being "underground," of claiming the Statue of Liberty, and of lipstick, are to be examined by the viewer.

Moreover, a critique of gender relations is essential to the critique of authoritarian power. Barry and Pat are initially drawn together in mistrust, and briefly Barry acts like a tough guy to make Pat accompany him. Pat has had trouble, like characters in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, his play or eros and warfare, understanding who is true and who is false, and her allegiance to Kane continually shifts, until she sees for herself that there is a fifth column of fascist agents. Barry and Pat's relationship dissembles a courtship, half mimicking of distrust and betrayal in its early stage, and the sour side of marriage which is not lost on the audience, as a woman who passes Pat, as she screams for help when being driven off by Barry, insists, "My! They must be terribly in love."

The film's handcuffs evoke the The Thirty-nine Steps (1935), where the Canadian Richard Hannay is drawn into exposing a fascist spy plot in London, and is handcuffed to a comparably skeptical woman. But in Saboteur the handcuffs have been used "properly" by the police, cuffing Kane's hands together. Where the cuffs in The Thirty-nine Steps

captured the non-romantic aspects of a love relationship with its disciplines and control, barely repressed in normal couples, here they serve to remind the viewer of the power of brute force. The handcuffs evoke a militarized world, marking Kane's ambiguous position. Those who see them must query their own faith in the powers of the police who in the blind uncle's words are "always on the alarmist side." They also point to Patricia's independent role--and the necessity for her choosing to believe in Kane's innocence.

Overlooked by many critics, Patricia is in fact a crucial component of the film. Like Gusto in Arise, My Love, Pat is not what Michael Renov describes as the "hermeneutic provocateur, the protagonist's assistant/companion who provides the crucial, unusually overlooked linkage of fact or interpretation (often through 'women's intuition')" (127-8) who appears in 'partner' films. Patricia's activity, as she is integrated into the film's plot, parallels Barry Kane's steps, as if there is a simultaneous woman's discourse in the film.

Patricia is a new addition to the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, for she cannot be seen solely as the nameless wife of a fugitive Cain who has supposedly slain his 'brother,' and mother of Enoch as Genesis would have it. For all the labels Hitchcock has earned for misogyny,¹⁶ in

¹⁶I should note that Saboteur has not been included in feminist film critics' discussions of Hitchcock. A variety of critics may have left it out as a 'minor' film; many

Saboteur he presents a new space for the woman that rewrites this post-edenic stage of Genesis, if the war itself is likened to a mythic battle against good and evil, in which the fate of humanity lies in the balance.

Patricia enters the film as the corporate version of the New Woman, a professional model, single and enterprising, representing the sex/gender system's semi-disguised discipline of femininity. Her androgynous name suggests that we may encounter some surprises; neither gender nor profession is as stable and defining as one might have thought. Consistently, Hitchcock's films present narratives which subvert ordinary sentiments and conventional roles -- in his American films of the forties and fifties such as Notorious (1946), Rear Window (1954), and North by Northwest (1959), his characters are often closely tied to advertising, modeling, or surveillance, but the film's narrative undermines cozy expectations of gender roles, spectatorship and commodification. Initially Pat is obedient to the fraternal state and its instruments of power -- radio and police. To this extent, she represents Bartky's version of the disciplined, and disciplining body, but in the Hitchcockian political context where a critique of power is simmering, her ensuing experiences undermine this stance. Both she and the film viewer symbolically

thought it too blatant a piece of war propaganda. Hitchcock was said to be "dissatisfied with the film's casting and what he calls its excess of ideas" (in Deutelbaum).

leave her old self behind as a billboard with her image spread across it, advertising funerals, is passed by. When the nation was fervently concerned with death and dying, this reified version of the woman selling the casket seems to mock the emotional tone.

Belief, like Gusto's sexual development in Arise, My Love, entails a process. It relies not only on trust but on self-discovery. Committed as she is initially to the network of corporate and legal power, Pat does not start to believe Kane until a raucous yet tender scene in which they seek refuge with a group of traveling circus performers. Dorothy Parker, one of the screenwriters, is usually given credit for the work on this scene in particular. The circus people, including a bearded woman and a skeleton man, like Pat make their living by being watched. We expect them to behave passively, even more so because they are freak spectacles. They too have been cast out, like the Biblical Cain. Undaunted, they, like Barry, seem determined to be their brothers' keepers in the sense of a fraternal democratic vision. In presenting his story to the circus group, Barry appeals to their decency and democratic bent, and they claim a strong civic voice, debating the merits of democracy, the plight of the fugitives, and arguing with the more authoritarian members. By vote the majority agrees to hide Pat and Barry from the police. Moved by their simple faith in democracy, Pat changes her mind.

Pat eludes a simple characterization. Those critics who note her at all attribute the difficulties with Pat to miscasting, since apparently Hitchcock was not thrilled with Lane in the part (see Morella 67-8, Phillips 102). This seems a weak argument. Although a working woman, Pat bears little resemblance to a Rosie the Riveter with the welding torch (many of whom were middle class women who chose factory work), yet neither does she suggest any domestic qualities which one could expect to be highlighted on the American home front. More telling is the fact that she offers little of the erotic spectacle, even though she is a model. Pretty, but not sexy, she is somewhat average, in defiance of an audience's expectations. Her "model" self contrasts with her presence on the screen as a "real" woman; these aspects work together to show that representation itself is manipulated to instill longing and desire in the viewer of the advertisement. Pat's most enduring quality, and the one most critics have had the hardest time pinpointing, is in fact her independence -- whether it be from Kane as she first encounters him, (which we might read as a kind of false consciousness) or from her captors, or in the "aggressive" independence at the Statue of Liberty which brings the film to its dramatic conclusion, where she is "Little Miss Liberty carrying the torch," a cynical indictment made by Fry. An intriguing scene in which lipstick and independence converge provides a sharp moment

in which to explore what Modleski calls "patriarchy's weak points." Lipstick is transformed from an instrument which inscribes the passive female object to one which allows a woman to exert agency in the public sphere, to have a public voice.

Agreeing to meet Barry in New York, Pat arrives but is caught by the plotters, where she and Barry reunite briefly until she is imprisoned high up in Rockefeller Center in the "American Newsreel" office. By giving his crooks this front, Hitchcock points to the deceptive nature of newsgathering and propaganda. The skyscraper suggests both phallus and the power of the American state/ corporate empire which is being consolidated during the war. Resourcefully, Pat uses her "tools of the trade" to free herself from this edifice by writing a rescue message with lipstick, which she drops out the window: "Help in danger send police look up watch light flickers." Then she flashes her compact which reflects light below, to help any viewer locate her. This gesture refigures both the seeing eye and position of the model. Pat wants to be seen, but she disengages herself from being a 'spectacle' which relies on femininity as commodity. By contrast, she is now dependent on a viewer--that is, one who does not just take in but sees, to engage with her, and thus free her.

Hitchcock, Mark Crispin Miller notes, thought his films needed more than one viewing. They were frequently "too

equivocal for the job" (234) of patriotic arousal. Miller argues that Hitchcock "asks the viewers to learn for themselves how to see for themselves" (232), a lesson lipstick and mirror draw for those below, and the movie viewer as well. But a mirror as an instrument of sight is complicated. "A mirror," writes Mary Ann Doane, "is always a proper representation of its referent, and the specular relation is one to which women are expected to adhere" (76). Evoking this lipstick and mirror of the seemingly self-absorbed counter girl at the film's opening, in this case the mirror reflects outside light, flickers of a new vision, and literally provides Pat access to the public sphere. Neither Pat nor the audience are reflected in the mirror, as if the specular relationship we require for effective action is based on more than narcissism and self-referentiality.¹⁷

The lower (and mobile) pedestrian -- strong metaphors here for the common citizen -- must be relied on to witness and transmit this message, just as the anonymous audience gathers to see a film and must be urged to understand actively. The "immobilized" citizen must shed gullibility and cynicism, as Pat herself has, attributes which, Hannah Arendt would point out following the war, produced receptivity to National Socialism and to totalitarianism in

¹⁷In the film noir Blood Simple (dir. Joel Coen and Ethan Coen, 1984) the murderous wife is thrown her compact, and told: "You forgot your weapon." The make-up mirror is tool of an empowered, transgressive woman.

general (Totalitarianism 80).

Unabashedly a movie about citizenship on the home front, the film is framed by the machinery of war and violence -- from the Stewart Aircraft Plant in California which is attacked by the saboteurs, to the Brooklyn Navy Yard where the saboteurs have fearfully easy access disguised as "American Newsreel." But the film also works with other gulfs, crossing from the masculine/fraternal world of aircraft plant workers/police into seemingly female versions of power -- the model, the society woman of Sutton Place, the matinee movie, and finally the Statue of Liberty, all dubious symbols of the national imagination. These are revealed to be not cites of power themselves, but as symbols of power, which as Joan Landes discusses in terms of the French Revolution, serve to note the real absence of women from power. Landes points to the need to challenge these symbols:

Accordingly, a transformation of modern modes of discursivity becomes a fundamental task for feminists. This most obviously involves the authorization, through language, of women's legitimate participation in the public realm and their status as political actors in their own right (206).

Pat is this kind of "political actor." She has assumed the power of surveillance, keeping her eye on her man, master saboteur Fry (Norman Lloyd). Tailing Fry reverses the gendered rules of the erotic as well. Continuing in the thriller/chase vein, from the spy den in Rockefeller Center,

to a "weepie movie" at Radio City Music Hall, they move to the Statue of Liberty where she hopes to entrap him. She thus moves from the masculine symbol of the nation through the questionable site of collective mediation (the movie theater), to the feminine symbol of the nation,¹⁸ but a symbol which Serafina Bathrick has noted, which is ambiguous.

Bathrick argues that such female monuments which have evoked the mythic female served to cement national unity, standing over a "new world anchored in an ancient culture." But the Statue of Liberty especially, presiding over a gateway through which the teeming masses entered the nation, "becomes the site of contradiction and consequently a site of feminist struggle.... [W]omen's experience is profoundly shaped by the same culture's denial of them as active subjects" (80-81). I find Bathrick's interpretation valuable here, for Pat's climactic mimicry of seduction continues a reversal which began when she joined up with Barry. Mary Ryan writes that such classical figures and monuments a century earlier showed that "gender was at once the symbol of the Republic and a sign of the exclusion of women from its universal, rational, and disembodied plan of public deliberation" (172), as Landes has noted as well.

¹⁸Hitchcock travels through a number of national monuments in this film, an interesting gesture which enables what Anderson calls "the imaginary" of the nation to be materially realized.

But here the location reinforces the "feminist struggle" which is a self-conscious activity informed by, but transgressing Pat's role as a model. Yet she does not negate her potential as a sexually motivated person. Following Fry, she claims her place in the crown/head, thus asserting her place within masculine authority's territory. Perhaps as fearful of Pat's state, that is, her empowered female sexuality as he is of the police, Fry climbs the Statue's torch and falls to his death, a dramatic drop in Hitchcock's brilliant repertoire of deadly falls.

Revising the instrument of lipstick into a writing instrument does not deny female sexuality, and it is this doubled agency which may lead to castration fears, if one fears female sexuality. Mary Ann Doane observes that, especially in wartime films where wives are left at home, "[e]conomics and sexuality are inextricably linked...whereby a wartime economy of lack or scarcity is seriously threatened by excessive female sexuality" (81). Thus, Doane writes, "excessive" sexuality delineates negative characters. Not so in Hitchcock, where economic issues are clearly shaped and interrogated by the political. We find, contrary to Doane's warning, that Pat's suggested 'excessive female sexuality' is of service. The erotic, which has been suppressed in the handcuffed Barry and the blindly patriotic version of Pat, emerges as they dance together at Mrs. Hutton's society party, even as they fear the dangerous spy

den that traps them. Erotic desire is linked with an autonomous voice both involved in and resistant to the nation. Likewise, Hitchcock's patriarchal institution of marriage is fraught with difficulties. The viewer is to see, in both relationships, and in their inevitable interpenetration, that control and agency can be usurped by "agencies" and authoritarian causes.

Make-up, as long as it inscribes and reaffirms power (and the lack of critical agency in women), is metaphor for women's limitations. When it inscribes resistance, as it does literally in this film, or helps mark the lips which enact a critical public voice, it is positive. While Saboteur is certainly pro-Allies and anti-Nazi in the service of the war, it criticizes blind nationalism and the urge to authoritarianism that threatens the U.S. as well, a critique which encompasses the relationship between gender and sexuality, and relies strongly on the moment of lipstick liberation to paint its critical vision.

Both films present geographies of displacement, geographies in which the characters seem to have no choice. Gusto is trying to return home but instead must travel across Europe. Pat also lands with Barry, not at first by choice, as she travels across the U.S. Arise, My Love moves from peace to war; Saboteur moves from west to east -- both reverse the "normal" discourse of politics and American

territorial expansion. But, as the circus leader of Saboteur observes, "the normal are normally cold-hearted." Both films trespass the normal to make engaged critiques of gender and political power.

For both films, female agency emerges from a narcissistic self-involvement, using help of tools of female "displacement," that is, make-up, until self-conscious sexuality/voice punctuates the action decisively. Both films involve flight and stealing away which initially seem to be a man's prerogative. Tom is a pilot, Barry Kane works in an aircraft factory: we encounter agents and instrument-makers of war, and both must escape. Both are joined by a woman who seems initially secondary to the plot. Ultimately, each film resituates the discourse of war to a process which raises questions about how war is talked about, who is involved behind the scenes, what the witness can do, how people are mobilized, a process in which Gusto and Pat become crucially involved, with active voices. ~~Th~~ returns us to a question of lipstick, lips, voice as provocative tropes which help create "narratives in a woman's voice refusing to be silenced by the machines of total war" (Schweik 58). I might remind the reader that cosmetics derives from the word cosmos, which makes us think of the "cosmological" role of women in the nation. But these films give us another frame, for the tropes of make-up help shape women as citizen, embodying both their womanness

and their historical agency as well, as critical meaning makers.

Chapter 5

"A Terrible State to Be In": Citizenship and Shame
in the Japanese American Internment Camps
Mine Okubo's Citizen 13660

1. Bus ride out of national life

On February 16, 1942, Life's "picture of the week" featured 30 widows of American sailors killed at Pearl Harbor. The group was pictured as they "piled out of a bus [to] report for work at a West Coast aircraft factory" (26-27). In the perception of many--including male co-workers in such factories, women were considered trouble in the plants, dedicated more to make-up and to flirting than to war production, as Katherine Archibald found in her study Wartime Shipyard (1946)¹, and as Hitchcock depicted in the opening scene of Saboteur, where a seemingly superfluous waitress applies lipstick as she stares into a compact. But the Pearl Harbor widows, "enlisted by the Government,"

¹Archibald found, for example, "one disgruntled workman" who insisted: "From one end of the hull to the other they're jawing or prettying up their faces or bothering some man and keeping him from his work" (26). Another veteran craftsman complained of women's "continual preoccupation with mirror and lipstick. 'Lazy and good-for-nothing, that's what these women are'" (27). To the extent that such prejudices persisted and that women were excluded from skilled work, Archibald argues that "the citizenship of women continued to be conditional....[T]his period of disturbance" could not unhinge such diehard resistance to "equality with men in a man's world" (39).

were to be above suspicion in the minds of American magazine readers, exhibiting a consciously public, collective determination to turn their grief into materiel for use against the hated Axis enemy.

As Mine Okubo reminded the nation in 1946, she had taken a dramatically different bus ride:

We were silent on the bus except for a group of four University of California boys who were singing college songs. The bus crossed the Bay Bridge. Every one stared at the beautiful view as if for the last time. The singing stopped.
(26)

Like the widows' ride, this bus trip was set in motion by the events of Pearl Harbor, but these travellers were on their way to internment in militarily-guarded sites -- solely because they were native Japanese or Japanese Americans. Women in the shipyards and aircraft factories faced recurrent hostility, but this differed dramatically from the threatening racial animosity encountered by the entire community of Japanese Americans.² On February 19, 1942, three days after the Pearl Harbor widows arrived at

²Interestingly, while Hitchcock's film Saboteur is concerned with the very act which the Japanese American community was said to threaten, sabotage in a California aircraft factory, Hitchcock chose not to malign Japanese Americans. The very agencies which orchestrated the removal of the Japanese--army, police, and federal agents--are shown to be thickheaded and bad readers of people and events. Of course, Hollywood did create many negative depictions of Japanese Americans in films. See Koppes and Black, Hollywood Goes to War, 72, 74-76. They note for example the use of a kimono as a "visual clue implying disloyalty" (74). See John Dower for a sweeping and insightful look at the long legacy of anti-Japanese rhetoric infecting the Allies in War without Mercy.

their aircraft factory, the federal government enacted Order 9066, to inaugurate the forced removal and relocation of all people of Japanese descent on the west coast. This effected those born in Japan, Issei, permanently unable to claim American citizenship, and their children born in the U.S., Nisei, possessing citizenship. Among the Nisei were the Kibei, named because they had received their education in Japan. Of the 119,803 interned, sixty-five percent were American citizens (Hane 571).³

This chapter addresses the political and corporeal shame concentrated in Japanese American women's faces in wartime, as a way of exploring the relationship of the singular woman to public citizenship. Looking at Mine Okubo's important but neglected memoir of the Japanese American internment, Citizen 13660 (1946) as both a significant document of World War II and a source which illuminates the drastic limitations placed on individuals and groups in a militarily-mobilized state, I suggest that

³ The citizenship status of citizens was shifted to "non-alien," an interesting linguistic innovation. Nisei in fact were entitled to dual citizenship, since Japan believed in right of blood as grounds for citizenship (like Germany and Switzerland for example). The Japanese American Citizens League began a campaign after the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924 to urge Nisei to renounce their claim to Japanese citizenship, and many did so (see Chuman 166-168). Those Issei who had come to the U.S. before 1924 were not eligible for citizenship. "Discrimination," Polenberg notes, "had kept most [Japanese Americans] out of professional, white collar or skilled blue-collar jobs. As a powerless, poorly assimilated group, [they] lacked any shield" (61-2).

Okubo's memoir shows a way to "keep one's face," in this case quite literally in drawings and text, and thus she redresses the shame attached to the rejected, controlled body, and reclaims a critical citizenship.⁴

I don't think you can actually tell people how awful it was at that time, how terrible it was. And how embarrassing, because we thought we were being such good citizens and everything. It was a terrible state to be in, really. It was awful. Yes it was.

So recalled Lili Sasaki, another young internee (qtd. in Gesensway and Roseman 15). While Sasaki most likely uses "state" to mean predicament, other meanings link the range of difficulties Japanese Americans endured in wartime internment. "State," derived from the French etat, whose etymology lies in the Latin status, or standing, denotes position, both of the body and the body politic, or nation. As such, it points to both a specific, real consideration

⁴ Okubo's memoir was, as she wrote in her 1983 Preface, "widely reviewed and was considered an important reference book on the Japanese American evacuation and internment" (xi). It was reviewed in Common Ground, the Journal of Social History, New Yorker, Weekly Book Review of the New York Herald Tribune, New York Times and elsewhere, but the book faded into obscurity. Elaine Kim's important, influential survey Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Contexts (1982) fails to note it, naming instead Monica Sone's Nisei Daughter (1953) as the first published account of Japanese American internment. It is listed in Asian American Literature, An Annotated Bibliography, comp. Chueng and Yogi, 1988. Doris Kearns Goodwin's No Ordinary Time (1994) draws on Okubo's memoir to describe the devastating impact of internment. The paucity of work published immediately after the war may have been, as Okubo said in 1982, because "anything Japanese was still rat poison" (Gesensway 74).

of the literal state--confinement, and a metaphorical location. It is this constellation of meanings I wish to explore in this chapter. Lili Sasaki suggests the instability of membership in the state, especially at a time when the duties and qualities of citizenship are so strongly extolled, and are yet so easily manipulated for some. Furthermore, we see that neither gender nor politics, neither Japanese American identity nor citizenship, can be looked at statically or unidimensionally, as Okubo's inventive title reminds us. Her title combines the contradictory states of the author, both citizen and number: depersonalized by being reduced to a number and denaturalized in having her natural possession of citizenship curtailed, at the same time that the claim to citizenship is unwavering.

In previous chapters, we have considered how the 'idealized' woman bearing the Elizabeth Arden "war face" could be enlisted to urge critical independence and autonomy against authoritarian power, and used lipstick, tool of femininity, to do so. But a singular face as uncritical icon of the nation, seemingly classless, pretty, demure yet snappy, could not encompass the variety of women who lived within the bounds of the nation. This exclusion was certainly felt by Japanese American women, whose faces bore not only their Americanness, but their Japaneseness as well. As one speaker recalled in 1982 at a Congressional

hearing on relocation and internment,⁵ they were "Americans with the face of the enemy" (qtd. in Nakagawa 398). While the idealized woman's face was heralded as an aid to the war effort, Japanese Americans, men and women, experienced great shame for having "Japanese" faces. They in effect "lost face," living with what Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston describes as the divided "urge to disappear and the urge to be respectable" (114).

As is the case with other writings about American internment camps, forthright discussions of sexuality are generally hidden from the reader. Other issues of the body, however, come to the fore as women are forced to deal with drastically reshaped public and private spaces: to show food, sanitation, bathroom facilities, and veiled discussions of menstruation become particular issues in Okubo's record. Thus it should be evident that I have put aside the trope of lips to assert more general claims about the maligned and marginalized person. In the previous chapters, I addressed both the sexualized woman and the woman who metaphorically signifies the nation's energy and attractiveness, as well as a woman's devotion to the

⁵I use internment and concentration camp intermittently. Okubo uses the term "internment camp," while Charles Kikuchi uses "concentration camp" The Kikuchi Diary (240). "Concentration camps...that is what they really are, with double barbed fences and all" (Matsumoto 24). Debate over the use of the term continues. Los Angeles' Japanese American National Museum's 1994-5 exhibit was entitled "America's Concentration Camps."

national cause. For Okubo, such a metaphor of public woman as a large signifier becomes an idle gesture, if for no other reason than Japanese Americans were literally removed from public space. Undoubtedly the soldier was made to confront forced collective life, a near complete erasure of privacy in the name of public needs, and the imposition of rules and discipline; Okubo shows us a comparable shift in the lives of Japanese Americans. A brother who has been inducted into the Army writes her in Berkeley making such a comparison: "'Better get ready for induction, kids. It's your turn now!'" (11). However, no honor was attached to being interned, as much as some Japanese American leaders tried to suggest that they were patriotically complying with the Presidential Order. In actuality, shame was the prevailing attitude forced upon Japanese Americans, a sentiment which Okubo examines and challenges. While I have disagreed earlier with Sandra Bartky's critique of cosmetics and the disciplined woman, I find her discussion of shame valuable. Bartky argues that

shame is profoundly disempowering. The need for secrecy and concealment that figures so largely in the shame experience is disempowering as well, for it isolates the oppressed from one another and in this way works against the emergence of a sense of solidarity. ("Shame and Gender" 97)

The collective life of the camps did nevertheless permit a

kind of solidarity among Japanese Americans, but this must be seen in the context of sweeping, forced removal from each individual's home, community, work, and cultural practices, to be replaced by life under armed surveillance.⁶ Many Japanese American teenagers, for example, had felt comfortable in the mainstream teen culture of clothing, music, dancing; they considered themselves American, often in distinction to their parents. As Roger Daniels found, for example, "children seemed to resent their inherited characteristics, what they often called the 'Japanese Face'--which landed them behind barbed wire" (119). To deny this identification with American teen culture was painful. Monica Sone writes, for example, that a precious trip to town outside of the camp allowed her and her sister to rush to the dime store to buy purple lipstick and nail polish (140).⁷

⁶In Totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt writes that the "terror" of Nazi and Stalinist camps "enforces oblivion" (141). She notes Bruno Bettelheim's observation that prisoners who have done nothing wrong, compared to criminals and political prisoners, were "least able to withstand the initial shock" (n.145 p. 147), presumably because they had held some faith in their government and in the stability of their own position.

⁷ Opinions differ on the extent of independence within the family, and how much teen independence stemmed from the destruction of the family within the camps. For example, there seems to be general agreement that camp life helped to disintegrate the Japanese American family, although how permanent this damage was is debatable. Mei Nakano argues that the family structure survived overall intact after life in the camps; Jean Wakatsuki Houston notes that her family did not survive camp life. Charles Kikuchi writes that internment strengthened his family. The turmoil in

Since Citizen 13660 has received little attention, I will summarize it briefly.⁸ Consisting of nearly equal amounts of text and drawings, Okubo's account begins in Europe with the outbreak of war in 1939, where she has been traveling on a University of California artist's fellowship. The memoir takes her through internment with her brother at Tanforan Race Track Assembly Center (more than half her memoir is located here), and then to Topaz, the Central Utah Relocation Project, one of the ten permanent camps the federal War Relocation Agency operated. While interned, Japanese Americans were forbidden to have

the family, issues of delinquency and sexuality, the rising youth culture, may have been mainstream changes which permeated the borders of the camps. Okubo notes that teens spent time together and enjoyed dancing.

⁸Okubo's memoir appeared in 1946 along with the sociological accounts of internment edited by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, The Spoilage and The Salvage, and a personal account by a minister, Toru Matsumoto, Beyond Prejudice, a Story of the Church and Japanese Americans. These works were followed by other dynamic representations of wartime experiences of Japanese American women. Hisaye Yamamoto's story "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" appeared in Kenyon Review in 1950. Monica Sone's memoir Nisei Daughter appeared in 1953; Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James Houston's Farewell to Manzanar was published in 1973; Joy Kogawa's Obasan in 1981; and Yoshiko Uchida's Desert Exile in 1982. Together these texts constitute some the most significant autobiography and prose writings by women about concentration camp life. John Okada's novel No-No Boy was published in 1950. The Kikuchi Diary, Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp, Charles Kikuchi's Tanforan diary, appeared in 1972. As one of Thomas's assistants, Kikuchi was also a contributor to The Spoilage.

cameras, but drawing and painting were allowed,⁹ so Okubo began to record her experience in drawings. She was, she writes, moved by the "humor and pathos of the scenes" unfolding below her as she sat on Tanforan's grandstand balcony (53). Starting initially as a way of describing her situation to friends outside the camp, Okubo's drawings and sketches emerges into a narrative which moves far beyond herself and her brother to encompass camp life in general. In this unique combination of visual and written text, Okubo depicts the general dismay at the outbreak of war, the specific concerns of Japanese Americans, the initial evacuation procedures on the west coast, and removal to Tanforan. She shows the lines at private toilets, collective meals and washing, and lines of faithful visitors at Tanforan. She records efforts of internees to build their morale, keep busy, cheer arrivals and departures, and transform barren surroundings. She examines cultural and political debates at Tanforan and Topaz, including differing positions on loyalty, service in the military, as well as the emergence of a forceful pro-

⁹ Gesensway and Roseman's collection, Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps, provides an excellent overview of the numerous artists who painted and drew images of their years of internment. See also Dorothea Lange's sympathetic photographs of internment; Lange was commissioned by the state to photograph relocation. For example, Dorothea Lange, 55. See Sherley Sun, Mine Okubo: An American Experience, a catalog of Okubo's art exhibited at the Oakland Museum in 1972, including work Okubo produced during her internment, less representational than the images for Citizen 13660.

Japanese band of men; she notes the radical changes in women's lives -- in family life and practices including communal washing, bathing, and the ever-constant lack of privacy. She documents the increasingly dual cultural and political life of Topaz camp. The memoir ends with Okubo's individual release from the camp as she heads to New York, where she is to have a job with Fortune. "Having finished my documentary sketches of camp life," she writes, "I finally decided to leave" (206).¹⁰

The cultural and political life of the Japanese American camps is presented in its specific perplexity, showing that citizenship can be curtailed in a variety of manners far short of Jim Crow sadism or National Socialist extermination, and that people's responses are both astonishingly simple and complex.¹¹ Interestingly, Okubo

¹⁰While for most people of Japanese descent living in the restricted areas internment was forced, leaving the camps was a different matter. Some young people left, with sponsorship, to attend colleges in the midwest and east; others left to work in war industries or in other tasks where they had sponsors. 105 young men left after being accepted for military service, entering the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, comprised solely of Japanese recruits. Okubo's brother left to work in a wax paper factory in Chicago, until he was inducted into the army. Young women established unusual independence upon leaving the camps; Uchida for example left to go to school in the east far from her family. Both Okubo and Kikuchi opted to stay in the camps, at least for a while, to pursue their documentation.

¹¹The Japanese American Citizen League for example sent President Roosevelt a telegram immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack: "In this solemn hour we pledge our fullest cooperation to you, Mr. President, and to our country. There cannot be any question. There must be no doubt. We

presents a somewhat distanced picture of herself. Framing her memoir in the first person, she rarely uses the first person, and when she does it is frequently plural. While Okubo appears in nearly every drawing, the memoir does not take the reader through her development or transformation. Hence I do not read the memoir as a text of self-transformation or self-invention, which some critics argue is the heart of autobiography. I read it rather as the articulation of an interruption, of an experience which revises Okubo's, like other Japanese Americans', definition of herself as an individual and member of a distinct community. While we should note that a writing of the split self is "the nature of autobiography" for many postmodern critics (Stanton 10), Okubo's text anticipates feminist theories of autobiography which argue that woman's individuality is in fact defined by her relationship to a community. Susan S. Friedman, for example, has argued that the assertion of self as separate is not a crucial problematic to solve in many women's autobiography, an idea which she links to narratives of people of color in general. Domna Stanton finds that "the female signature,

in our hearts know we are Americans--loyal to America. We must prove that to all of you" (in Chuman 168, my emphasis). Many others felt compelled to resist such gestures. Resistance had to occur outside the framework that the government established, in particular when the loyalty questions 27 and 28 were presented to internees throughout the camps. Answering No-No to the loyalty questions (an issue primarily affecting men) was an attempt to step beyond the government's damning logic.

unlike the generic fixation, ha[s] liberating rather than constraining effects" (16). And Shirley Lim, addressing Japanese American women's life stories in particular, points to "a poetics, arguably a women's poetics, that values instead of disparages ambiguities and fluid boundaries in writing" (291).¹² Certainly Okubo's sense of individuality is inextricably linked to a collective sense, to a Japanese American community, but a community whose before and after have been redefined by thoroughgoing upheavals. Thus the twisted tie to a national political narrative, in particular Okubo's radical exclusion from it, and indeed with the issue of citizenship itself, constitutes a substantial component of her narrative. She seeks not only to write and draw herself into the interned community, but to reclaim the public agency of citizenship as well, however she is to define it at the memoir's end.

While gender is overall not a category in the act of

¹² See also Maria Diedrich, "'A Book in Translation about Eggs and Butter': Gertrude Stein's World War II." In Women and War: the Changing Status of American Women from the 1930s to the 1950s. ed. Diedrich and D. Fischer-Honung. Lynn Bloom, The Tradition of Women's Autobiography; Anne Marie Troger, "German Women's Memoirs" in Behind The Lines, ed. Higonnet et al.; Evelyn Cobley, "History and Ideology in Autobiographical Literature of the First World War"; Marlene Heinemann, Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust; Cheryl Shell, "Making Sense of Vietnam and Telling the Real Story: Military Women in the Combat Zone." Vietnam Generation. Vol. 1, Summer-Fall 1989, No. 3-4: 59-67; When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany, ed. Bridenthal et al. (New York 1984)

relocation itself--that is, both men and women were relocated, this common experience does not deny the fact that there are gaps in the way men and women experience particular aspects of relocation.¹³ Okubo is a single woman, living with her brother, and notably not with her father. (Her mother died as she was returning to the U.S. from Europe.) Divorced from the patriarchal relationship most Nisei had with their parents, she lives now in modernity's paradoxical fraternal society where the ideal of equality for all contrasts with its actual limitations. The modern state's ability to relocate and corral large populations superimposes a paternalistic structure, but this concentration of people, as Dorinda Outram points out, represents a new phenomenon. Since the French Revolution, Outram argues, the body --and bodies--are the object of the state's increasing physical control accompanied by "a simultaneous growth of physical violence by the state" (13). Outram counters this increasingly dominating "physical culture of the body," however, with the idea that bodies are to an extent "created by [their] possessors"

¹³ See Susan Schweik, A Gulf So Deeply Cut; Elaine Kim, "Japanese American Family and Community Portraits"; Mei Nakano, Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890-1990; Roger Daniels, Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II, in particular. The most significant differences are found between Kim and Schweik: Kim is concerned with the men's wounded sense of themselves as the most visible feature of internment, while Schweik notes that women found a new space for creative assertion in the camps.

(20). It is this freer interplay of the body, exhibited in Okubo's face, in her writing the body into the text, which reveals a conscious gendered identity. Okubo is obviously different, as the drawings show, from those bachelor or political groups of men, zones she singularly moves in and out of. Nor is she fully "at home" either among women: she remains dressed while other women are naked in drawings of women's bathrooms and bathing scenes, for example. As observer/artist, she claims a privileged position, distancing herself from the experiences she observes at times, but she always presents an aspect of woman in these scenes, including at times her defiance, as she sticks out her tongue at men in authority, a girlish, resistant gesture.

More frequently Okubo stares outside the frame of the drawing. Refusing to accept her place, she splits the viewer's vision as well. Positioned at the edge of the drawing, often partially drawn from the shoulders or waist up, she keeps herself from "settling" in the two internment camps she inhabits. This contradictory position privileges the scheming autonomous subject who can capture and define his or her world, just as it undermines the perspectival view of "'self-distancing, 'self-control,' and 'self-scrutiny'....a way of seeing that is more the work of the brain than the eye" (Theveleit 302). Indeed, Okubo's drawings can hardly be considered illustration to her

written text; together, drawings and text provide a doubling of intensity, a double vision into a woman's practice of 'keeping her face'--to sustain her identity as an artist, woman, Japanese American, and as a citizen while confronting a great effort to reduce her to a cipher.

2. Numbered citizen

Okubo starts her memoir dramatically by marking the gulf between international peace and war: "When England and France declared war on September 3, 1939," she begins, "I had been traveling in Europe a year on an art fellowship." Both her American citizenship and her dislocation are apparent. "I was stranded in Switzerland with nothing but a toothbrush," she continues (3), a depiction which foreshadows the isolation, dispossession, and dismantling of normal expectations which so many, including herself, were soon to encounter: "the money I had expected had not arrived at the American Express Office. Mail service was suspended and the French border was closed."

Her European friends and acquaintances remind her that she is lucky to have American rights and live in a country unaffected by the harsh events of war. While this point is to become doubly ironic, it sets the terms for a civic self-consciousness not fully claimed by women writers who follow her. Monica Sone, Yoshiko Uchida, and Jeanne W.

Houston's memoirs start in the pre-war immigrant community, with narratives of Japanese language classes, cultural events and family life, and in Sone's case, a trip to Japan with her family.¹⁴ Okubo's national identity is a position which is understood by others, that is, Europeans, in the immediate context of war. Such recognition by others is in fact important in the constitution of national identity. In contrast to the younger memoirists, by 1939 Okubo has already embarked on an art career. Returning to San Francisco, she paints a WPA mural for the army in Oakland, which permits her to join in the nation's increasing merging of war and art even after December 7, 1941, and to evade her Japaneseness, giving her a way around the curfew for Japanese Americans until she is interned.

In spite of fears of anti-Japanese violence Okubo shows a belief in the orderliness of American life when relocation is announced: she pays her bills before being resettled (21). But the 'normal' is radically perverted, Okubo shows, in a series of drawings leading up the actual evacuation -- "We tagged our baggage with the family number, 13660, and pinned the personal tags on ourselves; we were ready at last." Now set outside the body politic, she and her brother say goodbye to their house, then head

¹⁴In a rare comment addressing divergent political views of Japanese Americans, In Nisei Daughter, Monica Sone notes that some young Nisei opposed the Japanese invasion of China (148).

for the Civil Control Station, where Greyhound buses are lined up -- what would normally herald an adventure now marks their loss of agency to "civil control" (24). With internment Okubo's identity is immediately narrowed to the spurned "Jap." Literally confined because of this othered exclusion from the national face, Okubo must struggle to maintain her own subjectivity and to reestablish the value of her own face, connected to her voice and her eye.

Here lies the subversive disjuncture of the narrative, since her own face is never settled or complacent now, and is certainly neither the female 'beautiful' face of American culture nor the visage of Japanese serenity whose representation has helped to characterize Japanese as model immigrants (most women's hair is neat in the drawings). Documentation gives her a purpose in the camp-- to record. This self-made assignment, as well as her participation in the cultural project of this newly formed community as an editor of Trek, a literary and art journal which was published in December 1942, February and June 1943 (Okubo drew its covers), gives her agency which is both subjective and public, and substitutes for, if not helps enact, her reclaimed citizenship. Oddly, however, Trek gets minuscule attention in the memoir. She writes that during the first "sad" Christmas, the "Trek staff held a party....Dancing and games made the party a noisy affair." But the drawing with this passage refers only to the "brave attempt" some

families made to celebrate the holiday: she draws a family, father and mother with two children complete with sleeping cat, beneath a sparse Christmas tree (156). Furthermore, this drawing is one of the very few in which Okubo does not appear. While we currently privilege the assertive artistic activities of camp life as a measure of a budding, resistant Japanese American cultural movement, in 1946 Okubo chose to veil this aesthetic/political practice, making it seem one among many Japanese cultural practices, along with "Mochi-making....to celebrate the traditional Japanese New Year" on the opposite page--where text and drawing fully match; or Japanese bathing (160-161), and the "ingenious use...of everything" which went into art and hobby shows (169).

Culturally, it is unclear where Okubo stands. The memoir literally originates in Europe, where she has been studying art. Yet her locatability is indeterminate. Yes, the government takes charge; the covered trains which all Japanese Americans travel on from initial internment to permanent camp suggest a dis-orientation, as the trains ride their human cargo away from the coast which had linked them to their orient. Interestingly, however, in each drawing in which Okubo appears, she seems uncontained by the frame, and thus metaphorically un-locatable, almost always facing away from the focal point, looking outside the space. Moreover, she looks disgruntled; her unkempt,

unruly hair brings to mind both Ophelia in Hamlet and Cassandra in Troilus and Cressida, Shakespeare's account of erotic and physical displacement, in the latter play closely linked to war. Prophetic Cassandra, stage directions of Troilus and Cressida note, is "raving, with her hair about her ears" (II.2.101). Thus, I suggest, Okubo is culturally "American" as it was defined in the 1940s, drawing artistic and imagistic references to European culture. Yet civilization is paradoxically a culture of barbarism, as Walter Benjamin writes. While the reader is privileged to understand that Cassandra's raving quality is actually visionary, one also understands that Cassandra is locked within the limited understanding of those around her. Thus she represents a female historical vision confined by political reality. As a woman who cannot convince the men around her to listen, Cassandra represents the gaps between men and women, and between statecraft and compassion. And while neither Tanforan nor Topaz are the "nunnery" to which Hamlet directs Ophelia, they induce an oddly similar physical alienation where one's body is subject to another's misunderstanding of it. But Okubo resists being fully "dis-oriented," made un-Japanese, as her "Japanese" face appears ubiquitously in the text, and as she surrounds herself in Japanese as well as American practices.

In addition to this shifting citizenship, two other

aspects of citizenship are raised which suggest the modern subject's questionable standing. One derives from what Rachel Bowlby calls the "citizenship of consumer society," and the other from a consideration of authoritarianism, political identity, and public space. The "citizenship of consumer society"¹⁵ is achieved by shopping, and it is particularly connected to women's creation of agency "in an endless interplay of consumer and consumed" (29); it is the practice of a "right" which belongs to all members of a bourgeois society who can afford to consume as such. This is a paradoxical concept of citizenship to apply to here, for after being deprived of most of their former possessions, internees were allowed to "shop" through mail order catalogs. But I am concerned with Bowlby's concept in particular because the community to which they "buy into," so to speak, is one to which they hardly belong, or "look like." While this paper browsing (oddly recalling paper brides, the means by which many Issei women were introduced to husbands-to-be in the U.S) does not allow women to roam at will and gaze through store windows onto displays, re-imagining themselves, a significant practice

¹⁵ This is a term Bowlby borrows from Baudrillard. Bowlby writes: "the consumer is not (just) an active appropriator of objects for sale. His or her entire identity, the constitution of the self as a social subject, a 'citizen of consumer society,' depends on the acquisition of appropriate objects...all the appurtenances of a 'lifestyle' that can be recognized by other members of the society" (28).

in Bowlby's reading of novels of shopping, it concentrates the tension all women shoppers face, the "insatiable interplay between deprivation and desire, between what the woman is (not) and what she might look like" (34). Tenuously, then, catalog shopping registers the women residents as "citizens of consumer society," and this activity is noted in Okubo's memoir. She writes:

In Tanforan we had ordered our clothing allotment from the Sears Roebuck summer catalog. These clothes, with many substitutions, now began to arrive.

Beneath a drawing of three different-sized women, all annoyed they have ordered the same blouse, she continues: "Everyone was dressed alike, because of the catalog orders and the G.I. clothes" (my emphasis 152-3). The homogenization of the nation's public sphere which arises through advertising and mass production is, ironically in the camps, more recognizable, as is wartime's militarization of society, since military gear accompanies the Sears orders, in spite of the fact of their exclusion for their racial difference. Not only do all the barracks look alike, so much that people get lost, but the clothing has little distinction due to its limited source. Unlike the uniform, which suggests a conscious identity with an organization, now dressing with little distinction undermines the women's nascent sense of themselves as subjects in this new environment. Uniformity now only reminds them of their confinement.

For women in general, modern clothing promises that it can create a separate but "like" identity for each wearer. Furthermore, the dissatisfaction and annoyance rendered in Okubo's drawing of women wearing their Sears' clothing suggest not only unmet desire, but the inherent difficulties for women outside of the dominant culture in "looking like," and in particular for Japanese American women in wartime, when concentration camps shattered the prospect of correspondence with the ideal woman.

Interestingly, the radical alternative to a citizenship of consumption is not tied to such shopping behavior, as women have increasingly to make do with what is available. Okubo notes that mothers became the best securers of scarce lumber and sheet rock:

stealing no longer became a crime but an act of necessity. There were guards everywhere, but the residents became skillful at dodging them; worried mothers were the most skillful of all.
(137-8)

It is important to note that Okubo redescribes stealing as "borrowing" -- signifying the temporary relationship that language inscribes, where values are revised as both necessity and a form of resistance.

The political citizenship which arises in a confined public sphere is also problematic, and ultimately does not result in a return to the body politic as it was imagined before internment. For one thing, the private is nearly totally banished in the camps, so everything is public

sphere--but it has very little connection to democratic practices. Identity is always marked by the dehumanization defined by family number and relocation, initially into what had recently been horse stalls at Tanforan. While these moves on the part of relocation officials seem based on expediency, they are steps in regimentation enabled by a state which has begun to amass greater powers with wartime's extreme needs -- steps which permit the reduction of individuals to a removable collective body.

Hannah Arendt writes of the destruction of the juridical person as a function of totalitarian camps (On Totalitarianism). To become a number erases the boundaries between public and private, and levels one's presence in the civic.¹⁶ The most reductive of languages, numbering is allowable because of their "difference," but then permits the erasure of all individual difference, putting people in an arbitrary linear relationship. Lines in the Tanforan and Topaz reinforced this arbitrariness:

¹⁶ Etta Shiber, an American in Paris active in helping British fliers return to England, and jailed by the Germans, describes her experiences in Paris Underground. She explains her loss of identity as a number: her guard "pinned a number on my chest. I shall never forget that number. It was 1876. I was no longer Mrs. Etta Shiber, an American lady living in a comfortable apartment in the Etoile Quarter, moving in a small and pleasant circle of loved friends and acquaintances. Now I was Number 1876, a record in a card catalogue, a statistic, an inmate in an institution where no one knew my name or cared to know it, where my friends could not find me" (207). Such was the purpose of course, in assigning numbers to people within the Nazi camps as well.

Line-ups here and line-ups there" describes our daily life. We lined up for mail, for checks, for meals, for showers, for washrooms, for laundry tubs, for toilets, for clinic service, for movies. We lined up for everything. (86)

Aware that "we were close to freedom yet far from it," the residents of Tanforan, and subsequently of Topaz, sought to govern their lives from the outset, even within the confines of constant surveillance, roll calls, spot inspections for contraband, censorship, limitations on the use of Japanese texts and language, and a racial hierarchy in which Caucasians had authority over Japanese ("Caucasian was the camp term for non-evacuee workers" according to Okubo (60)). Okubo documents a valiant effort on the part of many individuals to create public rituals of welcome at Topaz, to replicate the formal shape of their pre-war lives by creating gardens and parks, in spite of the victorious dust, to give the newly formed, artificial community some spirit, cohesion, and identity. While Okubo makes no attempt to claim an idyllic private space before internment, she shows that as private family space was disrupted in both settings, and as the state intervened in the functioning of the patriarchal family, social conventions and mores were acted out in public space, communal and regimented. "Table manners were forgotten," Okubo writes about the early days at Tanforan.

Guzzle, guzzle, guzzle; hurry, hurry, hurry. Family life was lacking. Everyone ate whenever he or she pleased. Mothers had lost all control over their children. (89)

Yet in contrast to lines, roll calls and curfews, a revised public sphere and an ensuing political life, encompassing all evacuees, emerges. Okubo depicts efforts at self-government which both repeat and revise normal political life: a man carries a sign declaring "VOTE FOR JOHN SATO" in a campaign procession (a voluntary line) headed by the sign, "VOTE TODAY." She writes:

In Tanforan...a movement for self-government was started by the evacuees....The election gave the Issei their first chance to vote along with their citizen offspring. But army orders later limited self-government offices and votes to American citizens. To our disappointment, in August an army order dissolved all Assembly Center self-government bodies. (91)

In spite of the state's restrictions, the political process keeps sprouting, and growing more complex, as Japanese cultural activities and the use of Japanese were asserted side by side with Americanization practices such as English classes.¹⁷ Victory gardens, scrap metal drives and the like could, as Okubo writes, "help us keep up with the outside world," by which she means patriotic activities which reinforced their sense of citizenship (174).

¹⁷Towards the end of internment, there are designated shoppers, people who are allowed into nearby towns to do a group's errands. While an advance, this practice cannot provide the mobility achieved through public shopping. Okubo notes that a "community co-operative was established." Although it had little goods to offer, it provided a space where for community interaction: It was "like a country store where people gathered to discuss family and community problems. There the rumors of the day were circulated and notes exchanged on many subjects. (164) "

Confinement, censorship, surveillance and control cannot however create the ground for democratic and open political life. The camp population, more isolated and cynical, became less resistant to an increasingly enabled pro-Japan force. The federal government's infamous Questions 27 and 28¹⁸, which many saw as untenable ways to define loyalty, galvanized resistance to the WRA authorities already stirred by bad food, difficult living conditions, low pay when work was available, and lousy sanitation. These acts in themselves suggest vibrant resistance, but the political discourse was laced with manipulative sentimentalism and violence. "Center-wide meetings were held, and the anti-administration rabble rousers skillfully fanned the misunderstandings," Okubo writes, accompanied by a drawing of a speaker on stage who moves his audience to tears. The image of Okubo, at the drawing's edge, holds her nose in disgust. In another drawing, the "strongly pro-Japanese leaders" who "won over the fence-sitters" hold two-by-fours and dress in similar para-military garb. Standing among them Okubo defiantly sticks out her tongue, risking attack. Only the government's "weeding out" of the unloyal and disruptive

¹⁸ Question 27: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Question 28: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign power or organization?"

elements, along with their families, 'solves' this problem - which is of course not a solution but an intervention by the dominant power, the U.S. state.

If politics is the rational discussion of the arrangements of power, we see that the irrational, the emotional, highly charged nationalist sentiments, bitterness and sheer force are paramount in camp discourse. It is tempting to read this as the disjunction between modernism and postmodernism; certainly the war itself historically aggravates this rupture, but such a gloss ends up conflating the real distinctions in political consciousness and renders citizenship empty. The citizen I invoke is a radical democrat "committed...to the principle that every citizen should participate as fully as possible in the debates that shape his or her society or culture" (Berube 79). Mass action in Topaz at times is effective (a strike over food changed the offerings) but the citizen-reduced-to-number has little ability to shape public discourse through dialogue or action based on open public discussion.

For many, resistance had to be outside the framework that the government established: answering No-No to the loyalty questions (an issue primarily affecting men) was an attempt to step beyond the government's "logic." Okubo's position, however, should not be characterized as submissive; No-Nos, volunteers for the army, pro-Japan

thugs, and those who sought the WRA's protection against the thugs--mainly men--comprised a volatile and complex political world. The split, the double consciousness, which Okubo's title articulates, does not pose a simple either/or; the identity of and not-of, for and against is simultaneous in this space.¹⁹

In both Tanforan and Topaz work has lost much of its former constituting powers; gardening for many now constitutes meaningful activity by which individuals help create community. Metaphorically, we might see gardening as the site of a Japanese American practice which combines labor and imagination, individuality and public practice in the sense that Arendt uses "individuality" in the public sphere. We see in a number of drawings individuals and groups who aim to reconstitute some form of public space which validates both their identities including their contribution to the nation, so that they reclaim to some extent their juridical subjecthood. Yet independence within this framework is not possible, for such structures, contained and artificial, create dependency. Authority is

¹⁹This ambivalence is the mark of much fiction of the period, found for example in William Gardner Smith's novel, Last of the Conquerors, about Black troops in occupied Germany, whose distrust of Germans for the violent anti-Semitism is confused by the friendly treatment they receive from many Germans, who are warmer to them than many white Americans (see my final chapter). See also Irwin Shaw's the Young Lions where Noah suffers brutal anti-Semitism in the army; Margaret Long's women in Louisville Saturday who mistrust men's power in a man's world yet feel sexually and emotionally superior.

beyond the reach of the inhabitants (both democratic American and the feudal/imperial authorities). Evacuees have become dependent on the WRA for work, food, shelter and clothing, and Okubo stresses the negativity of these relationships in most depictions. She is, for example, painfully aware of this structure's legacy when she leaves the camp:

I looked at the crowd at the gate. Only the very old or very young were left. Here I was, alone, with no family responsibilities, and yet fear had chained me to the camps. I thought "My God! How do they expect these poor people to leave the one place they can call home." (209)

As readers of a resistant text, we need to be careful to see the limitations of subversion and re-creating the self within the text. Okubo's face is still confined within the frames of her drawings, within the fences of the camps, until her final drawing.²⁰

²⁰This attention to dependency is not found solely in Okubo. Daniels writes that in some camps passivity increased, due to the removal of the "most active and vocal" due to their political resistance (110).

3. Writing in the drawing

I am suddenly in a bad humor, suspecting a trap in which I shall be imprisoned uncomfortably by words, words, words...

--Hisaye Yamamoto, "The High-Heeled Shoes" (1)

Words at times are suspect, as Yamamoto writes in "The High-Heeled Shoe."²¹ Citizen 13660's text is frequently less provocative and less revealing than its drawings, and while the text "explains" the drawings, it never fully incorporates or limits them, in the sense that Roland Barthes argues a text imposes on visual images, "immobilizing" them (The Fashion System 13). More able to account for the bodies themselves, more able to connect to the visual discipline of camp life, that is, to depict people's privacy cancelled and mobility severely limited, by barbed wire and endless repetition, and more able to evoke the confusion, dismay and isolation internees felt, the visual here serves to restate and problematize the

²¹Not a camp story, "The High-Heeled Shoe" addresses both the imprisoning potential of language and of visual image. First a random, intrusive phone call causes the narrator to be wary of the "trap of words." Then the presence of a person sitting in a blue car wearing high-heeled shoes assaults her. The woman narrator's initial impression was wrong. "It wasn't a woman, but a man, unclothed (except for the high-heeled shoes, the high-heeled shoes), and I saw that I was, with frantic gestures, being enjoined to linger awhile" (3). "Nothing as complicated as pure rape" (4) but intimidating enough to limit the narrator's freedom, this visual assault interrupts and intrudes on the narrator's sense of self. "The High-Heeled Shoe" first appeared in Partisan Review in 1948.

written text.

In Okubo's memoir, writing represented in the drawings themselves frequently evokes distortion, manipulation and authoritarian bureaucracy, signifying the medium of war propaganda, of "translations" of racism and xenophobia, of information-bearing news and advertising -- representing a culture of control, and, perhaps most significantly, the prevailing medium of state affairs so closely bonded to war and violence. This is not an arbitrary gesture on her part. Print is one of the means by which the modern state establishes and maintains itself. It is not inherently a vehicle of authoritarianism; at times it serves to inform and to expose, and it is a medium by which a population involves itself in the democratic life of a nation.²² But print can be, on the other hand, a means to discipline and restrict -- through edicts, decrees, laws promulgating limitations -- a way to narrow fields of meaning and possibility, as Joan Landes and Lynn Hunt have shown in their discussions of print. Landes points to Habermas' L'espace public: "Writing aided in the administration of tax collection, accounting, census taking, surveillance, and criminal and property law and therefore favored the development of state structure" (n. 33 221). Okubo makes graphically evident these two aspects of writing in her

²²See Imagined Communities, p. 61, and Anderson's discussion of 'national print-languages,' Ch. 5, and Ch. 10.

drawings: on the one hand, the coercive power of the state, and on the other hand an unrestrained and critical public writing, which includes her memoir itself.

Beginning with the outbreak of the war in Europe signaled by newspapers, continuing through to the relocation of Japanese Americans established by written decree, to Okubo's release from the camp permitted only by wading through bureaucratic paperwork, the restrictions which war wrought are consistently presented as writing in the drawings. The initial drawing shows travellers in Switzerland reading the announcement of war in newspapers, as Okubo stands abjectly among them. In a subsequent drawing, war is announced in the U.S. as well through the newspaper: the newspaper represents access to citizenship with its public discourse and information, status Okubo holds in this drawing, as she reads that "U.S. Declares War." That the men and women about her wear hats while she is hatless (9) further denotes her own dislocation in the politics of war as well as her own impending lack of public agency.

The memoir's most "written" drawing follows. Okubo is circumscribed by loose phrases of anti-Japanese hostility - "SORRY NO JAPS." "SPY KINGS." "STAB IN THE BACK." "WE DON'T WANT JAPS," for example. The potential violence of such phrases, which appeared after Pearl Harbor, written on storefronts, placards, billboards, and in newspapers, is

only thinly disguised in this writing that floats up from the newspaper Okubo reads, into the murky space above her where rumor and public opinion merge. Likewise, both the drawing which address Civil Exclusion Order No. 19 (17) and one which shows her registering with the authorities (19) link the bureaucratic and dehumanizing powers of the state to paperwork. "All news," Okubo reminds the reader, "passed the censorship of the administration staff" at Topaz (134). Trek as I mentioned earlier is only briefly mentioned. Its exclusion from any drawing highlights a consistent position that most writing presented in the drawings enforces bureaucratic and authoritarian power. But Okubo's astute observations about the disciplining powers of writing do not cancel out her view that writing is also important in this relocated space, and we read the memoir itself as resistance.

4. Protecting and Veiling

In a drawing of a small garden towards the end of the memoir, Okubo builds on the metaphorical aspects of planting which I mentioned previously, and shows the instability of public and private concepts by alluding to the "unmentionable," menstruation, at this garden's edge.

Her drawing shows a small garden plot, where she and a large man work at separate tasks. The accompanying text reads:

Despite reports that the alkaline soil was not good for agricultural purposes, in the spring practically everyone set up victory gardens. Some of the gardens were organized, but more of them were set up anywhere and any way. Makeshift screens were fashioned out of precious cardboard boxes, cartons, and scraps of lumber to protect the plants from the whipping dust storm. (my emphasis 192)

One the side of one such cardboard box is written "KOTEX"; others are marked "BREAD" and "WONDER BREAD." Such signs point to the recurrence of "writing" represented in the drawings--but now it is more questionable what such "texts" offer. Remnants of a form of advertising and mass production, they suggest as well the power of the internees to remake things for their own use, in this case to protect victory gardens. But the screens furthermore illustrate the internees' ability to remake signifiers for their own purposes, shifting language from the power of authoritarian control.

Both bread and Kotex are potent images -- bread as essential nourishment and perhaps the body of Christ, emphasizing the regenerative connotations of this particular page. Kotex, as a woman's "text," is a sign of fertility. Additionally, its display is provocative since it is normally a taboo public image.²³ But Kotex is also

²³Charles Kikuchi too had something to say about Kotex. He wrote that the newspaper was "probably about the most censored thing in camp. This morning Greene went through the dummy with a fine tooth comb and made us eliminate Kotex from the drug store items carried, because it was not in good taste." (100; qtd. in Schweik 334 n. 11) As an "intrusion" in Kikuchi's journal, kotex is a neutral marker

a reminder of the woman's body and its unclean "contagion" that so distinguishes the feminine body from the masculine mind, a contagion which threatens the "delineation of the [male] individual," a widely-represented fear which Klaus Theveleit, among others, has pointed to (256). Okubo's use of the word "precious" to qualify the cardboard suggests that she is not representing women's public humiliation. Rather, the "precious cardboard" is a destabilizing image both of female unruliness and the cultural order required to contain her. The drawing of this pair at work under the "protection" of the cardboard signs challenges the taboo of representing menstruation in public, and offers co-operation of men and women in this new public space.

In Okubo's drawing, the cardboard helps to protect. Whether the object of protection is plants, literally or metaphors for the people themselves who have literally been uprooted, or images of beauty and pleasure which need to be created, these are sheltered from the "whipping" surroundings. As a whole, the drawing undermines the constant burden of shame, not now by asserting the validity of the "Japanese face," but by representing positively, as

of the powerlessness of the Japanese American community is the object of censorship; the authorities apparently want to eliminate the word from public discourse out of a patronizing sense of propriety, but perhaps also because of its paradoxical evocation of the fertile Japanese woman, as well as the contaminated female body. It is important to note that Kikuchi himself refuses to make the word disappear, "rescuing" the banished word.

"precious," another shameful gendered image. Yet both her face and that of her fellow gardner are clearly visible in this drawing.

Okubo posits her mad face at times as the signifier of her personhood. She sticks out her tongue at men she disagrees with, an act of gendered and political resistance in the face of the pro-Japan thugs' threatening presence. Most frequently her lips are closed and resolute, contradicting the larger culture's link between war fervor and the erotic, and inferring a clamming-up about matters of sexuality. Her exposure of the loss of privacy, I noted above, gives a fuller sense of the control which the government possessed over the camps' inmates. Yet, we might see the subtle "hiding" is equally significant: she veils sexuality as well as any sense of the erotic (as well as her own 'creative' work, in Trek for example.²⁴) To

²⁴I offer a conjecture about her overall silence about Trek. As Okubo herself reminded her audience in 1982, "anything Japanese was still rat poison" (Gesensway 74). I believe she limited her discussion of Japanese American cultural identity and flowering within the camps, to present a more homogenous view of camp life (although certainly many Japanese customs come through) when she published her memoir in 1946. As she mentions in her interview with Sherley Sun, her initial bent towards European culture is also evident. Before the war she strongly identified with an uncle who had lived and painted in Paris. Internment changed this radically. "Significantly, Mine turned to her Japanese heritage after and not before the Evacuation experience. The evacuation demonstrated that other Americans considered her an alien because her race was yellow" (Sun 46). She quite clearly joins the nascent Asian American cultural and political movement. Citizen 13660 represents an early step.

I wrote Okubo, who lives in New York City, to see if

investigate sexuality more closely in internment writing, I want to range briefly into other memoirs of imprisonment, for I think Okubo's silence is not unusual. We can look at a fraternal text also written at Tanforan. Charles Kikuchi, a sociology student at Berkeley, wrote a diary as a record daily life to be included in Dorothy Swaine's comprehensive study of internment. Richly attentive to details about his family and camp life, with a candor not found in other internment writing, Kikuchi notes a variety of concerns about sexuality in both men and women. Men fear being fed saltpetre which "they think...will ruin their manhood" (55). He chronicles rumors of mushrooming pregnancy figures throughout relocation centers, men's interest in brothels being brought into Tanforan, and stories of prostitution. "Tony says there is a woman in camp who has established a good trade in her apartment, but he doesn't know where it is" (111). He writes of the near-sexual assault on his sister, and more than once he addresses the need for condoms. "I know the sex problem is here to stay in camp because one of the salesmen who comes in does a flourishing business in selling condoms."

But personally Kikuchi tends to be guarded. He writes that he is not "a monk as opportunities have been many" (104), a statement which dimly resonates with his more boisterous dealings with prostitutes in Chinatown

we might meet, but she declined.

before internment. Kikuchi senses a fundamental silence: "nobody talks about this aspect of life here" (104). He opts essentially for his own veiling as well. Indeed, he edits out his observations and experiences, as John Modell's "Note on the Editing" reveals:

Kikuchi himself made the distinction [between significant observations and personal document], even going to the point of keeping a "personal" diary in addition to his public one, "one which nobody ever got to look at" and which he destroyed. "It was about sexual patterns and I didn't want to identify anyone or run this kind of risk, and I didn't think at that time it had any value to the Study." (41)

Protection of the private in wartime memoirs has a variety of causes and manifestations, not limited to the Japanese American experience.²⁵ Thus to read imprisonment memoirs as "true" accounts of sexual practices, chosen or forced, lesbian or heterosexual, is difficult, since the writer is divulging a saved, protected sense of self. In discussing three American women's memoirs of internment by the Japanese, Lynn Bloom writes that "although [r]ape is an implied threat in wartime" only one of the three, Agnes Newton Keith, reported attempts at sexual molestation (108). I would assert first of all that Keith's account of

²⁵American soldiers in zones of war were not permitted to keep journals or diaries for fear that they might fall into enemy hands and provide unwitting but valuable information. This raises these question of innocent but dangerous information--and hence the importance for (writing) silence among soldiers. Censors of course read their outgoing mail. They were not supposed to mention troop identification or location to their home front readers.

fending off a Japanese guard/attacker, while heroic, may be a prettied-up version, for a wife and mother of a small child does not necessarily want to reveal the full extent of sexual victimization. Such an experience was, in that historical context, relatively unrepresentable. While Keith is physically punished for refusing to retract a complaint about the assault, one might assume that she could just as easily be punished for being raped--since either act, in the eyes of a misogynist captor, resistance or sexual humiliation, is sign of one's tainted, disgraceful embodiment as a woman. I do not mean that every time a woman mentions she wasn't raped one should read "was raped"; but the cultural code which permits such full revelation has shifted only relatively recently.²⁶

²⁶Whether this is a result of more "open" discussions of sexuality, including women's own desires and consciousness, or due to an erasure of the sense of self (and privacy), or a blurring of distinctions between sexuality and other practices, is not clear. In When Heaven and Earth Changed Places, Li Lay Hayslip writes of a single stint as a prostitute. Her work with American G.I.s in Vietnam was to sell them liquor and cigarettes, and she succumbs to one afternoon's stand for which she is promised hundreds of dollars. Is she protecting herself by saying this happened once? Or is she making common cause with the thousands of women who were forced to take up prostitution? A Woman in Berlin, the anonymous memoir of a German woman raped repeatedly, as are hundreds of other women when the Russian army takes Berlin, openly depicts countless instances of assault, characterizing them as "compulsory intercourse." In such renaming, the author revises the experience as a collective, political one, lifting some of the sense of shame from it. This is a more problematic text, however, seen by some as a political attack on the Soviet Union. Here the real issue of rape has once again been sacrificed to the metaphorized "body."

In reading memoirs of women in the Nazi death camps, one rarely comes upon discussions of women who saved themselves by prostitution, although this was evidently a fairly widespread practice. Marlene Heinemann notes two Holocaust memoirs in which the women reveal that they were offered "the choice between prostitution and likely death." Both Gerda Klein, in All But My Life (1957), and Judith Dribben, in A Girl Called Judith Strick (1970), write that they refused prostitution, prompting Heinemann to observe that "the parallel aspects of these two narratives suggest that the effects of targeting for sexual abuse and prostitution are not uncommon, whether the prisoner accepts or refuses sex for improved food" (30). That sadistic sexual abuse, forced prostitution, and rape occurred, including rape by liberating American and Russian soldiers, is undeniable. What is questionable is whether the women who experienced these incidents can themselves write their experience, or whether the ordeal appears disguised, reimagined, or as something which happened "to a friend."²⁷ Likewise, lesbian relationships within such confinement are left undiscussed, unless the author notes other women's relationships, as is the case in Fania Fenelon's Playing for Time (1977).

²⁷See Ka-Tzetnik, House of Dolls, NY Simon and Schuster 1955. This novel, ostensibly written by the victim's brother, depicts a brothel of Polish Jews serving German guards within a concentration camp.

What we have now come to expect as part of women writing themselves -- writing differing aspects of sexuality, of molestation and of furtive, or even liberatory sexual pleasure -- is guarded in Okubo's memoir as it is in so many other women's texts from the war period. None of what Luce Irigaray might point to as components of a luminous sexuality or of writing the body is present. In the light of such radical oppression and terrifying exclusion this should not be surprising.²⁸

Yet Okubo's text and drawings do, to use Irigaray's words, "convert a form of subordination into an affirmation, and thus... begin to thwart it." In her mimetic depictions of women, herself and others -- through the conjunction of written text and drawing -- there is a kind of unveiling. The context, for example, of the women's communal undressing is revealed. The sense that the women have, in spite of their degraded and shameful state, maintained dignity and agency, is clear. "To play with mimesis is thus, for a woman," Irigaray writes,

²⁸Rape was barely deemed a war crime even in war crime hearings about the Vietnam war. See Brownmiller for the cavalier way in which rape was used as grist for the propaganda mills in World War I, then dismissed as an issue (42). Fear about having to live publicly with one's self-exposure continues to keep women who were forced into sexual service for the Japanese army silent. See George Hicks, The Comfort Women. Margaret Sams' memoir Forbidden Family, A Wartime Memoir of the Philippines, ed. Lynn Bloom (Madison 1984) reveals her illicit affair and child born out of wedlock during her imprisonment, perhaps unusual in its honesty, but written in a later, "more open" period.

to try to recover the place of her exploitation by discourse, without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it....to make 'visible,' by an effect of playful repetition, what was supposed to remain invisible: the cover-up of a possible operation of the feminine in language. (The Irigaray Reader 124)

That Okubo does this more through drawings, secondarily by language, does not undermine the recovery to which Irigaray points.

5. Conclusion

Revised gender relations in the camps helped reshape Japanese Americans' lives. Most significantly for some scholars of internment, the loss of the father's influence and self-esteem in a patriarchal culture had a marked impact. Elaine Kim argues that Issei men were the "group most adversely effected," losing cultural authority and personal voice. Because transactions frequently had to be in English, Issei men were further silenced. "Now they were as much wards of the U.S. government as their wives and children were" (135). They were now made dependent in the authoritarian, fraternal state. "Among the parents, the authority of the father was greatly reduced; not only did he have less control over his children, but he also lost his traditional role as provider" (Daniels 109).

On the other hand, women who had worked hard all their lives in farming communities and with their husbands, frequently subservient to them, now found time for

themselves. Susan Schweik emphasizes the "greater autonomy for Nisei daughters" which evolved during the camp years. Young women were not bound to marry as their parents had bade them in earlier years, and they found educational and work opportunities outside the Japanese American community (184). Nor did they give up their links to an insistent, vibrant popular American culture and its image of the modern woman.²⁹

What we see are interrelated changes in both national and gender identities. "Transplanting," a poem by Toyo Suyemoto which appeared in Trek June 1943, suggests this revising.³⁰

No anchorage in shallow dust,
No searching hold has found
More than shadows to grasp
Where hope withers in the ground.

Oh guard the exposed roots against
Untimely sun and wind;
Some other soil may prove
More flower-wide and kind.

So let a richer earth restore
What once had died in need;

²⁹ Opinions differ on these issues. There seems to be general agreement on the disintegration of the family, although how lasting these effects were is debatable. Nakano argues that the family structure survived overall intact after life in the camps; Houston notes that her family did not survive camp life. Kikuchi writes that internment strengthened his family. The turmoil in the family, issues of delinquency and sexuality, the rising youth culture, may have been mainstream changes which permeated the borders of the camps.

³⁰ See Susan Schweik, chapter 6, "Toyo Suyemoto and the 'Pre-Poetics' of Internment," especially pp. 186 -191, although Schweik does not discuss "Transplanting."

Strong roots will then respond
 And bear tomorrow's seed. (in Sun 39)

Suyemoto's poem, opaquely political, coldly erotic, offers a kind of hope not present in Okubo's memoir. Even though in the first stanza the poet acknowledges the withering of hope in the camps, through protection the frail shoots may grow enough to be transplanted after rooting in this "richer earth," the hybrid, unsympathetic, but now "richer" Japanese American community. These shoots will be the next generation. In Okubo's drawing of gardening, hope lies far less described, far more metonymic as Kotex, and thus more evasive. This brings me to the question of 'daily life' in women's writing-- Is this what constitutes the heart of women's autobiography, so that women's shame is constituted by their dailyness and not by their historical position? Lynn Bloom differs with Estelle Jelinek's idea that women autobiographers attend to

family, close friends, domestic activities....The catalyst may be a religious purpose or a specific event, such as Indian captivity, or the Civil War....but the emphasis remains on personal matters--not the professional, philosophical, or historical events that are more often the subject of men's autobiographies. (in Bloom 109)

Bloom argues that men too are concerned with such small details of daily life when they are faced with the matters of survival--but I would like to go a step further to argue that the 'big' events are the subject of women's autobiographies as well. To claim voice by writing autobiographically in such national upheavals is an attempt

to link one's daily, hardly "mere" life to the national issues (xiii).

This "link" is of course contested. Maria Diedrich, rescuing Gertrude Stein's Wars I Have Seen from attacks on her "ignorance" and "indifference," asserts that Stein intentionally

strove to replace universal HIsTory by a personalized and individualized HERstory. In doing so, she not only forced her readers to review critically and question the paradigms of their discourse and to abandon canonized expectations of coherent sense, but she also induced them to perceive the diversity as well as the immediacy of experience.

Thus Stein exhibits her willingness to disavow "logocentrism, that is, the cultural hegemony of sense--rationality, linearity, and hierarchical order" in Diedrich's view (92). This is a compelling argument, which resituates Wars I Have Seen as an anti-war text, where understatement is to be read as irony. But if one examines context more rigorously, danger and distortion lie in neglecting to give attention to cultural hegemony at all, not to praise it but to appraise it. Nor does Okubo attempt a "redemptive stance," what Saul Friedlander describes as occurring in one kind of memoir which "seeks cathartic rediscovery of a harmonious self, of a heroic memory, of a unifying moral principle" (118-9). Okubo's face does not comprise a 'harmonious self,' but rather the real divisions she experiences as a citizen and dejected "non-alien." It is this kind of divided self which

theorists of autobiography such as Susan Stanford Friedman argue women present in such memoirs. "The self created in a woman's text is often not a 'teleological entity,' an 'isolate' being utterly separate from all other" (40-41). Okubo's double consciousness as abject Japanese American and as American citizen projects what Du Bois has so brilliantly argued in The Souls of Black Folk is a sign of the double vision of those who both possess a vital national identity (even if it is despised) and are American³¹.

Okubo frames her account by a before and an after, but the after seems to evade the present. She writes in the final account: "the barracks faded away into the distance. There was only the desert now. My thoughts shifted from the past to the future." Her exit is permitted because she has travelled the steps to "citizenship" -- fingerprinted, photographed, given a ration book and pass, receiving the "document" "When You Leave the Relocation Center," all of which combine to allow her to be "free."

³¹In this essay Friedman writes: "In autobiography, specifically, the self created in a woman's text is often not a 'teleological entity,' an 'isolate' being utterly separate from all others....Nor is the self a false image of alienation, an empty play of words on the page disconnected from the realm of referentiality....Instead, the self constructed in women's autobiographical writing is often based in, but not limited to, a group consciousness[A]lienation from the historically imposed image of the self is what motivates the writing, the creation of an alternate self in the autobiographical act. Writing the self shatters the cultural hall of mirrors and breaks the silence imposed by male speech" (40-41).

But it is a troubling freedom. Mimicking art, the fingerprints reduce her to a "mark" which while literally distinct, only seems to define by a negative: she is not another. The mug shot is what a criminal undergoes.

In the drawing she is only barely outside the camp. The camp literally rises next to her head. In resituating the camp in her head, and thus in her imagination, Okubo unveils the gap between detainment and entrance into the barren body politic. And to refer to Bartky again, she may have torn the "veil of universality from the abstract agent of moral psychology" (97). Okubo leaves Topaz not as universal subject, but as a Japanese American woman artist in wartime in her nation which has imprisoned her, offering her tale of double consciousness in the double text of drawing and language. The person, along with her representation of face and finger, is not released from the authenticating control of the state. But she holds a citizenship that is aware of its restriction. In this sense we see the critical, radical position of citizenship in formation.

Chapter 6

Redressing Gender and Race in Wartime Fiction:
 Displays of Power
Ann Petry and Chester Himes

When Britomart, the disguised woman warrior of The Fairy Queen, comes upon Artegall, who has been imprisoned by the ruthless woman Radigund, she is shocked by the apron which he has been made to wear.

Where is that dreadful manly look? Where be
 Those mighty palmes?...

Having slain Radigund and freed Artegall, she redresses him. She "caused him those uncomely weedes undight..." and in doing so, she

The liberty of woman did repeale, which they
 had long usurpt, and
 Them restoring to men's subjugation, did true
 justice deale.

In the instances addressed here, redressing is not to restore an old order, but to undo subjugation, and to "purge the world for a wider display of [the] powers" of subjugated people (Spillers 249).

"I have no country"
 --"Annabelle Smith," spy in The Thirty-nine Steps

1. National disunities

'I don't know by what standards anyone can judge them. I don't know who would be entitled to divide them into loyal women or traitorous women, or anything like that.'

Kay Boyle, Primer for Combat (190)

This difficult question about loyalty or treason posed by a character in Kay Boyle's 1942 novel arises after French

women dance with German occupying soldiers. The dancing, another character notes, is the true sign, more indicative than military submission, of France's defeat.¹ But we might ask "loyal to what?" "Loyal to whom?" For loyalty involves an anchored position toward ideas, entities, or people. It is, under the best conditions, interactive, where the loyal subject's position is acknowledged; the subject has status. Boyle implies that French women are not fully capable of loyalty because they have been excluded from a place in the state. An observant woman assesses: "'The women had had their part in everything....The only thing they haven't had their part in is the French government'" (190).² Virginia Woolf argued, as war loomed on the horizon, that a woman's "interpretation of the word 'patriotism' may well differ" from a man's. Excluded from the public sphere, in a political world in which national divisions are arbitrary but imposing boundaries, she is an outsider, and thus she says, "'as a woman, I have no country. As a woman, I want

¹"Defeat," published in the New Yorker, is one of Boyle's most heralded pieces of short fiction. It received the O. Henry Award for best short story in 1941. Her novel Primer for Combat (1942) adopted this incident with slight variations.

²In spite of their unstable position, including the absence of the vote, women were expected to resist German 'advances.' When France was liberated, photographer Lee Miller encountered hundreds of women with the shaved heads of collaborators. In one bizarre scene, hundreds gathered, raising their hats together to reveal their shaved heads, and seemed to "come begging and needing human sympathy, which I can't give them -- ever" (Lee Miller's War 74).

no country. As a woman my country is the whole world'" (Three Guineas 9, 109). In contrast to England's empire which still spanned much of the world in 1938, synonymous with British nationalism, Woolf poses another relationship, in terms of worldwide "peace and freedom." The indifferent woman, then, is not really indifferent but, at least ideally, internationalist. Boyle's French women do not possess this vision, aching more to wear their dresses that have been set aside during the Phony War than to refuse participation in the Germanized fete.

Woolf's countryless woman derives from two problems with her nation. One lies in her exclusion from the nation, and in her position as appendage and mirror of patriarchal male subjectivity, at time's quite literally. To illustrate. An American or British woman's passport up through the 1930s was issued in the nation of the man she married. The second problem lies in the arbitrariness of national boundaries, as Britain itself showed in its aggrandizing practices, and of the nation-state as a way of organizing economic, social and political life. But both Woolf's resistances are somewhat idealized; she means women should not have a country. This tension between belonging and not belonging is itself most vital to assess. "When we look at the role of women," Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis write,

as markers of collective boundaries and

differences and also as participants in national...struggles we often find a contradiction -- women are constituted through the state but are also often actively engaged in countering state processes....In addition....the roles that women play are not merely imposed upon them. Women actively participate in the process of reproducing and modifying their roles as well as being actively involved in controlling other women. (Introduction 11)

Keeping in mind the contradictory nature of this outsider woman, we will imagine how she behaves in cultural representations on the U.S. home front. We might consider first the possibility of a disorderly woman who fits neither loyal nor traitorous categories, although as Joan Landes has pointed out, reformers of various political persuasions have historically veered from endorsing such an image (200). Within the U.S., where citizens' patriotic identifications were not so tested as they were frequently in occupied areas, the gravitational pull to identify with one's nation was nevertheless, not surprisingly, quite strong. We have seen this in Okubo's memoir Citizen 13660 -- an insistence on her own citizenship in spite of her exclusion. In general, people of all ethnicities -- Japanese Americans, African Americans and other peoples of color, were raised within the nation's belief systems and expected, to some

extent, that they were part of the imagined community, however cynical or ambivalent. Margaret Bourke-White's famous photograph of the 1937 Louisville flood showing a white family happily united in their car on a billboard, and beneath them a line of destitute African Americans lined up for relief point to two imagineries. Literacy, access to newspapers (and inclusion in them), as well as inclusion in the nation's economic life enable this imaginery placement, but even excluded Americans identified largely with national values. Certainly, movements such as "Don't Shop Where You Can't Work" in the 1930s, and the wartime Double-V campaign arose from the belief in the possibility of democracy at home. Nationalism in America, writes Eric Foner, is rooted contradictorily in the belief that "liberty is a universal human right," and yet has accepted the Western invention of "the concept of 'race' and ascribed to it predictive powers about human behavior....In actual practice, American nationality has long combined civic and ethnic notions" of community (7). Foner finds World War II a watershed period in terms of the discourse of race in the U.S.

No longer identified as members of distinct 'races,' Italians, Poles, Jews and other new immigrants became merged into a general category of white Americans. Meanwhile, for the first time since Reconstruction, the status of blacks reemerged as a concern of national

policy....Roosevelt explicitly committed the nation to a civic definition [of Americanism]. To be an American, he insisted, had always been a 'matter of mind and heart' and 'never was a matter of race or ancestry' -- a statement more attuned to mobilizing support for the war than accurately describing the American past. (12)

Nevertheless, attitudes among African Americans toward the war covered a broad range, from enthusiastic support to cynical indifference, and even to attraction to Japan's purported defense of colored peoples against western racism.

The characters of wartime fiction I address in this chapter are outsiders because they are African American. They are indifferent or disorderly, tempered by the intersecting categories of nationality and gender. By nationality, I mean both ethnicity and citizenship. It is the arbitrary disjuncture, or complexity, of this category which engenders further antagonism and a complementary indifference. The category of gender exacerbates still further, and differently, one's sense(s) of nationality. Two short stories by Ann Petry, "In Darkness and Confusion" and "Like a Winding Sheet," and Chester Himes' novel If He Hollers Let Him Go take us to a turbulent undercurrent of violence which war intensifies. They tell us of the complexities of private and public consciousness and loyalty when gender and color become limits despite the many

disruption of conventions. The question of self-adornment persists, in particular in Petry's work, where lipstick signifies not only gender, but political disorder and resistance. Self-adornment is specifically linked to one woman character's sense of agency and legitimacy. But in Himes' novel as well, the protagonist Robert Jones realizes the value of his work uniform in demarking his civic "importance," what potentially, grounds him in his idea of "having a country." This is a far cry from lips; rather, we see that his own sense of agency doesn't requires self-reflection, not in a mirror but in women, and it still demands adornment, and ultimately its own redress.

Hortense Spillers, citing Feminist Theory: A Critique of Ideology, notes, "the 'feminine' is often, ironically enough, an 'object of analysis rather than a source of insight'" (247). Such a frame creates an unfortunate emphasis on the woman's abject state, rather than her own vision, an emphasis which leads to an even greater emphasis on the symbolic divorced from social practice. Elsewhere I raise a similar concern in reading Gilbert and Gubar's emphasis on the "war against women" in wartime culture, which I argue effaces the openness to women's own assertiveness and agency. For Spillers women are, not rigidly to be theoretical or aesthetic constructs, but "flesh and blood"; their "dimensions are symbolic at those points of contact where communities of women live out the

symbolicities" (248). In a much larger project, this chapter would necessarily expand to incorporate more fiction, as well as memoirs by African American writers, and it could extend to postcolonial texts,³ but as I have done in a number of other chapters, my intention is to suggest a way of reading and thinking about war culture through an intertextual approach which draws on varied -- to borrow Spillers' term -- "sources of insight." "The idea (if it ever was)," Spillers writes, "is not to be rid of the 'feminine,' whose details have yet to be fully elaborated, say nothing of exhausted, but, rather, to purge the world for a wider display of its powers" (my emphasis 249).

2. Reporting disunities

The oft-repeated statement that "Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen"⁴ suggests the

³See Martha Gellhorn's Liana, and Kay Boyle's sharp and bitter "They Weren't Going to Die," the story of Senegalese troops, blatantly considered cannon fodder by Frenchmen holding off Germans at the edge of a French garden (first published in The New Yorker, October 12, 1940; in Thirty Stories). See John Horne Burns' stories of Algiers in The Gallery. In her memoir of her wartime years as an OSS agent, Undercover Girl, Elizabeth MacDonald (name, date?) addresses the tensions between the British and American intelligence in India; the British sought to maintain the hierarchical relations of their empire in all matters, while the, Americans, who had little interest in justifying British imperialism, were vastly more democratic in their dealings with people.

⁴See oral history of Fanny Christina Hill in Rosie the Riveter Revisited, Women, the War and Social Change, Sherna Berger Gluck, 23.

extent that blacks' involvement in war work seemed a violation against whites. We should note that Fanny Christina Hill's words link race and gender, for she is referring to black women as kitchen workers. Indeed, the sense that one has been colonized in the kitchen, space of one's virtuous submission, is challenged only half-heartedly by wartime exigencies. The fact that "Hitler" enables one's public virtue, as a black woman and even as a black man, suggests the perversity of this process. And, as Chester Himes suggests in If He Hollers Let Him Go, this new space and behavior continue to be defined and constrained by interpenetrating codes of race and gender. Here the protagonist, Robert Jones, recalls a pivotal scene:

I knew the average overpatriotic American would have said a leaderman was justified in cursing out a white woman worker for refusing to do a job of work in a war industry in time of war--as long as the leaderman was white. Might have even called her a traitor and wanted her tried for sabotage. (152)

But all this examination seems futile to Jones; it only makes sense "as long as I thought I had a country" (151). In having a country, Jones's requirements, he believes, are simple.

I'd settle for a leaderman job at Atlas Shipyard--if I could be a man, defined by Webster as a male human being. That's all I ever wanted--just to be accepted as a man--without ambition, without distinction, either of race, creed, or colour; just a simple Joe walking down an American street, going my simple way, without any other identifying characteristics but weight, height, and gender. (153)

But simple is neither so obvious nor so easy, and the fiction we read reveals the pain in the complex social engagements of wartime.

That World War II on the one hand churned towards a cohesiveness and unity of purpose and practice in American identity, yet also revealed and inflamed gender and racial hostilities, is not a new idea. But our studies have neglected to read certain texts, and as such have failed to see the intensity of interplay between gender and race, as well as the intertextuality needed to understand literature's singularity. The angry, silenced, or aroused black character is not solely a literary trope, nor are racism and misogyny opaque clouds that wrap -- or warp -- characters. For context, I turn first to two non-fiction texts, Agnes E. Meyer's Journey Through Chaos (1944) and Katherine Archibald's Shipyard Diary (1942) -- two startling discussions of race and gender in wartime America. Both Meyer's series of newspaper articles and Archibald's sociological report are attracted to deviant attitudes which the authors feel undermine a unified national consciousness. Most pointedly, both authors, white women, assess racism and disruptions in the conventional boundaries of women's behavior as matters which merit critical attention.⁵

⁵The tenacity of wartime racism has been documented in cultural and historical studies, including Buchanan, When Jim Crow Met John Bull, Wynn, Costello, Anderson, Alabama

The "chaos" Meyer brings to light arises from an inadequate attention to the home front as the "foundation upon which the whole weight of the war rests." In her travels to England, she has found that the "burden of total war falls particularly upon the women of that country with ruthless impact" (122); a similar burden, and the related difficulties in sustaining morale in the U.S. are not being addressed. Crossing the nation for the Washington Post, she snipes at the Roosevelt White House for being "autocratic" and for wanting "to tie everybody up with paper work and senseless regulations" (130). In her odd mix of Republican/democratic enthusiasm for total war, she hones in on matters that show instability and disruption. She is disturbed by apathy among workers and labor leaders, and interestingly she notes a new national cohesion in formation--those previously less socialized and more isolated rural citizens who are moving into more populated areas, thus joining the body politic. She is not always enthused by this motion. "A large proportion are the primitive, illiterate backwoods people....As warworkers, these people are almost useless" (210). Concerns, however, about women and blacks are paramount. Her attention to women is concentrated in her dismay not only about the lack of housing, childcare and viable working hours for the women who have gone into the factories, but in the dismantled

study.

social fabric, illustrated most persuasively by "camp followers" (183), the rise in "delinquency and divorce" (301), the vast increase in prostitutes, as well as the "'amateur' or 'pick-up girl'" (186), whose worst incarnation is found in the "sex-delinquency of very young girls." In some regions, she bemoans a "sex epidemic...which infects the whole community" (209). Dismay in this context centers on a social fabric not only coming undone, but in fact becoming literally diseased.

Meyer's revelations of racial mistreatment, on the other hand, expose a social fabric which has always been figuratively diseased, now become intolerable. Her exploration of race inequalities is consistent and often prescient: In Pascagoula, Mississippi she finds, for example, positive steps being made to accommodate the Negro population: "This subject is the surest test of a genuinely civic spirit in any American community today" (200). Ending her journey by citing the "unalleviated wretchedness" of the "alleys of our own city of Washington" (322), Meyer then declaims the treatment of black men and women in military service, endemic of national attitudes towards blacks.

Shortly before I arrived in Alexandria, Louisiana, last winter, a white policeman had shot a Negro M.P. in the stomach and killed him. When military authorities insisted upon investigating the details, they were informed it was 'just another nigger killing' and nothing to get excited about in Louisiana. When they forced it into the courts, the grand jury failed to indict. Deliberately I pushed the sordid story toward the back of my mind.

But I could not get away from such rumors by leaving Louisiana.

She encounters further reports: "murders, beatings, and gratuitous insults not only to men in uniform, but to colored Army nurses and a Wac officer who was on a recruiting tour" (333). Meyer recounts these incidents so that the American readership will have trouble getting such "sordid" stories out of their minds. She wants to show that "we have created in America a cold and heartless society where tolerance and quiet contentment, the ease that comes from adjustment to one's neighbors, to work, to leisure, to a happy family life, are almost nonexistent" for Negroes. While she validates the practice of black men and women in uniform, her sense of "civic spirit" comes not so much from equal participation in the war as in an effective social service system -- and thus in the sharing of public space.

The new integration of the social scene, that is already under way in our most advanced communities, has become imperative. There are no other means in sight to check the anarchy and drift, the dangerous isolation of the individual in our impersonal, uprooted, trailer-minded society, and to restore the feeling of brotherhood and friendliness which many of our people through no fault of their own, have been steadily losing. (386)

Archibald's Shipyard Diary, by contrast, derives from one location, comprising her experiences and conversations as a worker in the summer of 1942 at the Moore Drydock Company in Oakland, California. Archibald produced what she subtitled A Study in Social Disunity. Her text offers

still-sobering, grim evidence of various prejudices including intense racial hatred among white workers, to which very few fellow whites voiced dissent. These attitudes were held in place by a discourse of racism, separatist practice, social codes and collective pressures, resting on a foundation she likens to a "Platonic form--with beginnings that were beyond search and validity that was beyond question" (85). Likewise, men's attitudes towards women's intrusion into a masculine realm ranged from petulantly resistant to aggressively hostile.

In both arenas, however, it is interesting that Archibald looks mostly to the dominant perspective, white or male. She seems to blame black workers for a lack of assertiveness and even submissiveness:

The Negroes made little effort as a group to rebel.... Convinced, doubtless, of the futility of resistance, they kept to themselves for the most part, ate in separate parties, had their private jokes, and maintained an air of indifference to the world from which they were excluded. Negro women in particular were difficult to approach, even when familiarity was encouraged....Indeed, the entire behavior of the shipyard Negroes, as I saw it, proved pitifully little foundation for fears of the black man's aggressiveness. (86)

While the agency of Blacks themselves is not the issue, agency is an issue in her remarks about women. Archibald singles out the bad lot who emphasized "their role as sexually attractive creatures." There is, she finds some, basis for men's antagonism toward women: "The scrawls and graphic illustrations penciled on the walls of the rest

rooms for 'ladies' were additional proof that at least some of the women in the shipyards completely justified masculine rumor and insult" (32). As remedy, Archibald prefers a less obtrusive dress in a situation she likens to a war, avoiding the simile's implication that men are the enemy: "Like soldiers infiltrating enemy lines, women in the shipyards had to be camouflaged lest the difference in sex be unduly noted and emphasized" (22). While her language suggests an effort to militarize women, she also designates an "enemy" within their own midst. The need for uniformity seems based as much on the women's willingness to assert "difference" as it is on the men's lust or misogyny.

Interestingly, both texts share common approaches, not only in their address of race and gender, but moreover in their yoking of race and gender as primary matters in "chaos" or "disunity." Both writers address the problem of "race" as outsiders -- they rarely attempt to translate the injustices of racism felt by blacks (the Louisiana incidents are an exception), and in fact must get much of their explanation of racism from white voices. This certainly serves the purpose of painting the broad sweep of prejudice. Their projected solutions point to the need for the emergence of blacks into the previously white public sphere. In particular, Archibald implies the possibility of an "assertiveness" even though it is left largely undefined. Yet generally, the black population is shown as passive; the

disruptions to be feared are those waged by white against black. Concerning women, however, both Meyer and Archibald are wary of disruption by women. We must assume that both refer to disruptive white women; black women are erased in this context. The line between acceptable behavior and illicit, sexualized behavior is thin. Female clothing and make up announce a sexuality which should be kept from the shipyard, and instead disguised. Similarly, Meyer sees both pick-up girls and the rise in divorce rates as indicators of the social malaise wartime freedoms for women have incurred. While she acknowledges the crucial role of women in home front production and morale, women have also lost their sense of place within the home -- a signal perhaps that by 1944, when the war seems likely to be won, homewifery and domesticity are again to constitute the crucial terrain for women.⁶

Meyer is not squeamish about sexuality and venereal disease. She insists, for example, that it would be a "frantic solution of the simple-minded [if prostitutes were to] be put in concentration camp for the duration" (185).

⁶Gluck writes that by 1944, as U.S. victory began to seem inevitable, messages were being sent to women aimed at diminishing their sense of commitment to the war effort and work. "The Lockheed Star, for example, had regularly run stories about women production workers. In mid-1944 these were supplanted by cheesecake photo contests. Furthermore, there were fewer and fewer photos of women factory workers and more and more of office workers. Clearly, women production workers were being phased out--if not yet in actuality, then certainly in the public consciousness" (Introduction 14).

But while she recognizes the complex measures required to deal with "ladies of easy virtue, imported and home-grown" (186) near war production centers, these women are not to be included among the women who comprise "a woman's war," and thus, the problem of loyal or traitorous behavior rears its head again. After all, as the Reader's Digest has warned, "Sex is a Nazi weapon" (in Costello). Pleasure itself may have been seen as disruptive to war work, linking women to appetite rather than the transcendence available to them in the public sphere. Jane Gallop writes that

pleasure has traditionally been associated with women, particularly in its erotic sense. In the male heterosexual tradition, subversive pleasure that lures one away from productive duty is female. Women have been suspicious of pleasure because it relegates them to the nonserious, nonproductive, nonwarrior side of things. (114)

While Gallop's observation cannot account for male soldiers' intense preoccupation with the pleasures of drinking and sexual excursions, she points to ways in which women's involvement in the nation is belittled. Better rather to learn to behave in public "without a man," as articles and advice columns offered,⁷ or as Leon Uris suggested, to be one who waits. In Battle Cry Uris named two kinds of women -- "'The ones who waited and the ones who didn't'" (qtd. in "Charred Skirts" 237).

Uris's simple binary of idealized female virtue limits

⁷ "How to Behave in Public Without a Man" was noted in "Deviant Women," a paper delivered at the Popular Culture Association March 1993 by Mary Hagerton.

women to a loyal passivity or an unacceptable traitorous behavior to husbands and lovers--and either way their conduct is directed solely to an individual man, so that the relationship to the nation is mediated through the man. This is in spite of the historical record that shows behaving without a man was an important aspect of women's wartime lives. The war, when the signals marking virtue were in actuality not so static, created a space of non-dependence which allowed for sexual freedom, heterosexual or lesbian, unmediated by the state. Lillian Faderman notes that non-war's "normalcy" was abandoned. Because "female labor--in the factories, in the military, everywhere-- was vital to the functioning of America for the duration, female independence... [including] love between women were understood and undisturbed and even protected" (119). Similarly, and in contrast to Archibald, dress designer Elizabeth Hawes found in her New Jersey factory experience that "there is sex in war plants, sure. But it's absolutely no problem to anyone. If you want it, you can have it--and if you don't want it, nobody bothers you" (90). One typical woman responded easily to Hawe's inquiry about

why the bus was full at night and then half empty when we went home. "Oh," she said, "a lot of them go off to hotels together, I guess." Smiling, she went on to speak of her children. (91-92)

We see in a variety of texts then, that women exist on grounds that are simply more complicated and dynamic than

Uris's framework. Indeed, the fiction of black life in war inscribes an even more complex if obscured 'position' for black women -- for they share in the assertiveness of women in the nation, yet suffer as well from the still effective race and gender codes. The relationship to black men intensifies this complexity, because their position is so tenuous. Petry's women characters struggle for independence, often futilely, often because of their domination by enraged black men. In contrast, for Chester Himes' central character Robert Jones, a woman's foray into independence seems--even if in a somewhat overdetermined fashion--to undermine his sense of himself that she should be helping to shape, rather than directing her own assertiveness. His black girlfriend has crossed her own borders by socializing with liberal whites, and perhaps more troubling, by engaging in a lesbian relationship. The white woman with whom he gets erotically entwined only asserts her power as a racist, confusing sexual desire and racial stereotypes with her own subjugation. Both black and white women inscribe the difficulties of race into his condition rather than being the means, as he prefers, by which he can escape and affirm his belonging in the nation.

3. Ann Petry's upheavals

Opportunity's February 1942 editorial pointed out that "southern whites paradoxically extolled the virtues of the

Negro 'Mammy,' while the War Department refused to accept Negro nurses for service except 'in hospitals or wards devoted exclusively to the treatment of Negro soldiers'" (Buchanan 114-5). This paradox -- of women trapped in a particular image and forcibly excluded from other practices, in a different way than men are -- informs Ann Petry's fiction. The two stories addressed here play off each other, for in "Like a Winding Sheet," a dynamic femininity is set against an embattled, restricted masculinity, while in "In Darkness and Confusion" the teenage character who initially seems to embody the limiting, self-centered practices of youthful female adornment comes to denote her own illuminating rebelliousness. Both stories make the ideal of female beauty problematic in black female consciousness. As long as it is tied to white supremacy, beauty can never fully belong to black women; yet woman is a category not solely rooted in race. Self-admiration, self-presentation linked to concepts of beauty, suggest a sense of agency.

Hazel Carby argues that Petry's fiction, however marginalized it has been, lies in the tradition of African American women writers who present "the urban confrontation of race, class, and sexuality" (88). Comparisons with Richard Wright's Native Son (1945) are evident. Bigger Thomas murders two women, the white woman, Mary Dalton, and his black girlfriend, Bessie, whom he rapes before

murdering. Likewise, Petry depicts refracted experiences of violence, but she privileges racial and gender violence as dual debilitating evils of mid-century American life.⁸ Her approach to gender is necessarily complicated. She locates African American women as part of American womanhood, in spite of their distinctively embattled position. Yet for Petry, the daily acts of racism and sexism underwrite violence within the black community as well, and are only intensified by war. Not surprisingly, these layers of violence contradict the stated purpose of the war. Although the "Double V" campaign initiated by the Pittsburgh Courier is not explicitly mentioned in her wartime stories "Like a Winding Sheet" and "In Darkness and Confusion," the characters' ambivalence heralds the validity of such a campaign and the difficulties of unfettered loyalty.

"Like a Winding Sheet"⁹ tells the grim story of a black male war worker whose anger at a racist slur from a white

⁸ In "The Significance of Ann Petry" in The Sexual Mountain and Black Women Writers, 61-3, Calvin Herton finds comparing Bigger Thomas to Lutie in The Street particularly valid, for Lutie also murders. But I think this comparison is important to note in other Petry fiction as well, not in terms of Wright's naturalism, but in the intensity of the violence stirred by racism.

⁹ Petry's first short story, "On Saturday the Siren Sounds at Noon," published in Crisis November 1943, saw her emerge as one of the important writers of the decade. The story brought her to the attention of an editor at Houghton Mifflin. A section of The Street, her novel in progress, won her a young writers' fellowship from Houghton Mifflin. "Like a Winding Sheet," published in Crisis, November 1945, was given a Best American Short Story Award for 1946. See Lorraine Roses and Ruth Randolph on Petry, 258-266.

woman slowly burns until he explodes by viciously beating his wife. Petry's woman is abject in this story, like the women of blues songs, who take beatings from their socially wounded men and may even keep on loving them.¹⁰ The war is insistently present, for it provides the impetus for the modicum of opportunity for blacks.¹¹ Its urgency also enables the white forewoman to denigrate Johnson for lateness. Indeed, the war is the source of deeper anxiety, for its ideological justification of highlighting democracy and resistance to fascism is made absurd in the light of consistent racism in such plants. That lips and lipstick have a prominent place in "Like a Winding Sheet" indicates Petry's concern with women's discourses of power, ranging from the legitimate power of personal voice to the illegitimate one of racial supremacy. This complicated signification of lip(stick), as marker of femininity, and simultaneously, organ of articulation, and organ of white supremacy, illuminates the 'difficulty' of gender as well as

¹⁰ "Ain't Nobody's Business What I Do," a song crooned by Billy Holiday for example, speaks of being beat on Sunday, and coming to her man on Monday. Cornelius Eady discussed such women in blues in a reading at the New School December 4, 1995. See also the discussion of troubled women in Herton, "Black Women in the Life and Work of Langston Hughes," 98-107.

¹¹ What little integration there was came through growing political resistance, including the threat of a March on Washington, pressuring Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 in 1941, to integrate the factories involved in defense work. By 1944 nearly 2 million blacks were employed in war industries. (Reader's Companion to American History, ed. Foner and Garraty 699)

the instabilities of language, writing, and marking itself. The "problem" here is similar to Okubo's complex critique of 'writing' in the previous chapter--for writing as an instrument of the state or of oppression co-exists with writing as self-defining and liberatory.

As the story opens, Johnson lies in his bed, wrapped in a sheet. His wife observes that he "'look[s] like a huckleberry--in a winding sheet.'" He, however, notices his arms, "inky black by contrast" to the white sheet, foreshadowing that his arms will be involved in a type of inscription. Late to work, he faces the racial abuse of his forewoman. While his lateness may justify her anger, her racialized response is out of line: "'You guys always got excuses....And the niggers is the worse....I'm sick of you niggers--'" (202). Only "the sight of the red lipstick on her mouth" stops him from hitting her. Such a realization, however, does not keep him from thinking of the pleasure of "smack[ing] her hard in the face, [feeling] the soft flesh of her face give under the hardness of his hands" (203). From this moment his anger brews, a visceral growth in his hands, blurring perception and reality, so that he takes an ensuing event at the coffee counter-- the white girl's announcement that there is "'[n]o more coffee for a while'" -- as a further racial slight. His fury grows:

Then he looked at the girl again. What he wanted to do was hit her so hard that the scarlet lipstick on her mouth would smear and spread over her nose, her chin, out toward her cheeks, so

hard that she should never toss her head again and refuse a man a cup of coffee because he was black....But he couldn't hit her. He couldn't even now bring himself to hit a woman, not even this one, who had refused him a cup of coffee with the toss of her head. (my emphasis, 207)

In actuality, a whole line of men has been turned away. We see the counter girl's continuing head-tossing now through the narrator's eyes, not through the twisted bitter vision of Johnson. Her gesture does not signal race supremacy, but is rather the movement of a woman at work.

If women who work alongside men aren't "marked" by lipstick, they are not identifiable as women, yet lipstick now signifies blurred borders. Lipstick becomes lightning rod for fury that stems not only from racial paranoia, but from confusion stemming from the transgressed boundaries of gender as well. When the husband returns home, he sees his wife Mae's denim workclothes neatly hung out. Yet her return from "worker" to "feminine," with its own iconic markings, is not enough to quiet him: "She was...tying the sash of a yellow housecoat around her waist and chewing gum vigorously as she admired her reflection in the mirror over the dresser" (my emphasis, 208). Her ease with herself and enjoyment in her own reflection, as a woman, disturbs her husband. She lifts her hair, in the counter girl's gesture. Whether it is because she calls him a nigger too, in a friendly way, which seems now replication of the white world to him, or because his rage has reached its boiling point in spite of her conciliation -- he begins to pummel her.

Lipstick remains the central focus as he beats her:

There was the smacking sound of soft flesh being struck by a hard object and it wasn't until she screamed that he realized he had hit her in the mouth -- so hard that the dark red lipstick had blurred and spread over her full lips, reaching up toward the tip of her nose, down toward her chin, out toward her cheeks.

This terrible beating is nearly primordial in its rich sensory description of feeling, sound, and sight. The twisted justification should alert a war-attentive audience to the pervasive and potentially uncontrollable floods of violence lurking in the human psyche.¹² "And he groped for a phrase, a word, something to describe what this thing was like that was happening to him and he thought it was like being enmeshed in a winding sheet--that was it--like a winding sheet." The winding sheet-- a covering for a corpse, is also white, like the white world in which he finds himself trapped. It is also the language of his wife's description of him; he appropriates her words, using his "inky arms" to write her silence, to disfigure her face which she has earlier admired. He madly links her lipstick to all lipstick which has "protected" women, but who seem

¹²Certainly there are other instances of violence in wartime texts outside of the battlefield that are stimulated by the frenzy of militarization: Irwin Shaw's anti-Semitic violence within the military in The Young Lions, the militaristic swagger engendering violence in James Jones' From Here to Eternity, gender violence when a crew of G.I.s take sexual advantage of a slow teenage girl in Louisville Saturday by Margaret Long, the lynching in Lillian Smith's Strange Fruit, the rape and murder of the Roman prostitute in Joseph Heller's Catch 22.

vehicles of his entrapment, and who seem to enjoy themselves in spite of their confinement. Ultimately he searches for language to articulate this misconception -- and he finds the futile, damaging language of violence.

"In Darkness and Confusion" also reveals a search for language, and it too employs the imagery of lipstick, but the turn toward violence is now collective, as the characters take part in a riot in Harlem.¹³ As James Baldwin reminds us in "Notes of a Native Son," many Harlem residents thought that their soldier relatives would be safer overseas in a war zone than in the military cantonments of the deep South. The Harlem riot of July 1943 of Baldwin's account also erupts in Petry's story, as an interrogation of civic agency for black men and women within racist America, but in particular it queries the position of the young African American woman in wartime. In contrast to the previous story, lipstick is claimed as a marking of assertiveness of a black woman, although such a claim is not without its problematic, for the universality of beauty is itself questioned. This story points to a radical expression of agency which ultimately disassembles both the white, universal image of beauty and American consumerism. Annie May, who emerges as the prominent character, is a wearer of bright lipstick. In her uncle William's

¹³"In Darkness and Confusion" was first published in Cross Section 1947, A Collection of New American Writing (Wynn).

introductory terms, she is worthy of disdain: a brazenly sexual and defiant teenager wearing the outrageous adornment typical of American youth. "Here she was only eighteen years old and staying out practically all night long" (254). Tied as she is to the mainstream American culture, she is simultaneously ostracized from it. Through the events of the story -- William's discovery that his son in the Army has been shot by an MP and court-martialed, and into the Harlem riots -- we see that Annie May emerges in fact as a disorderly woman whose disturbing appearance must now be read as disturbing to the pillars of racism and the sex/gender system.

For context, we might consider again the congruent images of gender and race in home front reports. Before a reader reaches an article on cosmetic substitutes for stockings, modeled by Rockettes and other "girl members" of musical shows, she is reminded of the nation's racial tensions. "Row over Negroes Stops Truck Plant," the New York Times reported.¹⁴ Blacks whom the United Auto Workers brought into a Chrysler truck plant in Detroit drew the ire of white workers, and a fist fight broke out inside the plant. Chrysler sent home 3,000 workers, while 350 whites, incensed that government, union, and company together expected that white and black would work alongside each other, continued their protest. In addition, Karen Anderson

¹⁴ New York Times, 3 June 3, 1942, 16:2.

records a volatile blend of gender and racial politics among women defense workers. The increase of women factory workers from 46,800 to 215,000 (32) did not insure that white women would appreciate racial equality. The promotion of black women "prompted five separate hate strikes in a one two-week period." White women

objected to sharing a bathroom and other facilities with black women, whom they tended to regard as dirty, diseased, and uncongenial. Specifically, they feared that the women were infected with venereal disease, indicating that an important persisting dimension of racism that was particularly divisive among women was the virgin/whore dichotomization of feminine personality expressed in racial terms. (37)¹⁵

Contradictory attitudes about women's involvement in the war were present as well within the black community. For example, in the Baltimore African American a black U.S. Army Chaplain expressed his concern that "too many young women would rather live on the 'fortune of soldiers' than to accept jobs at any price." The chaplain worried that when wartime prosperity ended, many servicemen might regret the "'intemperate parting remarks to their former employers,'" but his concern was directed primarily at women. They were giving up hard work in favor of easy living; "such 'women of leisure' were especially vulnerable to moral perils'" (qtd. in Anderson 40).

¹⁵See also Karen Tucker Anderson, "Last Hired, First Fired: Black Women Workers During World War II" in History of Women in the United States, Vol. 15, Women and War, ed. Nancy Cott. Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993, 386-410.

Petry's Annie May, without contact with soldiers, seems nevertheless "vulnerable to moral perils," her virtue impinged by independence and sexuality. To her white school principal, Annie May is a "slow learner," until we come to see that in fact the principal (and white authority) can only understand Annie from a racist and narrow perspective. Annie May is in fact the fast learner; her make-up, her sexual independence are signs that she has defiantly mislearned the lesson about subservience, about acceptance of a grueling inheritance of oppression. She is a "bad" worker, late for jobs, quits them frequently, but none of these jobs promise a future, nor are they connected to the war effort. As a younger version of her aunt Pink, a domestic worker for a Navy officer and his wife, she is expected to earn a slight income in the margins of the economy and patch together her knowledge of the world through scraps of gossip she gathers from her employers, as her aunt Pink does. While the servant has historically been understood to be in an ironic position of gleaning bits of information from the masters' loose lips, we must also see the fallacy from an epistemological view, for one is dependent for knowledge. Annie May is not content with this status, and creates her own way of learning, and thus her own subjecthood.

Echoing the Baltimore chaplain, William considers Annie a "Jezebel" (257), alarmed at the sexual freedom her

lipstick trace signifies: "He could see the red outline of her mouth on the cup" (255). The more he finds out about his son's status, the more he turns against Annie May: "There was the greasy smell of cabbage and collard greens, smell of old wood and soapsuds and disinfectant, a lingering smell of gas from the kitchen stove, and over it all Annie May's perfume" (270); lipstick, like perfume, seems only to seal their communal powerlessness, as if the fate of the race is linked to women's virtue, an idea common in masculinist visions of national formation and identity. Men constantly try to diminish this lack of power by containing women, so that the trace of lipstick -- an emergent symbol -- is contrasted to the more familiar beating William observes through the window. A man and woman are arguing. "The man grabbed his belt and lashed out at the woman. He watched the belt rise and fall against her brown skin" (277). Watching and listening implicates William in a cycle of displaced, useless rage against women, as in "Like a Winding Sheet" and The Street. "The woman screamed with the regularity of clockwork. The street came alive again." The terrible silences, like William's, are broken by moments of a community's internal violence. The woman's scream becomes a familiar, regular sound that enables life to carry on.

In contrast, in the Harlem riot, the narrative presents an alternative violence, collective, public, and directed at symbols of racial repression, engendering other ruptures.

William first comes upon Pink, who throws a soda bottle into a store window, initiating other riotous steps. He then finds Annie May. She is

standing in a store window, clutching a clothes model tightly. The "pinkish" model was stripped naked....[T]here was something so ferocious about the way her dark hands gripped the naked model that he resisted the onward movement of the crowd to stare in fascination. The girl turned around. Her nervous hands were tight around the dummy's waist.

To combine the two objects of the crowd's gaze, the model and Annie May, fuses the issues here, without confusing them. The dummy, itself used as a model to attract viewers, has lured Annie May, like other women in the neighborhood, into a practice of consumption that does little to disrupt the racial hierarchy. In appropriating the dummy, Annie May is herself a spectacle for the crowd, so that where manipulated object ends and agent begins, dynamically articulating the crowd's desire, is difficult to discern. But this fusion is important, for there is a need for "models" --not in the dumb, inarticulate sense which dummy connotes, but as enlivening and instructing. When Annie May throws and breaks the model (289), she saves what we might think of as the core of the body politic. It is the relations between head and limbs, at such odds, which need to be refigured. William comes to realize Annie May's legitimate resistance, foreshadowed in lipstick, as an effort "to squeeze out of life a little something for herself" (as she now squeezes the model), a resistance he

recognizes only after joining the collective defiance.

William gains his voice, as crude as it is: "He sent his voice raging into the darkness and the awful confusion of noises. 'The sons of bitches,' he shouted. 'The sons of bitches'" (295). Petry's conclusion evokes Caliban's declaration to Prospero in The Tempest: "You taught me language; and my profit on't / Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid of you, / For learning me your language" (I,ii, 363-5). Lest we think Petry privileges a male voice, we see that Annie May has learned a language too, one of self-adornment and self-assertion, a "red plague" of her own which mingles sexuality and voice, both of which she must redress, as the model scene explicitly shows, as she claims agency. Although she is arrested by the police, Annie May is not a traitor in the terms suggested at this chapter's opening, to be apprehended by the workings of justice. Rather, we might borrow from Hannah Arendt's concept of agency in the public sphere, that she is a symbol of deed and action, in particular by dismembering the symbol of female passivity and silence of the model/dummy.

A cautionary point is necessary here. "To smash something," writes James Baldwin, "is a ghetto's chronic need." It is usually "members of a ghetto who smash each other," partly because the real relation of blacks to white America is hidden, a relation which "prohibits, simply, anything as uncomplicated and satisfactory as pure hatred"

(98). As bleak as "In Darkness and Confusion" is, it differs from the belt-beating violence of woman by man in its collectivity; for Petry the fictionalized riot is the site of a new, irregular articulation, as well as of defiant rejection of the reign of "white beauty" in the minds of black women.

The niece status which Haskell claims in Helmets and Lipstick has been revised in Petry's story. Annie May is also a niece, and, being equated to her cousin Sam, she shares sororial status with Uncle Sam's nephew, however maligned he is by the Uncle. Excluded, limited, her attitude toward Uncle Sam is not one of service and devotion, but of contempt, rage, and individual assertiveness marking her own difference. The torso, the core of the 'model' has not been destroyed. We see that gender is a construction, like race, which must be redressed -- by the conscious and critical work of hands, head, and clothing--the symbolic which helps both define and present the self.

I return to the signs of lips and lipstick briefly, for we have moved through this chapter with lipstick and adornment as a constant, but with varied changes in the relationship to the head. The German soldiers are head-turners in Kay Boyle's bitter story, "Defeat," and likewise, we see that French women have not been connected to the head of the nation, the government -- thus weakening them,

softening them into traitors. But we remember that they are not unlike many others, including their own leaders, although the women's corporeal pleasures have been justification for their exclusion, and now grounds for their national malignment. In Petry's stories the lips are problematic, for they are the bearers of both racism, shifting meanings of gender and of resistance to subjugation; the husband's mad solution is to destroy the lips and make them blend with the rest of his wife's head in "Like a Winding Sheet" He not only silences her but tries to erase her marking of gender as well. In "In Darkness and Confusion," a head is severed but it is the head which represents political blindness, reified womanhood, and racial cruelty.

Yet we should consider Helene Cixous's idea of decapitation (which I discussed in Chapter 2) as a phallogentric fear connected to fear of castration. She argues that women do not have such fear of decapitation, since women's sexuality is not confined to a single binary. Not surprisingly, head has paradoxical connotations: In 1941 A. J. Liebling used "head" in The New Yorker to mean a young woman, especially a sexually attainable woman: "One head that used to claim to sell stockings called..." But head also describes the penis itself, both glans of the penis and erect penis. "To give a girl head" means to have sexual intercourse with her (in at least one description of sexual

practices). Keeping these meanings in mind, we might see Annie May's tossing of the pink model into the street and its subsequent breakage as far more sexually liberating and far more critical of a phallogenic discourse -- linking her sexual freedom to her racial freedom. She is throwing off the old terms of sexual availability, and she is throwing off a phallogenic sexuality as well.

To lose one's head can mean both falling in love or going mad--she has done neither, but has taken the "image" of white/ woman and radically altered it. The dummy is sexed but not gendered, and by implication we can say it is colored but no longer racialized. It is pink, but her aunt's name is Pink as well: color is not a static definition, a reduction of race which Gyatri Spivak calls "chromatism" (in McClintock 397 n.34). As awful as this violence appears, it is violence against symbol, not against a human body. In contrast to Baldwin's despair about riots, Annie May has found a symbolic target-- and not an obvious one. Even though directed against a woman, it is not misogynist violence, but a self-liberating gesture against images of both body and mind that have constantly made black women "others" to themselves and American society. "The awful confusion of noises" (295) which exists on the streets of Harlem is both polyphonic rebellion, and in a Cixousian sense, a rebellion of difference and individualities, accompanied by the lingering notes of despair instilled by

violences rooted in the nation's complex wartime life.

4. Chester Himes' citizen

I got a clean pair of coveralls out of the dresser drawer, slipped them on over my underwear, pulled on my high-heeled, iron-toed boots, slanted my 'tin' hat on the back of my head, and slipped into my leather jacket. Something about my working clothes made me feel rugged, bigger than the average citizen, stronger than a white-collar worker --stronger even than an executive. Important too.

--If He Hollers Let Him Go (152)

In Chester Himes' 1945 novel If He Hollers Let Him Go¹⁶, the central character Robert Jones experiences a precious yet precarious sense of agency as citizen, as a black man working in a shipyard in wartime Los Angeles. Indeed, the term citizen is woven through the novel, so that citizenship, and Jones's alienation from it, appear as a central issue. The dressing scene above permits us to see that Jones feels tethered to the war effort, and hence to the nation, in spite of his avowed disinterest in it. As he

¹⁶In the canon of war fiction by African Americans, Himes novel joins William Gardner Smith's The Last of the Conquerors (1947), John Oliver Killens' And Then We Heard the Thunder (1963), and Paule Marshall's Brown Girl, Brownstones (date). Smith and Killens both write about men who are in the army, the former in the army of occupation in Germany; the latter serving in the Pacific. The central dilemma of both novels is the contradiction between the military's racist practices and their own desire to act on behalf of democratic ideals. Smith's novel presents a greater ambivalence: the protagonist finds economic improvement within the Army, and more democratic treatment at the hands of the Germans than he had ever experienced in the U.S. (see my final chapter). Killens' novel ends with an uprising of black G.I.s against their own military, aided by some sympathetic Australian soldiers.

prepares to go to work in this early scene, at a dresser devoid of a mirror, we also see that this identification as citizen is gendered. Where a woman might look at her reflection in a dresser mirror, Jones gathers an assortment of things which will bind him symbolically to this mobility and masculinity: "I felt a swagger in my stance when I stepped over to the dresser to get my keys and wallet, identifications, badge, handkerchief, cigarettes" (9). His relationship to the world is mediated through things; it is based on instrumentality, outward and possessive, rather than self-centered as a woman's is thought to be. Indeed, the mirror is not a means to see himself, because this 'self' is already established. Later, he looks in a mirror in a bar "to see who was there." Similarly, his girlfriend Alice looks in rearview mirror of car to see him coming-- both use the mirror for seeing the world. Alice is searcher/inquisitor, and this gesture is a sign of her transgression outside of her proper sphere, even though the world she sees reflected is Jones.

It is as citizen -- Jones's own term, that "the protagonist seeks recognition," as Sherley Ann Williams has characterized the post-1940 African American novel, "from the white power structure and in the process comes to recognize--and realize himself" (68-75). Yet Jones's search is a means to transcend race, not to accept and honor it. He is like Ellison's character in Invisible Man who must

keep on running; Jones runs from the disjunctive combination of the shaky image he has of himself, and of the racist image maintained by whites. While Jones cannot accept being "a simple nigger bastard," that is, simply a nigger, what Veda has urged him to acknowledge, he invests in the term "man" only height, weight, and gender, the "Webster definition" mentioned earlier, even if the evidence is overwhelmingly against this: the white men are clearly conscious of their being white--as they show in their affronts and resistances to blacks.

Jones finds himself in an impossible situation, wanting to veil certain components of self. If the President has announced "race and birth don't matter," he has nevertheless shown this not to be so in the relocation of Japanese Americans, an instance Jones himself refers to. Yet, the ideal has been asserted. Always an aspect of the American imagination, this ideal community becomes more enticing in wartime. Meyer, for instance, acknowledges this in her call for "integration." Still, Jones's desire to equate citizen with man is not surprising; even as late as 1963 Martin Luther King was arguing for civil rights for "men." And how difference is balanced within an identity continues to be contested. For example, the current term African American combines the nationality/ethnicity of black origins with identity of nation --while "race" as signifying color--black or Negro-- is now lessened as the central identifying

concept. This may reflect changes in African Americans' sense of status within the nation--but a concept hardly available to Himes at the time of his writing. Nevertheless, and to an extent, Himes has anticipated the clash, for it is the recognition of difference within the register of citizen which gives Jones so much difficulty. Indeed, Jones admits to his own naivete in the midst of a conversation when his girlfriend Alice and her white friends are discussing Strange Fruit, Native Son, and solutions to "racial problems." "'I think Richard Wright is naive,'" one participant says. "'Aren't we all?'" Jones asks (88). Jones may be alluding to his own mixed-up infatuation with a white woman, but there is a certain, even if brief, humility evidenced by this question.

Edward Margolis writes that If He Hollers Let Him Go "is a race novel in the purest sense of the term" (Native Sons 90). If He Hollers has been seen by other critics as a protest novel about race, so that war and gender are incidental.¹⁷ But to this reader, the race/protest novel

¹⁷See Chester Himes, A Critical Appraisal, Stephen F. Milliken, Columbia Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1976, 70-96; From the Dark Tower: Afro-American Writers 1900-1960, Arthur P. Davis. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981. To be fair, Margolis does entitle his chapter on Himes "Race and Sex," but by sex he means the male character's emasculation--a point which I don't think is sufficiently separated from the blame of women, and reduces agency to sexual performance. "What is needed [for black feminist critics] is a thoroughgoing examination of male images in the works of black male writers" Sherley Anne Williams writes (74).

is also a novel about gender. The war creates a decisive setting of tension and possibility, as both women and blacks move in new terrains and confront new problems. One might point to a misogyny from which Himes unfurls his narrative of racial rage over his status as a citizen (not that different in tone about women from John Okada's post-war discussion of racism and Japanese American citizenship in No-No Boy). To paraphrase Barbara Johnson, who is pointing to the murderous misogyny of Native Son, "I would like to shift the ground of this interpretation slightly in order to ask: Where, in Chester Himes, do women stand with respect to the black man's importance?" (151). As citizen, Jones's fall from importance as worker into the anonymity of Army induction occurs through the machinations of racism. But, as black man, Jones falls from women, black Alice and white Madge, into a new fraternity of men of color. While each facet of the plot arises from racism, and each implicates gender, the citizen story is the more obvious one, yet to see it as the sole issue of the novel cannot explain the women's negative power, nor the importance of Jones's ultimately evading them. Women as well as keys and badge are means to identification -- they are mediating objects in his quest for raceless male citizenship. When both relationships fail to equip him for his "importance," Jones is pushed farther from his possibilities as black man or citizen.

Randall Jarrell writes in "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner," "from my mother's sleep, I fell into the state." Robert Jones is dropped from his girlfriends' ambivalent affections into the state, surely a cold, deathlike status. The shift from Jarrell's asexual mother to Himes' sexual girlfriend here is in keeping with the critical position of the sexualized woman in many wartime representations, Jarrell's not withstanding. While this woman is to an extent the man's peer, allowing for some correspondence between man and woman, her very sexuality, what we can think of as her virtue in wartime when it is freely given and denotes equality, becomes the source of conflict and negation for the male character when it is deemed transgression. This transgression, source of man's downward spiral, echoes man's mythic fall, but in this case the fall from the heart(h)less woman is into a paradoxical "state" where one performs but doesn't belong, a state of soldiering and violence.

First we must see Jones in his citizen/public space. As much as blacks benefit from the war's economic prosperity, this stirs nervousness among whites: "The white workers crossing the street looked at the big new car full of black faces and gave off cold hostility. I gave them look for look" (13). Jones's need to feel stronger compensates for such humiliations. But in spite of his dressing as worker-citizen, his sense of citizenship quickly

diminishes in the relentless storms of racism, so that the need to feel important translates quickly into rage, plummeting to a bitter awareness of powerlessness. Jones loses his leaderman position, moves dangerously close to losing his 1-A deferment, then is thought to have attempted to rape Madge at the plant, and in running from the police is found with a concealed gun. While Madge agrees to drop the attempted rape charge, a step which is, ironically, deemed patriotic (201), Jones is nevertheless forced to enter the Army as a result of the illegal gun. His interest in being an "important" person, connected to the war, has been fully erased. As citizen, Jones's position has always been tenuous--measured in part by his conscious distance from the war. The war to him means economic possibility; the politics of the war evades him. At one point he derides his fellow black workers for seeming to desire an E-button for production; chastised, they quickly slow down, as if caught in a mistaken patriotism, forgetting their own exclusion (176). In another instance, Jones isolates white people's war against Hitler from blacks' concerns.

So even though the solid logic of my hangover told me that Alice's way was my only way out, I didn't have anything for it but the same contempt a white person has for a collaborator's out in France. I just couldn't help it. That much of the white folks' teaching was still inside of me. (152)

By this reasoning, a black person doesn't feel contempt for a European collaborator. The whites' teaching is

transferrable, but not universal. Is the lesson wrong, has Jones's mislearned it, or does the burden of race revise the lesson?

Bitterness and frustration like that Jones endures were of concern to government officials, to varying degrees. Among numerous surveys done by The Office of War Information's Bureau of Intelligence, for example, was a study of Negroes in Baltimore and Cincinnati to assess their attitudes about the war. The survey drew on data collected by both black and white interviewers, and was overseen by Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University. The summary was frank:

Much of the confusion and bafflement among Negroes comes from the dual picture of themselves -- as Negroes, chafing under white domination, and as Americans, wishing to do their part for their country."These results suggest that the Negro cannot be expected to take full interest in the war, or to devote himself unreservedly to it, until some of his own problems are solved. As he becomes part of the war effort, as many Negro workers in the defense industries have now become, the war becomes more nearly central in interest. But in some defense areas the gains for the Negro through employment in defense plants are nullified by discriminatory treatment, bad housing, and other factors which tend to destroy morale.

-- (1-2). "Negroes and The War: A Study in Baltimore and Cincinnati" OWI Bureau of Intelligence, Special Report Number 16, Division of Surveys July 21, 1942.

The crucial bond of cross-race solidarity by which If He Hollers Let Him Go opens and ends are ties between men who are informed by this discriminatory rub. Himes begins

by revealing Jones's despair in L.A. shortly after his Japanese friend is interned "without a charge. Without even giving him a chance to say one word." Jones recalls "Little Riki Oyana singing 'God Bless America' and going to Santa Anita [Relocation Center] with his parents next day" (3), an event which makes Jones "scared" about race in America. The novel closes with Jones's walk to the induction center with two Mexicans, into a new cross-racial fraternity.

They were both brown-skinned, about my colour, slender and slightly stooped, with Indian features and thick curly hair. Both wore bagged drapes that looked about to fall down from their waists, and greyish dirty T shirts. They talked in the melodious Mexican lilt.

'I'm still here,' I lisped painfully.

After Jones's descent from citizenship, the final, brief movement is upward, and the order of power seems oddly reversed. First, he acknowledges that he is still present. And then: "They fell in beside me and we went out and started up the hill toward the induction center, the three of us abreast and the cop in the rear" (my emphasis 203). A desire to fight fascism might dull his ambivalence and anger, but he has no such desire. He moves farther from his "citizen" status felt at the outset of the novel, into a status where citizenship as civilian-soldier is to be enacted but turns fully meaningless, and seems to be a performance which can, acceptably, disguise many brutalities--as he has earlier been informed in a dream

about a murderous, rapacious white Marine. Yet he has fallen into a new fraternity of outsiders; he is on a par with his Mexican brothers who wear the uniform of the disaffected, baggy zoot suit pants, whose Americanness is complicated and enhanced by the "melodious Mexican lilt" and their "Indian features." But how symbolic, and how satisfactory this new fraternity is cannot be fully understood until we explore the fall from women.

His engagement with both white racist Madge, and black, upper class, racially accommodating -- and Lesbian -- Alice, points to his own performance of gender (performance is Himes's word; it contains the idea of 'sexual' performance as well as behavior or disguise). Yet performance is a necessarily unsatisfactory means to address his entrapment, because he cannot get from either woman what he needs. Both women exist in suspect positions. That the women are symbols of his 'lack of manhood' kept in place by racism should seem prosaic and oversimplified. They are, rather, compromised subjects in their own right -- Alice's mirror-gazing suggests this. Once they exhibit their own

subjectivity and sexual agency, as complex as it is, once their own impurities are made manifest, they are beyond helping Jones, and can only harm him. The "freedom" Jones has is to flail between both women, but freedom means nothing when neither woman devotedly bolsters his manhood,

instead propelling him downward.

There are women who do mediate Jones's rage. Kisses from Ella Mae, his married landlady, for example, soothe him. "I felt differently now. All the tightness and scare, even the lingering traces of jealousy, had gone out of me. I just felt pressed for time" (8). Affection from a woman -- in this case with the taboo of adultery involved -- prepares him for work-time, white-time, citizen-time. Ella Mae is however an unstable encounter, and although she represents his satisfactory sexual performance from before, this relationship now only reveals his sexual wasteland, in a sexually charged novel in which there are no sexual climaxes.

With Madge, Jones is caught in the stereotypical bind of forbidden desire. An uninspired migrant to the west coast like thousands of others, Madge mixes enticement and deliberate, performative gestures of fear, "as if she was a naked virgin and I was King Kong" (19). She both infuriates Jones and lures him toward her. She is the caricature of the overly-sexual woman Katherine Archibald has complained

of in Shipyard Diary:

She was a peroxide blonde with a large-featured, overly made-up face, and she had a large, bright-painted, fleshy mouth....She looked thirty and well sexed, rife but not quite rotten. She looked as if she might have worked half those years in a cat house, and if she hadn't she must have given a lot of it away. (19)

Madge's own seaminess holds an attraction. Moreover, Jones recognizes a fellow sufferer -- one who has been maligned and belittled, and who, like Jones, wants to fight against the constraints. Madge, however, can turn just as easily against Jones as turn toward him. Furthermore, she is incapable of comprehending her own desire for him, grounded in the discourse of racism and waffling in her own sexual subjugation. As their relationship stewes, she is trapped in stereotypical performances, but he is equally unwilling to be inventive.

In Jones's second encounter with Madge, he orders her to do a job; she refuses. When she calls him a "nigger," he retaliates by calling her a "cracker bitch" (27). As offended white woman, she has the upper hand, and Jones is subsequently demoted from his position as leaderman over his black crew. Madge becomes the woman "who stands between me and my manhood." She makes Jones feel "castrated, snake-bellied, and cur-doggish....Cheap, dirty, low" (123). Fitting revenge, a way to "cure her," appears as rape:

'What I ought to do was rape her, I thought.
That's what she wanted.' (119, 126)

Jones's frame for the woman is not within the nation; the terms are to be personal and sexual, depoliticized, where he can enact power over Madge.

Alice also torments and belittles Jones. Beyond his difficulty with her middle class accommodation with racism,

he has discovered her involvement in a lesbian relationship. Her sexuality is core of his general insecurity about her affections for him. Alice too stands in the way of his manhood, although he cannot articulate it as such. Instead, he names her interest in women as a defect that stems from racism, as if all problems stem from racism. His "not being sure about" her parallels his being "kicked around by every white tramp who comes along" (96). And Alice's inability to listen, which suggests her refusal to be sexually dedicated to him, means that she cannot provide ballast against Madge's erotic hatred or against his growing fury.

As a sexual battle begins between Jones and Madge in her cheap boarding room, he realizes Madge can only equate sex with rape. Her expectation is as limited as his. Initially he is willing to participate:

I took a deep breath and bore down....She was almost as strong as I, but not quite. I slowly broke her down to the floor, and she looked me in the eyes, hers buck wild.

'All right, rape me then, nigger!' Her voice was excited, thick with threads in her throat.

I let her loose and bounced to my feet. Rape -- just the sound of the word scared me, took everything out of me, my desire, my determination....The only thing she had to do to make me stop was just say the word. (148-9)

Locked in the most stereotypic discourse of racial hatred, Jones realizes the gap between them is complex, but he has permitted it to be nourished by his performance of "race," which incorporates his desire to overpower the obnoxious

blond. At this turning point in the novel, his loss of desire engenders despair:

if I couldn't know that I had a chance to do anything any other American could, to go as high as an American citizenship would carry anybody, there'd never be anything in this country for me anyway. (154)

Understanding, however, cannot block his downward spiral, for he doggedly remains intent on winning the battle of his manhood with Madge. Jones suffers from being stuck in both relationships, Alice's aspirations which require silence, and Madge's revengeful racism tied to blind lust, and both relationships are sexually incomplete. When Madge's own needs for revenge become paramount, she propels him to the army induction office. "There'd never be anything in this country for me" has been Jones's cruel assessment. He is left, like Woolf's woman, without a country, but his ultimate indifference leaves us with questions about racial exclusion and the possibilities of inclusion, or identification with a different imaginery than the nation. But Himes leaves these questions only inferred.

Himes provides Jones with a much more elaborate interior life than Petry's characters possess. This interior life explores his difficult position as a black American man. If He Hollers Let Him Go may seem more of a "home front" narrative, not only because the shipyard life is drawn in more detail, but because Jones's proximity to

war service is one of the novel's ongoing burdens, and thus he explores his position. But whereas Johnson is yelled at for being late, and for being a "nigger," Jones does the yelling--he is the person in charge of the task, and Madge, who refuses to do the job ordered, could be labeled a traitor to the war effort or even "tried for sabotage." Jones qualifies this epithet: "overly patriotic Americans" might call her traitor (152). Consequently he isn't angry at her because of her lack of patriotism. He identifies with this lack, since he is cynical about his own status. Rather, he is angry because she doesn't respect his authority, as a man, as a boss, in the hierarchy of gender or capitallism. There is a place for "woman" within the national imagination as long as it is tied to a woman's sexuality--submissiveness, availability, but not independence.

As it began, the novel closes with Jones dressing. He is naked, after being treated for wounds caused by Madge's defenders. He again dons his work clothes, now blood-covered. "I didn't see my watch, billfold, key ring, leather jacket, tin hat, or identifications." When asked, the guard produces his watch, keys, and billfold.

I didn't ask about my badges and identifications; I was through, I wouldn't need them any more anyway. The crystal of my watch was broken and it had stopped. (183-4)

In spite of this loss of "identifications," Jones's links

with his Japanese American friend Riki, and now with his Mexican comrades, may point to a resistant citizenship, one with other people of color. Whether we are to see Jones's nakedness, his "oversized lips" and his forced induction as signs of his abject state, or indication of redress, a transformation into manhood informed by a new brotherhood of colored peoples, is left unclear. But the novel's co-existing frame of women is instructive. Before the novel opens Jones has had sexual experiences with Ella Mae as well as with white women. To this extent women exist somewhat as they do in Mailer's The Naked and the Dead, representing the pre-war world of dramatic encounters and empowerment which informs their current status as 'men,' although the quality of Mailer's misogyny is not present in Himes' accounts. Within Himes' novel, Madge stands between him and his manhood, something he makes explicit. But implicit as well are the obstacles of Alice's accommodation with whites and lesbianism to his manhood. Alice quite literally connects with those for whom Jones's feels rage --whites and women. Even though she agrees to marry him in the penultimate encounter, his sexual engagement with her has been constrained by her misplaced affections. He has no sexual climax or satisfaction with her, nor with any other woman in the narrative. With both Madge and Alice, his sexual performance is curtailed by their speech--Madge's twisted sense of racialized erotics, and Alice's constant

challenges. Beyond the novel, what is to follow his induction into the army with two Mexicans, points to a redressed manhood developed through fraternity of men of color, and decidedly free of women.

5.

Relationship to the body politic is in most instances - and this is really a variation on Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community -- a somewhat abstracted one. Sometimes this connection is less abstract: thus we see the significance of Jones's things on the dresser, symbolic of his status. In Hitchcock's film Saboteur, not only the murder of Barry Kane's good friend, but his own unjust expulsion from the ranks of the respected, or in Himes' term, the important, propels Kane underground on his quest of the genuine murderers/saboteurs. In contrast, Petry's characters' standings, and their strong sense of injustice, engender political isolation and indifference. Only in Annie May's lipstick do we see some vital connection to a larger culture or imagination--and Petry clearly wants us to see this too as ambiguous, destructive for Annie May if it hadn't given birth to her steps towards personal cultural independence. Yet where the war is, or rather where the characters' relationship to the war lies, is still left undescribed and unnarrated at story's end.

The war is even more muffled in "Like a Winding Sheet." Unlike Kay Boyle's damning of women who stampede a store to buy sequined blouses--as she contrasts them to suffering, battling women in Europe in "Battle of the Sequins," (The Nation 1944), and unlike Dorothy Parker's "The Lovely Leave," where a pilot's wife learns to cope with her new

position as wife abandoned for the fraternity of the war effort--neither Johnson nor Mae in this brief story are so consciously linked to matters of the war. This does not mean black Americans were uninvolved: Audre Lorde recalls in Zami with a child's pride that her mother spotted airplanes and handed out coupon books. Certainly, they have war jobs, which means substantial financial improvement. But we are not permitted an interiority where war or citizenship are queried: for Johnson, race is such an encompassing matter that he is buried in the rage it engenders. In Mae we get a glimmer of her self-admiration, perhaps linked to the coveralls from her war job, or from being in some sense like a man, with the freedom and movement of a man, again suggested by the coveralls on the chair, even loosed from some of the constraints of racism. But her subjection to Johnson's raging fists inscribes a forced underdevelopment, and a demand for allegiance to no one or nothing but him.

In Jones's case we may focus on his watch -- one of the mediating objects which has originally signified his being a citizen. After the beating he suffers, he dresses into his coveralls and looks for his things. The guard returns his watch, but it is broken, signifying now his rupture from nation-time, from the national narrative. The image of women as a place in which he has been caught is relevant here, because they often are, as Mary Ann Doane has argued, "culturally positioned...outside the arena of history,

politics, production" (2). Borrowing de Laurentis' concept, woman is a "topos, a resistance, matrix and matter," and are thus not the hero who crosses boundaries and penetrates the other space. "The male is the mover of the narrative while the female's association with space or matter deprives her of subjectivity" (6). Jones has been caught in this female "space or matter" -- not feminized, but bogged down in his ultimately erroneous expectations that women can help him "penetrate the other space."

Madge is only given status as "patriotic" when she agrees not to press charges against Jones--because to do so would inflame racial tensions in the shipyard. Her "patriotic gesture [is] comparable only to the heroism of men in battle" in the Atlas Corporation president's hyperbolic view (201). But Madge's inclusion in the roster of patriots derives from her sexual "space or matter" which has supposedly been violated. Even though Himes wishes to expose an instrumentality even willing to corrupt the concept of "patriotism" in its service, he can only do so by showing the absurdity, and unreliability of sexual Madge who is an interloper on the political or public stage.

Not surprisingly, this gendered sense of time is not present in Petry's works. Rather, the space which Petry addresses is critically examined: the domestic site is source of masculine confusion and twisted attempts at asserting power in "Like a Winding Sheet." In "In Darkness and Confusion" Petry takes us from the spaces of apartment, street, barber shop to the collective "chaos" of the riot, where men and women begin to see each other and to express themselves differently. The narrative which women are excluded from, like the national narrative from which African Americans are excluded, is shown instead to be a shared one, with varied versions of time and topos not limited to a particular gender.

Annie May in particular gives us the glimmer of "disorder" which is really a redressing, directing us toward a collective imagination that permits difference. There is, certainly, no explicit query of citizenship like that which occurs in Himes' novel. But if Petry's characters resemble Kay Boyle's dancing French women in their indifference, it is only a passing similarity, for the source of their own subjugation lies more dramatically and painfully within the codes and conventions of American society. Anne May displays not only the power of race, but of gender as well-- a difficult fusion to articulate in 1945, since that place

outside the whites' kitchen hardly existed in the national imaginary.

Chapter 7

The Anti-Conversation Posters and Public Women

"Nobody was bound by conventional restraints"

--Marguerite Higgins (qtd. in May Witness to War 103)

Every woman has known the torment of getting up to speak. Her heart racing, at times entirely lost for words, ground and language slipping away -- that's how daring a feat, how great a transgression it is for a woman to speak -- even just open her mouth -- in public. A double distress, for even if she transgresses, her words almost always fall upon the deaf male ear, which hears in language only that which speaks in the masculine.

-- Helene Cixous (Signs 284-5)

The lesson is clear: Trust no one, mention nothing, repeat nothing, discuss nothing. In short, keep your mouth shut.

Yank 14 October 1942¹

i. Preface

Wartime posters provide a provocative terrain for exploring the tensions over representations of women's agency -- as citizen, as sexual person, as possessor of critical voice in a liminal period. The anti-talk posters written of here undoubtedly served genuine security needs. But in addition, they generated a collective discourse in

¹ Describing a British film, "Next of Kin." Yank Homefront ed., 14 Oct 1942 Vol 1 #18 p 5, RG 287 (8E) Printed Archives Box 1, National Archives. I thank Jody Bresnahan for finding this for me. She has been generous in sharing her own research in the National Archives and other areas while she works on "the girl problem" as seen in the military, in particular in the Pacific.

the national mobilization for war, as citizens moved from a "regime of freedom to one of obedience" (Faris 122). They offered dynamic symbolic currencies which reveal the gendering of political conversation, as well as the politicizing of sexual conversation. I begin with the history of the "loose lips" posters, and then examine connected issues which are encoded in the series: other considerations of loose lips such as kissing, the infectious aspect of kissing, the Victory girl and concerns about loose sexuality. Describing some anti-talk posters in detail, I then argue that these images sought to limit women's public conversation and thus limit their sense of themselves as citizens.

This period also saw a genuine loosening of sexual mores, intensifying the conflict in representations of women's positions, between the victimized, controlled woman, and the woman with sexual and civic agency. Historically it is women who possess "loose tongues," a characteristic which is often linked to their uncontrolled sexuality. In this context, the poster campaign metaphorically aims to silence the independent, and sexually assertive woman.

Because I am concerned with representations of woman in the nation, how she is to be perceived in the public sphere, as citizen, I explore the posters' attention to both sexual and political agency of women. I suggest that "loose lips" indicates the vocal woman who has not been paid attention to

(as Jane Gallop notes), or the woman whose trivial talk represents all those 'mere things' of daily life (as Genevieve Lloyd and Iris Young draw out). To carry these activities into the public sphere is a sign of the plurality of which Hannah Arendt writes, and of which we get a glimpse of in wartime's mobilization. Women are included in the national imaginary, yet contradictorily woman is to be silenced in the effort to create a homogenized public which seeks to restrict difference and maintain an idealized woman to represent the nation.

In part the state makes use of a woman's "deviance" as a means to validate surveillance and increased centralized control. But her "deviance" is also real -- not in terms of her being a traitor to the nation, but in terms of her resistance to "conventional man." I argue that we need to see a vocal woman, drawing on the metaphors of loose and loose-lipped woman, not as dangerous to the public but as empowered with sexual agency and critical voice. A divergent reading of these posters, relying on feminism's interrogation of the sexually independent woman, points to a "loose-tongued woman" who resists a masculinized, idealized uniformity which is expected in the public sphere. Her loose tongue points to her difference -- and suggests a revision of how the public space is viewed for women.

In a period when more than seven million American women uprooted themselves across county lines or across the nation

(Chafe 139-40), there was an inevitable crossing of borders including those of gender and sexuality. The very essence of the public sphere was challenged by this loosening of restrictions on women. The contending calls to citizens stemming from these changes were rooted not only in the pragmatic needs of mobilization, but served as symbolic pronouncements as well, which helped articulate and shape notions of women's behavior. Rumors, gossip and idle talk were singled out for particular scrutiny and restriction, deemed dangerous enemies of American morale and social unity, not because such behavior stirred men to jealous vigilance but because the enemy was said to lurk close by.

1. Loose lips, loose women

The Second World War offered "the most intense visual experience in the nation's history" (Roeder 62).² Much was concentrated in photography and film images of war, even though the more gruesome and graphic images of dead Americans were kept from American viewers until mid-1943

²Radio and advertising also increased their hold. Advertising prospered immensely from wartime requirements, which it helped create. Citing their "patriotic duty," advertisers cashed in. They were able to "maintain brand visibility without clashing with the wartime ethic of sacrifice and without creating unfulfillable product demands....[P]atriotism and public relations, sacrifice and self-interest intertwined" (Leff 1312).

(Roeder 1; Moeller 205).³ Posters contributed throughout the war to this expanse of visual texts. Printed by the Office of War Information, other government agencies such as the War Department, and by various corporations, posters were relentlessly slapped up on walls and bulletin boards, in grocery stores and factories.⁴ They were born of and served a spectrum of genuine wartime needs, characterized by the Congressional Record as 1) recruiting, 2) selling war bonds and stamps, 3) production (including reduction of absenteeism, 4) morale building and general patriotic themes and 5) security or "don't talk" posters.⁵ The OWI proclaimed this variety of posters "great stimulators to

³Pictures of the damage at Pearl Harbor were not released for a year, appearing in December 14, 1942 in Life (Moeller 231). According to OWI analysis, reasons for releasing gruesome photos of bloody deaths which appeared in Life Spring 1943 included apathy, high absenteeism in factories, and strikes Roeder found that there was "comparative openness in the American information policy" compared to Germany, England, China, Japan and the soviet Union. Information suppressed ranged from numbers of people killed in Allied bombing raids, Jeep accidents, chemical warfare experiments, to shell-shocked soldiers (15, 2, 3).

⁴For more on the OWI, see Allan M. Winkler, The Politics of Propaganda: The OWI 1942-45. Yale UP 1978. There is minimal discussion of poster campaigns in his text. In the O.W.I.'s estimation, each American tuned in to four war messages weekly. Films were viewed by 85 million Americans a week (Rhodes 150). OWI figures show that 1.5 million copies of each "normal major poster" were printed; 100,000 went up on subway and El walls, post offices throughout the country, factory walls etc. each month (Roeder 83).

⁵Congressional Record Vol. 89, No. 127, in NA Box 1126 [Records of the Chief], Bureau of Graphics OWI, RG 208, OWI "Facilities" Folder.

other war activities, as well as valuable means of keeping people accurately informed." (Poster Handbook: A Plan for Displaying Official War Posters (1943) 1). A category of what Carroll Smith-Rosenburg calls "hegemonic genres" ("Domesticating" 167), they ranged from exhortations to soldiers to brush their teeth, to dire warnings of the evils of dates who might have syphilis. Some messages urged silence and restraint, while others praised workers for thinking.

Modern genres of political and social persuasion are born to some extent of a surveillance of the population, and the resulting need to stimulate common behavior. Advertising does this in creating common habits of desire and consumption, and to a great extent, American culture has been successful in maneuvering a conformity that does not forsake its credo of individualism. Advertising was perfected in the previous decades in the U.S., elevated to a "world of facts" and seen as an enactment of democratic principles (Ewen 69-70). The political poster which in the American context seems only to exist in a mass mobilization, is particularly suited to bring together these individual and collective identities.⁶ It is displayed in public and

⁶We might consider a wider historical background: posters have also functioned historically, outside the U.S., to marshal collective, radical energy, for example in the early days of the Soviet Union, or the British women's suffrage campaign, and in the Weimar campaigns against the Nazis.

is to be read (and discussed) and acted upon publicly, as a sign of the upheaval, even as it is again recalled and acted upon privately in the name of a common good. The poster seeks to unify public sentiment and penetrate private spaces such as the kitchen ("Save fats" for example), to make that behavior worthy outside of the private, by drawing isolated practices into what Lynn Hunt has called "the politicization of the everyday" (68). Numerous social critics of the war period have noted that there was "a sense that everything mattered....Even casual conversations carried special import....In times of crisis, every minute, like every word, counted" (Roeder 63). Campaigns such as the anti-conversation posters were aimed most explicitly at those practices which in pre-war times ordered the flow of daily life-- the "casual conversations" of backyard chatter, street corner talk, relaxation at the bar after work, along with the new concerns over scarce bobby pins, who is dating or pursuing whom, or who is embarking for a zone of war.

This politicization is necessarily a matter of gender as well, in part because of women's pervasive presence in the private sphere, which is itself to be politicized. Gender is a critical category of analysis, as Joan Scott writes, "not only for direct study of the relationships between women and men, but also for a more complex understanding of politics, power, state policy and so on" (Scott "Rewriting History" 22). Moreover, war itself, as

Margaret Higonnet has pointed out, is both a gendered and a gendering activity for combatants and non-combatants alike. "The implications of war for women and men are, then, linked in symbolic as well as social and economic systems" (4).

Norman Mailer's The Naked and the Dead is a case in point. Mailer creates one character who believes that all is linked to gender. This character bemoans women's "labial interpretation of history," an interpretation based on conversation and practice so different from men's. This "labial" approach is the discourse by which men are manipulated and controlled by sexual vampires: "a famous labor leader," one backward officer insists to Lieutenant Hearn, has a "nigger woman for a mistress....that woman is runnin' the whole labor movement, the whole country including the President is being influenced every time she wiggles her slit" (73). The conversation exists within the fraternal world of war, so that a woman's "labial interpretation" is countered by an androcentric view of history in which women exist only in and for men's imagination and memory, and then most often negatively, in Mailer's extensive, nonetheless compelling narrative of war in the Pacific.⁷ But surely, Luce Irigaray's trope of

⁷Mailer's use of "labial" is unusual in this period's writings. The first woman in the novel is introduced as a "pussy" (5); later, an area "smells like a nigger woman" (457). Indeed, these images suggest that much of Mailer's referents for civilian life are labial -- suggesting women think with their genitals, a fairly crude and conventional discourse about women. Much of the imagery of women

"these lips which are not one," comes not from the blue of semantic play or from pure invention, but derives from already-enacted practices and cultural conversations.

Talk encompassing gossip, rumors, or irresponsible transmission of information was maligned in home front propaganda under the auspices of a "security"⁸ campaign which went into effect in the spring of 1942 and existed through 1944. Not surprisingly, similar campaigns were waged by both Axis and Allied belligerents -- the British launched a "Careless Talk Costs Lives" slogan; the Germans warned that "The Enemy Is Listening" (Balfour 190). Sweden produced perhaps the most dramatic narrative, a set of lips

addresses their infidelity and looseness; a "chorus" on women sings that "there ain't a fuggin woman is any good" (186). His characters' varied anger at women is juxtaposed to the discipline of the military, which can galvanize this hate (174); the "power of concentration" required by war (177) is contrasted to women's quixotic sexuality which keeps them out of history. The tendency in other fiction was to use euphemistic language which might bear such implications. "Labial" joins public discourse with the Gulf War protest in Washington D.C. when many women, with great pleasure, chanted "George Bush, read my labia. U.S. out of Saudi Arabia."

⁸ "Anti-conversation" is the name the NY Historical Society has given these wartime posters in their picture collection. The National Archives refers to them as "security" posters. In August 1943 Jacques Dunlavy, Chief of the Bureau of Graphics of the OWI, referred to the "Security of War Information Campaign" (letter to John Donnelly, 8/13/43), then "anti-loose talk messages" (letter to Hon. Martin J. Kennedy, House of Representatives, 8/31/43, RG 208 box 1126B entry 237, "security folders"). Specific phrases for this campaign were disputed as the OWI sought to involve Owens-Illinois Glass Co. and other corporations in printing messages on their products. "Don't talk," for example, was to be inscribed in glasses, until Owens decided it would be illegal.

covering the entire frame of the poster, with a lock through them, a violent image evoking a chastity belt. At the urging of the Army, an extensive series of posters in the U.S. joined other forms of propaganda to promote war-conscious, patriotic behavior in conversation and writing.

There were serious breaches of security, the most significant of which were the coastal landings of four Germans in Amagansett New York, June 1942, and four in Florida who were captured by the FBI (six were soon to be secretly executed). Records point to the military's initiative in promoting this campaign⁹. Jane Russell was pictured on top of a submarine which had been torpedoed, holding a poster which read "A Slip of the Lip May Have Sunk This Ship." Her intent was to "dramatize Navy's 'Serve with Silence' campaign" (Life 26 January 1942). But the need was noted widely. PM, the progressive New York City newspaper, exposed an alarming lack of vigilance at numerous industrial plants, docks, and freight yards (Sayers and Kahn 123, 125). In spite of such concerns, psychological sabotage, "the systematic undermining of morale, the warping of public opinion, and the stirring up of dissension and disunity" was seen as a larger problem. Henry Wallace warned of a "secret war directed against the mind and spirit of the people" (in

⁹Letter of Jacques Dunlavy to John Donnelly 19 August, 1943: "the original request for our cooperation [concerning the "loose talk campaign"] originated locally with the Army Intelligence Authorities."

Sayers and Kahn 131). But while the posters met legitimate needs, they have troubling implications for a democratic society. In a democracy, which prides itself on its democratic practices largely kept intact during the war, even as the state grew larger and more powerful, a series of state-initiated posters which called on people to maintain silence, not to talk but to "shut up," often employing colloquial speech to urge a curtailment of such speech, raise questions about the fluidity of public discourse. A significant tension between open and controlled discourse is evidenced in this campaign, especially when seen in tandem with celebrations of free speech and exhortations to think, read, and speak concerning some matters.¹⁰ Conversation not just about matters of daily life and personal connections, but political conversations about matters of public life and community were drawn into this net. The model of encouragement/ admonishment for differing types of speech further illuminates the complex scope of both citizenship and nationalism.

Linked closely to matters of appropriate speech is the often dramatic notice of "loose" sexuality and the particular threats of female delinquency, tied to the spread of venereal disease with its serious repercussions on

¹⁰See Elizabeth MacDonald, Undercover Girl, for a fascinating account of her experiences in the Morale Branch of the OSS, where she took part in creating disruptive propaganda in the form of rumors, gossip and lies sent behind Japanese lines while stationed in India and China.

military performance. In this multi-level context, the undeniable association of gossip with women, and age-old fears of the loose-tongued woman as sexually uncontrolled, seem worthy of exploring as a literal enactment of ideology as "strategies of containment," to use Frederic Jameson's term (36). The desire to contain unacceptable talk, to limit to whom a person has conversations, and to circumscribe public behavior of women that seems subversive or threatening is part of a discursive effort that expresses some of the anxiety about modern society, about the relationship between citizen and the state, and certainly about wartime culture's ambivalence about women. The woman is potentially the dangerous gossip, easily fused with the sexual misfit, and it is this symbolic potentiality, the indeterminateness of the independent woman, which is unnerving. Prejudices and fears are stirred about the woman as subject--who would be loose, wandering, creator of her own subjectivity like modern man, yet not like him. This anxiety is refashioned in wartime mode, in particular when subjectivity for men is under restraint and redefinition, when virility is championed, but uniformity is required. Even as women's assertiveness is lauded, the changing position of women cannot fully elude the older prejudices and constraints.¹¹

¹¹ For example, Jane Marcus points to Andreas Huyssen's comment that "the mark of modernism is fear of contamination" (in "Britannia Rules the Waves" 159).

American wartime mobilization does offer a place for the speaking woman; it would be mechanical criticism to suggest otherwise, but this place is contested and circumscribed. We should keep in mind that the vocal woman has played an important role in modern times in western political culture and history, for example, the French and American revolutions. Yet as these revolutions succeeded, women were relegated to the private sectors--primarily as mothers, and their legacy was confined to ideological endorsement of republican and national movements as mothers. We can look at Rousseau as instructive. As Joan Landes notes, Rousseau argues for women's place in the domestic sphere, fearing vocal women as a threat to the "manned" republic. He objects to women's

loose tongues.... Speech is what Rousseau fears most. In a near frenzy of misogynistic hyperbole, he is driven to embrace the martial aspects of republican liberty.... 'Women in general,' he writes, do not like any art, know nothing about any, and have no genius.' Worse yet, 'never has a people perished from an excess of wine; all perish from the disorder of women.' (88)

The newly-formed brotherhood of the modern nation state relied on the "silencing of women, [and] their banishment to the domestic sphere" (85).¹² With this cultural legacy in

¹² Carole Pateman, "The Fraternal Social Contract" 36, 37; Linda Kerber, "The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic," American Historical Review, April 1992. Kerber notes the "denial of the civic capacity of women" in the aftermath of the American revolution (375). See Darline Gay Levy and Harriet Branson Applewhite, "Women and Political Revolution in Paris" in Becoming Visible 279-306;

mind, to read the "loose lips" posters through the lens of gender lets us see the image of a vulnerable citizen whose membership in the public sphere is tentative and under scrutiny even as she claims a role in the national conversation which fully honors the registers of duty and virtue calibrated to masculinity.

2. Kissing

Life presented some quirky stories about wartime practices, but "Life Goes to an Army Party" (March 1942) is nothing short of amazing, even in the context of aggressive patriotism. Starlet Marilyn Hare undertakes a kissing campaign, vowing to kiss 10,000 soldiers so that she might, as Life explains, "rouse men's spirits." Life follows Hare onto a California army base where she makes soldiers "stagger" due to her bussing. Wearing a "kissometer," stopping any soldier including jeep drivers, ordering them to kiss her, she "records 733 smacks." She works her way down lines of men, some who await the "taste of her pretty lips," others who seem slightly accosted but who nevertheless enjoy the contact. "There was no shortage of Marilyn's war commodity," Life reports.

Even the article's language militarizes her foray. The

Levy and Applewhite point to "harshly repressive" measures toward women's rights after 1793 (283). See Victoria de Grazia on the "nationalization of women" in the early twentieth century, in particular in Italy.

image of an individual woman penetrating a military base and "ordering" men to subject themselves to her "war commodity" makes war seem amusing when women get mixed up in it. The playful "disruption" is a twist on the county fair booth where a woman sold kisses for charity. Marilyn enters the army base with free range to find men to kiss, unlike the county fair kisser who remains stationary within her booth. Charity is replaced by the war effort; kissing becomes a "commodity" to stimulate soldiers' spirits. Yet how this is to be so, beyond the general "I won't wash my face for a week" claim, is unacknowledged. It seems Marilyn's function is to allow the men to share in kissing the same woman -- a symbolic act of masculinity. Her role is active, but it is certainly a strange way to become an actor on the stage of history. Her lips are not so much loose as they are tightly pursed for work within the military's realm of masculine desire and need, not at odds with what Foucault describes as the "ideal schema of discipline" in the training of the soldier (146).

In Guy Sajer's novel, The Forgotten Soldier, the young Alsatian in the Wehrmacht who is about to be sent back to the Eastern front explains that he cannot kiss his newly-found love farewell at the Berlin train station: men in uniform are prohibited from such public displays of affection. While women's sexual availability was made a national duty, displays of affection were frowned upon,

since German masculinity was celebrated as the power to resist not only modernity but the nagging limitations of female sentiment. This power entailed extolling a community of men who controlled their passions. Furthermore, in spite of its sanctioning of illegitimate children for the fatherland, German fascism promised the restoration of "order and morality," which could keep such affection out of public view (Nationalism and Sexuality 155, 160).¹³

The Italian poster "Enlist in the Auxiliary Service of the X Flotilla MAS" (no date, artist unknown, in Rhodes 92) offers another fascist slant on kissing. In color, it shows a woman bent in reverence at Italian flag: she kisses the red bottom of the three-color flag whose source lies above and outside the frame of the picture, as if it is femininely "immemorial," outside the frame of history. She kisses gently, thoughtfully. Her lips are the red of the flag. Her beret, the same military khaki as her coat, leans into the fascist eagle set in the center of the flag. Here the hatted woman takes on aspects of the masculine (like Emma

¹³See also Cornelia Usborne, The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany. She notes that "vamps" and "new women" created anxiety in Weimar Germany; anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism pointed to "pagan" indulgences of the female body (86, 88). This discussion is continued in the ensuing chapter on "occupied fiction"; see Maria Hohn, "Frau Im Haus Und Girl Im Spiegel," for a detailed discussion of the 'girl' of occupation magazines who becomes the "sexy consumer-citizen of the future Germany" --depicting most often, an in contradiction to former images of women in both Weimar and Nazi Germany, "movie stars, fashion models, or beauty queens." The post-1945 German women "are sexy but not sexual beings." (84))

Bovary, dressing in men's clothes and hat for her adulterous encounter, where the masquerade is sexual). The semi-masculinized, militarized woman evokes an erotic devotion. As the editors of Nationalisms and Sexualities write, "Whenever the power of the nation is invoked--whether it be in the media, in scholarly texts, or in everyday conversation -- we are more likely than not to find it couched in a love of country: an eroticized nationalism" (1). Even in this masquerade, her sexuality may seem assertive, but it is limited to its service to male, national, needs, so that she loses her individuality and becomes symbolic. And as much as the kiss may suggest reverence, as much as it appropriates the Catholic ritual of kissing a rosary or priest's ring, one may read the gesture as erotic nationalism.

World War II American posters' allusions to sexuality bear less of the ritualized or even sentimentalized stance, because not only is the conflict with modernity is less problematic, but because the outright gestures of national devotion (perhaps suggesting the nation's timelessness in the past) are more ambivalent. As a result, the paradox contained within an American image can be starker. That Life's Marilyn, eager kisser of soldiers, bears a similarity to other dangerous women is worthy of mention. Here we encounter the morale booster, but her sisters, the loose-lipped woman and the loose, infectious femme fatale, lurk

close by. Marilyn's face in the article's final photograph in fact bears a striking resemblance to a 1944 war poster, "Wanted for Murder" [figure 3], which depicts an attractive woman, made up and well-coiffed, as a wanted poster, ostensibly for her misdeeds of talk. Such an image implies that men have become victims of a stalking, sexually-hungry woman who cannot hold her overly assertive tongue.

In an earlier chapter I pointed to the intriguing language in the War Production Board spokesman's statement for continued cosmetics production: a woman's enthusiasm may prove "infectious to the male member." Life's frolicsome account not of romance but of muted, but nonetheless obvious, instruments of militarization, contains its opposite: the loose lips of an irresponsible vixen whose "service" to the war effort is self-inspired and seemingly beyond military control. Another ambiguous poster asks "Allure or A Lure?" [figure 4], the text set beneath an image of an enticing woman a soldier is about to date -- showing how easily one might confuse the clean with the infected woman, and in this case, the innocent date with the spy. A less equivocal similar poster warns of the "Saboteuse," a clearly gendered image of the contaminant, with "venereal carrier" written across her chest [figure 5].¹⁴ Indeed, a federal committee noted: this unvirtuous

¹⁴"Wanted for Murder! -- Her careless talk cost lives" - Victor Keppler, 1944. Also in George Theofiles, Miscellaneous Man Catalog No. 31, Vintage Graphics, New

woman "'is more dangerous to the community than a mad dog. Rabies can be recognized. Gonorrhea and syphilis ordinarily cannot'" (qtd. in Brandt 168). Much attention went into alarms about the rising VD rate which affected manhours not only in the military but in industry as well. There were, to this effect, a variety of anti-VD posters. Along with this visual campaign were state-organized efforts to restrain Victory girls, pursuers of perhaps earnest but scattershot romances with soldiers, and amateur prostitutes, who together were blamed for the uncontrollable rise in VD rates.

3. Victory girls

"Every girl pulling for Victory" declares an American World War I poster by Edward Penfield (New York Historical Society Collection). Alone in a rowboat named Victory, a woman dressed in a sailor blouse and skirt rows heartily in a choppy sea. Her hands unyieldingly grasp the oars as she looks to her left, beyond the frame of the poster, sure of her direction and of her rowing ability. Underneath the drawing, in block letters, the poster proclaims: "VICTORY GIRLS," and beneath that in smaller letters, "UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN." As an image, the Victory girl in the First World War is earnest, resolute, independent. She is visually ungrounded, as she appears to work outside the

Freedom, Pa. No. 982.

gravity of earthly powers and rules. Yet, attired in imitation military clothing of the sailor suit, the Victory girl only masquerades, for a sailor suit with the square neck and loose scarf has been the provenance of girls in the early twentieth century --and as such, she is dressed as the conventional feminine heroine, her virtue intact. Luce Irigaray's call to a "resistant" reading ("When Our Lips" 76-7), noting the importance of water, a fluid and unfixed space, allows us to read the girl's rowing as Iris Marion Young's "transcendence in pure fluid action" (Throwing Like a Girl 151).

On the other hand, in her posture, she holds her arms inward, close to her body, her legs concealed by her skirt. Her pose does not offer what Young calls a "spatial direction that is open and outwardly directed," but suggests concentration on her own inward space (150-1). In addition, the text reigns in and ultimately solves the contraction of the visual image: "Every girl pulling for Victory" -- the rower is not alone but like the others, joined for one cause. This independent girl is enclosed within the frame of the poster, set between the fragments of words on top and bottom, and defined by the statement's meaning. The insistence on "victory," appearing three times in a short text, reiterates the rower's collective goal and the overall frame of the war. This context ultimately frames her virtue

and contains her independence.¹⁵

V-girl n. 1 A girl or young woman who dispenses sexual favors in the professed cause of patriotism, esp. one in frequent contact with soldiers, sailors, etc., through being employed on an Armed Forces post or in a nearby establishment; a woman who accords sexual favors to servicemen through being impressed by the glamour of uniforms or service ratings; a nonprofessional prostitute catering to servicemen. Common W.W.II use. From abbrev. of "Victory girl." Cf. B-girl [also derived from 'bar girl'] -- 2 A girl or young woman who has or is suspected of having a venereal disease. W.W.II Armed Forces use. Reinforced by the "V" of "V.D." --

Victory girl n. 1 A girl or woman who worked in a war plant during W.W. II or performed other work necessary to the war effort. Early W.W.II use. Quickly became archaic owing to rapid change in meaning to 2-- V-girl.

--Dictionary of American Slang

By World War II, the "girl problem" had come into being. The Victory girl in the United States came to signify someone far less containable than her World War I counterpart: as the term was used on the U.S. home front, she is a girl or a woman who takes a promiscuous path. "V," as the Dictionary of American Slang tells us, can stand for venereal disease, and thus independence has negative

¹⁵World War I had its posters attacking women as well, for example "BEWARE OF FEMALE SPIES" warned of women "employed by the enemy to secure information from Navy men....Beware of inquisitive women as well as prying men." The viewer was urged: "See Everything, Hear Everything, Say Nothing....SILENCE IS SAFETY" (in Dorothy and Carl Schneider, Into the Breach 176). Concerning prostitutes, a letter writer urged harsh treatment: "'Shoot the lewd women as you would the worst German spy; they do more damage than all the spys [sic]'" (Bristow, qtd. in Kester 29).

connotations here. The allusion to vagina is to be noted as well. This woman, who tracks men in uniform, is not so much led astray as she is brazen. Whether it be to experience sex or patriotism, the outcome is unacceptable. Her patriotic fervor is misguided, as she puts her body where her heart is. Like men, she gives her body to the cause of the nation, but her activities are judged destructive and alien to the war effort, most ostensibly because of her role in spreading venereal diseases.¹⁶

While men were urged to break the taboo against killing, young women may have felt that they too were impelled to break taboos, and that a national campaign of death could be softened, even if not stemmed, by increased, casual sexual unions. In numerous historical and social accounts, contemporary as well as current, the V-girl is most frequently mentioned in the context of delinquents, indiscriminate bobby soxers, and careless amateur

¹⁶This was, to an extent, a valid concern, but women were singled out as the thoughtless carriers of disease, and men the hapless victims, even while men's sexual assertiveness was encouraged. Merrill finds that 10,959 women were arrested for prostitution in 1945 (134). In his estimation, the VD rates for American servicemen "were the lowest of any army and navy in history" due to such checks (136). Infection rates were lower among U.S. servicemen in Europe because the military could exercise greater control. Another factor in a higher rate on the home front was that returning soldiers were "less suspicious of American girls" (137).

prostitutes.¹⁷ While the "ungovernable" girl (Merril 108) found herself the subject of much attention in wartime articles and journals, most current accounts pass over her with slight interest in spite of a growing attention to sexuality as a matter of cultural concern and discourse.¹⁸

¹⁷See Karen Anderson, Wartime Women; Cynthia Enloe, Does Khaki Become You?; John Costello, Virtue Under Fire; John Morton Blum, V Was for Victory; and Susan Gubar, "'This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun': World War II and the Blitz on Women" (as well as "Charred Skirts"). The Victory girl is mentioned in each of these texts, but the phenomenon is not examined in detail. Gubar limits her description of a v-girl to the "victimized" prostitute: describing the phrase as one "used through the war years as a euphemism for 'whore'" (Behind the Lines 250). For contemporary accounts concerned with teen delinquency and sexuality, see Meyer, Journey Through Chaos (NY 1943); Morals in Wartime, ed. Victory Robinson (New York 1943); "Sex Delinquency Among Girls," Committee on Sex Delinquency Among Young Girls, American Social Hygiene Association in Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 29, November 1943 as an illustrative article. In fiction, see Margaret Long's account of Lonie's experience with a group of soldiers in Louisville Saturday (1950). Lonie is clearly meant to be the slow-minded V-girl noted in some writings of the period. She is easily taken advantage of, too slow to recognize virtue or the responsibilities which come with pleasure.

¹⁸Sociologist Merrill found that facing the uncertainty and fever of war, some adolescent girls found that "the only resource was their sex" which "appeared to aid the war effort and at the same time provided excitement, recreation and prestige" (103). Delinquency (often, he notes, a euphemism for sexual activities) seemed in fact to increase more rapidly for girls. Merrill also seems to appreciate the puns in 'service to servicemen' (104) and young women 'throwing themselves into the arms of the armed forces' (145) -- suggesting a desire to have some parallel experience.

One young woman recalled: "I let a sailor pick me up and go all the way with me. I had intercourse with him partly because he had a strong personal appeal for me, but mainly because I had a feeling of high adventure and because I wanted to please a member of the armed forces." (in John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Friedman Intimate Matters 260). We must of course be careful not to make one college student's

Sexual license was not limited to heterosexual relationships, but gay life was kept more closely veiled, and was far less the subject of public discourse. One young man recalled wartime as a "real sex paradise" (D'Emilio 260), yet the Victory girl has not survived in the folklore and popular history of the war as Rosie the Riveter has, although we should be clear that much remains to be critically explored about the texture of work, family, sexual, and public lives of the millions of women who entered the work force during the war. State agencies such as Eliot Ness's Venereal Disease Control Agency have remained unexplored arenas of public discourse about female sexuality, perhaps because it has seemed one more site in which women are demeaned -- where women's sexual practice is linked to her victimization.¹⁹

Nevertheless, in spite of her significant absence (even

statement stand for all V-girls, but her sentiments are nonetheless instructive.

¹⁹The "most widely circulated World War II pamphlet was 'She Looked Clean But....' [Washington D.C. 1944]. Such literature repeated the sorry association of 'cleanliness' with chastity, impurity with sexual freedom" (Brandt 168). For discussions of public campaigns against venereal disease and the politics of gender, see Brandt, No Magic Bullet, Claude Quétel, History of Syphilis; Karen Anderson, Wartime Women; Barbara Melosh Engendering Culture on discussions of WPA playwrights' instructive plays like Spirochettes. See also Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol. II Internal Medicine in World War II and Vol. IX, Office of the Surgeon General, Dept. of the Army, Wash. D.C. 1960; Record Group 112, National Archives.

in fiction)²⁰, the Victory girl was a significant actor on the American scene. Rather than being a victim of the war, I argue she represents, to an extent, the continuation of the late nineteenth century's "girl of the period," the "charity girl" and the "new woman" of the 1920s and 1930s.²¹ We should make note of the epithet "ungovernable." She is not the same as the "career woman" of the 1930s, yet she exhibits an uncontained sexuality that is suggested in some images of the career woman in film and novels. She too takes her place as a "public" woman acting

²⁰See Maureen Honey's discussion of women's fiction in magazines during the Second World War. She notes an emphasis on collective life rather than an assertion of individuality. Propagandists working with magazines sought fictional "figures of mercy, tenderness, and innocence who had remained unscathed by the brutal realities of war" (137). In the working class-oriented magazines such as True Story, women who slipped morally were brought back into the fold of good behavior by their devotion to the war, usually through the help of a man. The Magazine Bureau urged True Story to highlight "heroines who would set a positive example for readers" (154). The fiction aimed at a middle-class audience usually avoided sexual encounters altogether.

²¹See Kathy Peiss, "'Charity Girls' and City Pleasures: Historical Notes on Working-Class Sexuality" in Passion and Power, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia 1989); Atina Grossmann, "The New Woman," in When Biology Becomes Destiny, ed. Bridenthal et al. Both argue that sexual independence and desire, while significantly changing, is still defined by male instruction and authority. See Lois Banner on female independence and sexuality in the twenties and thirties. For activities of and ideas about women in the Communist Party--where one might expect to find sexual independence but instead found an emphasis on women's "most important role" -- childbirth, see "Women in the Communist Party, USA, 1930-1940," Robert Shaffer, in Socialist Review No 45 (Vol 9, No 3) May-June 1979.

outside the home, drawn perhaps not only by her desire to chase soldiers but in response to posters such as one calling for women workers: "30,000 Women Wanted -- Without Small Children" (in Meyer 3). As sociologist Merrill recognized, war "cuts [people] off from the restraining moral force of neighborhood opinion" (28), that is, the communal, binding values of the group. Yet we can also acknowledge the deadening, restrictive weight of conformity at work in "neighborhood opinion." The freedom gays and lesbians found to associate during the war, removed from their damning communities, is a case in point. However, we recognize that the national community as well can exert force. One's "whole way of life is altered from a regime of freedom to one of obedience," another contemporary observer wrote in "The Role of the Citizen" (Faris 122). As George Mosse writes about pre-fascist Germany, "Nationalism helped control sexuality, yet also provided the means through which changing sexual attitudes could be absorbed and tamed into respectability" (Nationalism and Sexuality 10). What we explore here is that arena of change, that gap between the control and absorption. Indeed, it is this ungovernability in the light of national mobilization which is to an extent alluded to in the "loose lips" posters.²²

²²Marge Piercy's Gone to Soldiers (1987), a novel carefully researched as historical, feminist fiction, presents among its many characters a version of the Victory girl, a privileged high school student swept off her feet by a young soldier. She becomes pregnant, and her mother, a

4. Anti-talk posters

"Virtue has no gossip value" -- Costello 55

"The exercise of power," Lynn Hunt writes, "always requires symbolic practices." It is in this context that we read "Shut Up, America," which appeared in Life, February 9, 1942.

A big campaign to make Americans shut their mouth is starting. Soon U.S. Government agencies will begin a drive to keep Americans from revealing essential information and from spreading or believing rumors. Crack U.S. commercial artists...have done posters which will be distributed by the British-American Ambulance Corps. Seagram-Distillers is passing out posters to taverns and Bristol-Meyers is distributing them to drugstores.

Most posters hammer on the fact that the enemy's ears are everywhere, waiting to pick up the merest scraps of information....But just as dangerous as loose talkers are gullible people who believe everything they hear. The spreading of false rumors is, of course, a prize Nazi

central character, helps her get an abortion. By placing the teen in this peripheral position, Piercy insists on the "teen" aspect of the Victory girl phenomenon. Yet she also depicts the sexual magnetism which war fever engendered in other women characters. Numerous other novels by women presented sexually independent women in the complex context of the war -- Martha Gellhorn's A Stricken Field; Christina Stead's A Little Tea, A Little Chat; Kay Boyle's His Human Majesty, Point of No Return; Diana Chang's The Frontiers of Love. Among British writers, note Betty Miller, On the Side of the Angels and Elizabeth Bowen, The Heat of the Day. I could add a note that none of these novels by women are mentioned in the standard bibliographies of war fiction. John Limon, in Writing After War (1994), offers an interesting discussion of women's Civil War, World War I, and post-World War II fiction, but does not discuss women's fiction in World War II. See Susanne Carter's important bibliography on women's war fiction.

nerve-war maneuver. (12, 36-37)

In Chapter 5, on Mine Okubo's memoir Citizen 13660, I argued for the importance of writing, both as a vehicle by which authoritarian power is enforced and as a means by which critical positions can be articulated. Marginalized and subjugated people can in writing articulate their own positions as persons, members of communities, and as active but critical participants in a nation. Posters, a public form which mixes text and image, are a means to enable a centralized power. Wartime posters enact what Roland Barthes has described as the text framing the parameters of the visual image, so that the language limits, or immobilizes, the image (13). This process illustrates what Lynn Hunt has described as the training of a population to read political symbols.

Posters produced during the war relied on a public that to a great extent expected to be informed and directed by the central government or its various agencies. But they also drew on the public's sense that deviant behavior existed in the population, and that it was appropriate to expect individuality to be limited. The individual belongs to the body politic, and her deviant conversation is seen not as trivial and insignificant, but as an effective aspect of political conversation. The gullible listener, the one who assumes the authority in everyday speech, is equally maligned, for this person fails to recognize that

authoritative speech is to be derived from recognized and restrictive sources of power. Thus, while the poster is meant to prepare people for a collective effort, it trains them to defer to the state as authority at the same time.

Loose lips sink ships has survived as the most memorable of these "don't talk" posters. The poster actually reads "Loose lips might sink ships."²³ In the center of the drawing a black ship is beginning to sink, as a black plume of smoke rises in a red background. In white letters, the words "Loose LIPS" glare out across the smoke, and on the blue sea into which the ship is disappearing, "MIGHT SINK SHIPS" is written in yellow. The top half of the poster is dark red, and the lower half a light blue. The o's of "loose" might be lower case, or smaller caps, seen as eyes, or even breasts--the eyes of the spy, the breasts of the seductive woman. "Loose lips" is printed in a slight arc over the black plume of smoke.

The rhyme and insistent spondaic meter are simple, easy

²³ Originally produced by the OWI, ca. 1943, signed by Ess-ar-gee, it was published by House of Seagrams "as part of its contribution to the national victory effort" [written at the bottom of the poster]. Close variations included "A slip of the lip may sink a ship," and "Zip the lip," and there were synonymous incarnations such as "Somebody blabbed," and "Keep it under your hat." Other "sinking" posters pointed to "A careless word, a Needless sinking" (1942), "A careless word...a Needless loss" (1943).

to remember, easy to anticipate.²⁴ Often relying on alliteration or syllabic repetition, such texts are both obvious and crudely poetic. One doesn't have to read the whole thing: it is already fixed in its pattern before one ends it. Even the tentative "might" works in its placement in the sentence as a balancing sign, and thus an equal sign. It is the fulcrum of the see-saw, stabilizing or fixing the truth, and undermining the tentativeness of the word "might" itself. Modifier and modified belong together, just as the direct object ships is linked to the powerful fate of its verb. The inevitability of the danger serves to instruct the reader in the phrase's truth. The text evinces the power of the official writer to direct the reader, so that obedience is derived from such rhymes, meter, or alliteration, standing for the simple power of the state and its agencies promoting the posters, and the beneficial collusion of corporations like Seagrams.

A literal reading of "loose lips might sink ships" might make the reader question the implied causality. The phrase suggests that speaking can, conditionally, cause death: the two lips of one (singular) mouth can cause ships

²⁴Certainly not all posters rhymed, but those that did were often inventive and attractive: "Nimitz has no limits" (referring to the Admiral who orchestrated the Midway victory); "tin to win," to recycle cans (in Kennett 189), and "an enemy ear may be near" (National Archives 1943). Others stressed alliteration: "Vitamins for Victory" (a phrase which also repeats three-syllable words) (in Kennett 189). See Kennett on the use of contemporary speech patterns in this same discussion.

(plural) to sink, even though the image is of one ship. Lips are quite powerful, yet this literal enactment seems impossible. What is elided is the process in between, the talk which is overheard by someone, who then passes this information on ultimately, to that enemy who orders the torpedo to be directed. This narrative is unrepresented in both text and image,²⁵ from which we might assume that the audience is to be trained in reading symbolic images as well as straightforward ones. While loose lips are not solely the province of women, we must remember that ships are feminine. Ship also evokes the "ship of state." So we infer that the ordinary talkative woman intrudes on the metaphorized national woman/ship of state. Furthermore, the ship is emblematic of the U.S.'s participation in the war, often at great risk, even before December 1941 by evoking the ships of the merchant marines involved in Lend Lease. Pearl Harbor has also proved that ships are vulnerable, although the American public was not to be given the full report of damage done to the Navy fleet until November 1943.

²⁵ The textual plural ships and visual singular ship was "fixed" with "A slip of the lip can sink a ship." Some posters did present the whole narrative -- e.g. "The sound that kills" presents cartoon boxes, beginning with a longshoreman's idle talk at a luncheonette about a ship sailing at noon, casually dropped to explain why he is so hungry. The news gets transmitted innocently by someone riding the subway, is picked up by the enemy, the enemy transmits on short wave radio, and the news is passed on to the captain of German U-boat who finds the ship in his periscope and torpedoes it.

Now, as the carriers of troops and valuable equipment of a nation fully mobilized for war, ships are crucial. But we are to understand that the material, mobilized might of the nation must be safeguarded, because it is not invulnerable. These significations of the sinking ship both enlarge and concentrate the posters' symbolic value. Furthermore, they magnify the danger of what cannot be seen or accounted for, and the damage done by the idle talker, by linking it not only to loss of human lives and goods, but to danger to the ship of state as well.

Thus loose lips are an act of political disloyalty, even when loosened in all innocence. Because war lessens the distinction between public and private, and makes mistakes more egregious, actions in these realms overlap and interpenetrate. Inevitably, the schism that loose lips depicts emphasizes the need for self-regulation. But furthermore, it points to the need for obedience to the national discourse, which saves one from having to exercise individual will for fear of making a mistake. Lips are inevitably militarized in this discourse, for if loose lips might sink our own ships, tight lips might be used with an equivalent military thrust against the enemy: good lips can sink enemy ships. Hence one discipline invokes another. And "good" lips, in the form of silent, and sexualized images of women on pin-ups and on the nose cones of airplanes, are mobilized for battle.

While far more obvious images of sexual women can be found among the anti-conversation posters, such as the lipsticked and nail-polished woman, good or bad, the metonymy of the "loose lips" is sexually vigorous. Conversation itself can infer intercourse of a sexual nature. But this warning's erotic embodiment is found not only in reading "loose" as the lack of female sexual inhibitions, uncontrolled, thus actually aggressive female sexuality, but in seeing "lips" as labia as well as border of the mouth. Loose lips are then to mean loose sexuality, and this is dangerous. The devouring, sexually insatiable woman is thought to swallow her victim through her mouth at the same time that she seems to threaten to make him disappear into her vagina, castrating him, or to recall Mailer's words, as the woman "wiggles her slit," eventually controlling, in the case of Mailer's character's paranoid misogyny, the President himself. Notably, a similar illogic of causality is in operation in both "loose lips sink ships" and this concept of the mistress of the labor leader controlling the President.

Yet much of this implied message is based on the cultural codes that woman's virtue is linked to her controlled sexuality, and that a woman's virtue need be a metaphor for national virtue. Can we read these phrases differently, with less political stability? I believe so. This was a liminal period, in terms of the mobilization and

dislocation of society, and in terms of what women took upon themselves to do. The images engendered were varied -- and what the body politic was not fully fixed. From this perspective, the loose lips posters, in their variety, can be seen as a resistance to "conventional man", as Helene Cixous suggests. Cixous writes of the need to anticipate and "to refuse to strengthen" "the effects of the past" ("The Laugh of the Medusa" 279). While keeping in mind the valid security needs these posters addressed, we might read the registers of text and image as resistant. "Lips" are not only a metaphor for unruly female speech, but a sign of female sexuality, which we might revise as powerful, and "looseness" as a viable practice of independence, even as betrayal of a phallogentric order. Drawing from Luce Irigaray, we can read lips as border between silence and speech, and as such they are the border between what is permissible and what is not, between what is there and what isn't, between what is visible thus controllable, and what is invisible thus uncontrollable. "Let's reappropriate our mouths and try to speak," she writes. Lips, as site of this revision, and a woman's authority, may mean indifference to men, at least in "conventional" terms. Consider "appropriation," against which Irigaray playfully poses clean and "propre" (or our use of proper in English) to collapse the idea of female infection. Sexual assertion is then not tied to infection, either of the male or the body

politic. Since the female body does not have one source of erotic pleasure (not the single phallus, not a single cite of lips), since she adheres neither to the phallogentric nor the logocentric, lips can then be dangerous to a masculinized sexuality, and even dangerous to the "proper" waging of war which endorses war as the highest form of masculine endeavor, and inscribes only male heroism, erasing women from the story of war. To move beyond validation of "two lips" as simple duality challenges dualities of good and evil, war and peace, ally and enemy, male and female. While Irigaray's refusal to have "their strange division by couples, in which the other is the image of one, but an image only," might be read to suggest that the binary of Axis and Allied was insignificant, I think a more speculative interpretation lets us see that the Allied powers are logocentric.

Such lips suggest flux -- a mobilization which does not mimic the mobilization the state orders and attempts to dominate in wartime. There are "no fixed borders" (76). Instead, possibly the lips will erupt, be volcanic; letting us imagine possibilities of assertive speech and a female sexuality that resists or rewrites domination. In Irigaray's desire for an open mode of communication in which female lips are simultaneously open and closed, I read a revision of power relations, a revision of narratives which valorize the tales of dead men, or rather war narratives

(and women's exclusion from the narrative), a revision of tales which privilege the oneness and domination which are most evident, even seem necessary, in times of total war. They permit a "feminine text," to use Cixous' term, which I suggest reveals the potentiality of the unfixed woman, a woman who both has a country and has no country; her love of country does not deny the sexualities of identities, and does not prevent her from a willingness to cross borders -- to be an internationalist. (In my assessment, such a reading can incorporate and attend to political life, not dismiss it).

A radically different image presents a WAC, in uniform, wearing lipstick, with her nail-polished finger at her lips, almost as if she is saying "shhh," except that her lips are not pursed. It is more the gesture of saying nothing, with lips closed. Framed by two military stars the same red as her nail polish and lipstick, the caption reads "Silence Means Security" [figure 6].²⁶ The photographic image of the dazzling WAC is cropped at her collar, forming a V--so that her head, neck, and finger seem to exist suspended on the poster, bust-like. This V suggests the ambiguous V-words, victory and vagina (and venereal, according to the

²⁶ Other "shh" posters included Uncle Sam, declaring "I'm Counting on You. Don't Discuss Troop Movements, Ship Sailings, 'War Equipment'" 1943; "Silence Means Security" cartoon figure with Uncle Sam's hand over his mouth, 1944. This popular image became the inspiration for "Kilroy Was Here drawings" (Miscellaneous Man No. 974).

Dictionary of Slang). Although her image is dressed in the vocabulary of the sexual, with made up eyes, lipstick, and nail polish, her sexuality is controlled by the text, just as her finger across her lips seals her lips, so that both aspects of assertiveness which might be trouble, the speaking woman and the sexual woman, are contained. That "security" now refers to military might rather than to the "security" of home and hearth, reveals the shift in the individual's relation to the state. Security now means defense and strength rather than comfort and confidence, just as comfort itself takes on the sexual connotations of prostitution in its sense of to succor or to soothe.²⁷

The image of the attractive, feminine, even alluring WAC is to be noted. This woman's authority comes from her no-nonsense beauty, and from her uniform. She gives an order, but in the manner of the mother who puts finger to lips in gentle admonition, or as a schoolteacher might try to silence her pupils, so that the message toys with the border between maternal and sexual. But the lipsticked image is also dress for public behavior, and her feminine

²⁷ Comfort women was the name given to those lured or forced into prostitution for the Japanese military. But "comfort" has been quite generally applied to prostitution. One rich example is found in the words of a prostitute in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, as prostitute Margo St. James explained: "Men who come back from war, who are or have been under stress, are especially in need of comfort from women.... A prostitute gives a man a place to feel safe, where he doesn't have to feel rejection" (76-77) in Valiant Women in War and Exile.

familiarity serves to subdue her militarization. She differs greatly from the Italian fascist woman who bends in subservience as she kisses the flag. The "Silence Means Security" poster depicts an independent woman. Her individualism is intact, not subordinated to an archaic ritual, as she is presented without background or support, strikingly assured in her pose, with her subtle evocation of the "V." Yet she too is bound to the national collective through both image and text. Her uniform signifies her membership in the national collective; the text links her individual silence with a collective security. The possible contradiction between individualism and conformity is effaced because the individual freely chooses conformity.

In stark contrast to this virtuous woman, a notably controversial image depicts the face of an attractive woman as if it were a wanted poster, defined by the text: "Wanted! for Murder. Her Careless Talk Cost Lives"²⁸ [figure 3]. This poster dramatically alerts us to the dangerous powers of the normal, everyday woman who coifs her hair decisively and who wears lipstick like any woman patriot. The border this woman has crossed to become a murderer is not shown,

²⁸ "American women who are knitting, rolling bandages, writing letters, working long hours at war jobs...resent these unwarranted and presumptuous [sic] accusations...." Letter to OWI, in Powers of Persuasion exhibit, National Archives February 1994 - February 1995. Loose talk's connection with love were cited, urging intimacy without openness. For example, "Tell her you love her. That's all she needs to know" [Figure 7].

nor is it delineated in the brief text. Just as her error is not defined, the enemy listener who has taken advantage of her fall from appropriate silence is undepicted. She is the fallen woman, familiar but fallen from national grace into a position of patriotic "other," an Eve-like woman disrupting the paradise of American national discourse. In this sense she is a needed figure. "Part of our contemporary mind-set includes conceptions of evil that unfailingly depend on scapegoats -- on conceptions of evil residing in the other and on notions that the other is a more likely agent of evil than oneself" (Noddings). Furthermore, the fall is sexual. "The Fall is regarded (whether literally or metaphorically) as a sexual event. Eve is guilty of wishing to be in control of her own sexual life" (John Phillips qtd. in Noddings 53). This "Wanted!" poster is the closest to the photograph in Barthes' terms, where the text narrows the possible meaning of the image. It is also the closest to being a "mirror" image of the American woman. Thus we sense the arbitrariness, the slippery nature of the enemy even in our midst, and the difficulty of recognizing agents among our fellow citizens, which belittles our own ability to discern and makes us more dependent on the large forces of "security" to name and define.

The security campaign concerned itself with writing as well as speech, supplementing the extensive apparatus of

censorship which checked letters sent overseas. In one poster a perplexed woman is poised over a set of dice: "You don't gamble with your life. Be careful what you say or write" [figure 8]. Another poster, working on the symbolic level, presents a helmet hung on a cross, and a huge pen pierces the helmet. Reddish ink, or rather blood, drips from the pen point. The wearer of the helmet is assumed to be buried beneath the cross, killed as a result of the pen's misappropriated text. A simple, violent graphic, it damns the letter writer who passes on potentially dangerous knowledge. In red ink, the text demands, "Your pen...an enemy weapon?" And the reader is assured that the pen is not such a weapon, that is, "not if you keep what you know to YOURSELF!" [figure 9].²⁹ Both pen and cross, on different planes, go slightly outside the inner border of the poster, serving to balance humble cross with death-dealing pen. Each touches the black field which contains the final textual warning, all in lower case letters as if written by a letter writer: "Watch what you write."

Ordinarily, the helmet serves as impenetrable protection to the G.I. in the field -- the all-purpose helmet which doubles as sink. It is symbol of the

²⁹Other posters did claim the "speaking" power of the gun: "My M1 does my talking. Are you careful what you say or write?" [figure 10] which shows a combat soldier holding his rifle. A comparable armed woman uses a spray gun against pests in her victory garden [figure 11]. Women factory workers are depicted as unarmed: "Soldiers without guns" [figure 12].

practical, virile soldier, so that the violation of the pierced helmet is disconcerting. The pen proves in this instance to be mightier than the sword. The incident might have arisen from the seemingly innocent transmission of data in a letter which, if it were to fall into enemy hands, means the enemy's military advantage, but the circumstances are as elliptical as the "loose lips might sink ships" poster. How exactly a letter falls into enemy hands is left vague. Is the mail abducted? But beyond such unrepresentable wartime narratives, other currencies of wartime discourse are at work. If both helmet and pen signify to some degree the phallus, the phallic pen overpowers the phallic helmet. The crucial task of the reader of the poster is to not let these vying masculinities harm each other -- or for the woman not to assume the phallus any more than she has to. If in particular we think of the dangerous writer as a woman (and she is in the previous poster), for it is women who in cultural lore have the most difficulty keeping information to themselves -- the image and text suggest that the letter writer, in passing on harmful information, may do damage to the proper significations of symbols as well; she breaks boundaries in misappropriating her own knowledge and translating this knowledge across boundaries or borders -- literally overseas, but figuratively from domestic into the body politic, for the soldier no longer belongs to any private

community.

Rather than a call to be self-conscious, which "watch what you write" might denote, the poster shows how thin the line is between patriot and enemy, urging instead a mechanical adoption of the careful. Unlike Marianne Moore's poem "In Distrust of Merits" (1944) which celebrates and deepens the argument with the self in wartime, this poster calls for self-silencing. "There never was a war that was/ not inward; I must/ fight till I have conquered in myself what/ causes war...", Moore writes. The images and adamant language of this poster together urge compartmentalization, the limiting of knowledge, and the sense of the self as self-limiting, as if interpersonal and intercommunicative practices are not crucial aspects of human behavior.

Like the other posters in this series, the underlying possibility is alluded to that the enemy is found not only in the zones of war but in the zone of the interior. But the order to "stop all loose talk to strangers" is more difficult than it appears, as a social fabric changed by the exigencies of mobilization, population movements and housing shortages, rationing, fear and war fever made relating to strangers an opportunity if not a requirement. This includes sexual relations. A new community was being forged in the crucible of the home front, as national identity could knit together a new imaginary. To "stop all loose talk to strangers" promotes an insularity and resistance to

change which must have vied with other attitudes. Instead, the shared practice of posters was seen as a proper civic gesture. "Posting of official government posters is one of the most valuable contributions which citizens can make to the war effort," announced the Poster Handbook: A Plan for Displaying Official War Posters (1). This community is to be formed around the concepts of restriction, surveillance, and centralized advice.

5. Silence means virtue.

How much talk was to be allowed in wartime, that is, what was to be encouraged, downplayed, or outright silenced, not only among combatants in zones of war, but among non-combatants in the zone of the interior, proved to be a thorny matter.³⁰ Even as acceptable news and information could pass more quickly with the advances in technology, telegraph, telephone, electronic transmissions, used

³⁰ Writers and designers working for the OWI who had entered service committed to presenting larger issues of freedom, democracy, and anti-fascism saw war work as a continuation of the social programs of the late 1930s; their texts and graphics highlighted loss of freedoms due to Nazi aggression and occupation, seen, for example in artist Ben Shahn's attack on repressed speech in France: "We French Workers Warn You..." [their mouths are gagged], and "This is Nazi Brutality" [people's heads are covered with sacks] (1942, Rhodes 170, 171). Free Speech. Others stressed the promise of American democracy, including images of blacks in posters, and they were willing to note America's weaknesses as well as its strengths. This "strategy of truth" was met with a "conservative effort to dismantle the liberal framework Roosevelt had created" (66), and propaganda work was keyed to more "pointed campaign[s]," to "reflect only the more benign side of the war" (Winkler 150, 64).

extensively by radio networks and press corps, gossip and rumors seem not to have diminished.³¹ But such unofficial stories and quasi-news seemed to circumvent the centralized and often official forms of story-telling, history, myth-making, narration, or news. The population seemed quite self-conscious of the extent of its idle talk; one writer recalled the gist of conversations on troop transports: it was "mostly rumors and sex or rumors about sex" (Kotlowitz 58).

Numerous references in histories of the period, as well as in contemporary articles and memoirs suggest unofficial, spurious talk's mushrooming quality. Indeed, Washington D.C. was a "rumor factory" (Brinkley 92). In this sense, gossip is an effort to reconstruct a feasible picture of events in the absence of official information. By its very definition, conversation of "personal, sensational or intimate matter," gossip suggests permanent instability, not only in terms of content but in transmission as well. We also read a lack of trust in official channels, as miscellaneous information and bits of talk are used to piece together a meaningful whole. Gossip might have additionally offered a means to face the chaos of war. As Paul Fussell

³¹Censorship included a curtailment of spontaneous radio programs: shows with open microphones such as call-ins, quiz shows, forums and interviews were on the unacceptable list. Weather reports were deemed military material which could not be broadcast. See Wartime Censorship of Press and Radio, comp. Robert E. Summers, for a thorough look at censorship issues and dissenting opinions.

writes, "In the prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty for all and mortal danger for some, rumor sustains hopes and suggests magical outcomes" (36). Moreover, rumors can help explain away 'our side's' failures, by blaming problems and mishaps on outlandish incidents or sinister plots (38-9).³² Certainly modernism has spoken to an undermining of, and the instability of such wholeness; to the extent that cynicism, or critical political distance trained people not to expect consistency or meaning from their government, gossip embodies this disengagement.

In an internal September 1942 report by the OWI's Bureau of Intelligence, "Wartime Rumors in Two Eastern Cities," interviewers counted 1283 rumors fielded by 172 people interviewed, or 456 different rumors. The report surmises that "rumors are found in greatest number among the relatively well-informed people," spread more frequently by people who have "greater public contact," so that, for example, housewives spread far less rumors than employed women (9). By explanation, the report surmised that "information is partly a function of interest," so the well-informed have more interest in the war. "Without interest, rumors perish" (10). Others held to rumors based on

³²There was also a need for escapism in stories of sex and violence, complementing the "most extensive reports of warfare in history" (Byron Price writes that "murder stories and sex crimes" were popular in US in 1942, as were comics, astrology and features for teens in Goodman, "The Maze of Censorship" 345, 358.)

receptive prejudices, such as a secretary in Portland, Maine who believed "white girls are pregnant by Negroes," and that "defense workers are causing many pregnancies" (10).³³

Thus warnings against loose lips are engendered by a complex social phenomenon in which relations of power are not stable, even as centralized power was growing stronger. In this respect, it would be wrong to insist that all gossip is potentially subversive. The motives for loose conversations, as the OWI study illustrates, varied. Some rumors were based on a fear that the status quo was changing. That black maids in the South were joining "Eleanor clubs," groups fashioned in the anti-segregationist spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt, was, to illustrate, a much-traveled rumor which gave shape to whites' dismay about the prospects of black women banding together (Goodwin 370-1³⁴). Based on the very real possibility that black maids garnered emotional support from the President's outspoken wife, this paranoid story shook some white householders' commitment to wartime society if it meant changes in racial codes.

Nor is the source of gossip and rumors always the 'common' person outside the rooms of power. Rumors have

³³The OWI report's appendix lists the 456 different rumors, and their frequency of repetition. Among anti-British rumors: "The British stop to drink tea in the middle of the battle," which was repeated 2-4 times (i).

³⁴ See also Lingeman 165, Kennett 198.

been circulated at times from the very centers of power, meant to misdirect or misinform. The Allies' leaking of a rumored invasion point for D-Day is perhaps the most famous "controlled rumor." British propaganda was prodigious in its dissemination of misinformation and black lies, spreading sexual tales about Nazi leaders and Quislings, even penetrating German radio broadcasts to twist news stories when possible, pointedly aimed at confusing German listeners as to their leaders' veracity and morality.³⁵ In the killing camps, the German commanders purposefully spread rumors -- of Allied defeats, of possible moves to better quarters and improved rations and so on, so that all information became suspect and destabilized, so that no logical chain of events seemed to prevail. Among its own people, German rulers spread horrific tales of Russian atrocities, and while the people themselves may have been eager to take up such stories, they served to make the prospect of defeat even more fearful and terrifying, as well as to reproduce the feeling of victimization among the perpetrators of the war, which might (and did) outlast the defeat itself.

In spite of his close attention to rumors as a significant discourse of war, Fussell's failure to recognize

³⁵Such "black lies" continued under Soviet rule. See the fascinating "In Mendacio Veritas" by Istvan Rev, exploring lies including sexual slander of dissidents in Hungary.

gender as a significant discursive and political category, while not surprising, is disappointing.³⁶ "The American Women's Army Corp was a natural breeding ground for interesting narrative," he writes (my emphasis 41), employing a sexual pun while pointing to the inanity of such rumors; his example of is naked women parading in front of male officers in order to be admitted to the WACs. Men's rumors, or rumors about men, seem to diverge, claiming a sexual prowess or disputing its restrictions. In training camps, for example, G.I.s lamented the addition of saltpetre to their food (39). Their sexual desires deserves unencumbered satisfaction, except that they are curtailed by a bureaucratic, yet oddly benign paternal military hierarchy. But the "subject" of male sexual gossip maintains his subjectivity. His ambivalence is that of a willful subject. Or he is victimized by a cruel woman (as the stories of unfaithful wives circulated among troops overseas) in a way which threatens, and then refuels, his very being as a self-confident and determined soldier. Take for example the rumor that Glenn Miller met his demise in a brothel, which Fussell retells. Miller's death in a plane crash over Europe in December 1994 was transposed into a

³⁶ In her discussion of Fussell's The Great War and Modern Memory, Clare Tylee observes that in Fussell's estimate, "women were prohibited from direct participation in their national culture" in World War I, so much that "for an understanding of 'modern understanding' we remain dependent on men" (8). Such an 'understanding' seems to persist in his work on WWII.

more dramatic (and sexualized) deadly fight in a French brothel (41). In this story, anonymous maidens have performed in a scenario where masculinity is heightened even if, as in this case, it has a sad outcome. The narrative is not really slanderous as much as hint of inevitable excess--or death in the setting of unvirtuous, hungry women, yet Miller's virtue is not compromised.

In this context, fictional narratives of defiance of authority or misappropriation of materials are recurrently regarded as creative endeavors and signs of responsibility towards one's unit. Considering an instance from The Naked and the Dead, we see this kind of deviance-as-duty. Under General Cummings' orders, after having been turned down by the liberty ship's provisions' officer Kerrigan, Hearn employs subterfuge to collect supplies for the officers in his unit. Kerrigan, attempting to stop him, ends up "stranded foolishly in the middle of the [ship's] net" (243), while Hearn triumphantly motors off with the supplies. Likewise, the shame attached to receiving a "Dear John" letter, and thus being dumped by girlfriend or wife, is transformed into an instrument of agency, in James Jones's The Thin Red Line as well as in The Naked and the Dead. Anger against women, even as it demands sublimation and redirected fury toward the enemy, further 'creates' the soldier. Chester Himes's character Jones's shame at having to compete with a lesbian for his light-skinned, upper class

girlfriend's affections fuels his complex masculinity and his sense of resistance to racism which helps inform his action in If He Hollers Let Him Go.

The play of sexuality offers a wide range of meanings. The tales of procreation, sexual hunger, miscommunication and even treachery serve both as metaphor for war experiences and as countervailing tales, in particular as procreation stories. In addition, such narratives can be funny, and disrespectful enough of authority that they serve to democratize or deconstruct it. But for women, sexualized rumors often have disparate implications. Rumors involving WACs, for example, show a less benign anxiety about overly sexualized women, who are at times voracious, promiscuous gals, if not perverted lesbians (the displacement between man-hungry and man-hating seems not to have bothered these story-fabricators. But then, logic is precisely not an issue). Rooted in historical constructions of women's behavior but nevertheless still viable in the 1940s, "female virtue," Glenna Matthews points out, "and female innocence" stand as "metaphors for the national virtue" (76). Women's behavior becomes oddly more meaningful, that is, more open to interpretation, and therefore more subject to surveillance and containment, a point I will return to shortly.

Shame for men in a wartime context is associated most particularly with failure to perform patriotically, and in

particular arises from cowardice on the battlefield, or botching one's commitment to brotherhood in one's military unit. Because women have little accepted public presence except as sexualized, this characterization is de rigueur, and shame so constant that it is nearly not an issue (until they usurp male agency and cross over to enemy behavior). Narratives recur for example about women resistance fighters who escape the clutches of the Nazis by slipping out of their jail cells naked (in Rossiter, in Marge Piercy's Gone to Soldiers).³⁷ For the woman author, this unclothed passage may indicate a character's rebirth, out of the rapacious clutches of the enemy, out of sexual degradation into a new self. But the "sister" narratives, such as the WAC parade of naked women, are born of the image of the woman sexually bared for service (forced at times) to individual men rather, or as collective fodder for men's narratives, rather than for service to the nation. The British cartoon figure Jane "bares all" at one point for patriotism (Costello 154-5). Pin-ups as well carry on this un-dressed narrative. Images of naked or semi-dressed in this case seems instrumental and logocentric, serving as "icons of male obligation" in Robert Westbrook's extensive look at pin-ups (589). For men, the "state is conceived as

³⁷Rossiter gives the account of Marie Madeleine caught by the Gestapo who escaped by "holding her dress in her teeth" as she squeezed through the bars of her cell. Madeleine then became "one of the most famous leaders in the resistance" (192, 310).

'an instrument which serves individual men (or families) but not or not necessarily as an instrument wielded by these men themselves'" (Walzer in Westbrook 591).

American limitations on private and political conversations differ dramatically from those in Germany, which required a far greater submission to the idea of the state (the Volk and the race). Clearly, a nation under siege claims more drastic rights to limit and restrain its population. But in Germany gossip and idle talk were often intimately linked with racial/sexual slander, with the aim of separating the unwanted and degenerate from the pure Volk.³⁸ Even in coming to power in 1933, the Nazi forces relied on a keenly tuned, snooping citizenry with an ear for anything that sounded anti-government or anti-Hitler. While this attention was aimed at true political resistance, it was so sweeping that it took in jokes and grumbling which registered discontent, so that the entire nation was conscious of mis-speaking. Such confusing of articulated political dissent with a vast range of spontaneous cynical speech and economic complaints purposefully obscured and undermined opposition voices, and resulted in the creation of a more drastically 'cleansed' conversation and behavior which seeped quite easily into private lives.

³⁸See Claudia Koonz's discussion of cartoons and jokes in Nazi Germany, "Beauty and the Beast, the Aesthetics of Nazi Bio-Politics." In Culturefront, Winter/Spring 1994. 97-99.

Undeniably the penalties were severe for unacceptable talk. One example furnished by Claudia Koonz is that of a woman who is sentenced to jail for ten months of hard labor because she "grumbled to her grocer, 'Hitler hasn't made anything better'" (Mothers in the Fatherland 313). Whether one maligned the highly abstracted idea of the state, or its patriarchal manifestation found in Hitler, one risked dire punishment. Koonz stresses the role that individual snoopers, busybodies and self-righteous citizens played in registering such deviant speech. The reach of the police apparatus could never have stretched so far into people's lives without their aid.

Such vigilant listening was not a characteristic of American society during the war. While more authoritarian structures of control were accumulating simultaneously with democratic practices, it is important to register that sharp political differences were permitted to be aired. Some posters such as the "Office Workers War Creed" urged office workers to promise to "refrain from becoming an amateur military strategist during office hours," conceivably to keep them at their desks rather than gathering to gab, but implying a desire to limit military talk among civilians (Tom Hall, 1943; in Miscellaneous Man No. 1116). Yet one could make Roosevelt and other politicians the brunt of jokes without fear of penalty to teller or listener. Open political disputes, continued to flare long after the

contention between isolationists and interventionists was settled by Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt's presidential campaign; diverse criticism of his policies by African Americans, business interests, or those who felt the government was growing too centralized in its war production; not to mention Eleanor Roosevelt's at times sharp disagreements with the President in My Day, in her weekly column -- all these suggest political disagreements of substance were held not only in small communities but on national levels as well.

Thus the security posters registered many facets of the American scene, and to say that they are anti-democratic is hardly so simple. Wartime demanded a different kind of centralizing power, where individual responsibility was both evoked and belittled. Yet, one sees that in this context, and directly connected to the previous point, idle talk or gossip steals authority away from the central "speaker"/central voice. Because it asserts the ability of private voice to be worthy in the public, it disrupts the already loosened bonds between public and private, and further loosens control of the state in determining and initiating acceptable talk.

But a closer consideration of the democratic practices reveals that they can co-exist with an authoritarian drift. The poster serves to encourage this paradoxical reliance on the centralized authority at the same time that it

encourages a sense of one's individual will and choice. This process is neither uniform nor seamless. As Roeder shows in The Censored War, "diffused authority, conflicting interests, and the sheer volume of images doomed attempts to achieve coherence through centralized authority. An imperfect coherence was achieved, nonetheless, because these images presented the world through the lens of war" (83). In this vein of "imperfect coherence" were posters which urged individuals to report suspicious people to the authorities, even as others called on citizens to think and speak out.³⁹ A further paradox that arises in examining power is that controlled speaking is aimed at giving the individual a sense of having a whole, evolving information/narrative which empowers the individual, in spite of the state's organizing control. Marie-Helene Huet makes a similar point concerning the spectacle in the "revolutionary public sphere [which] is unique in the form surveillance takes: repression occurs by means of the spectacle" (Landes' words 166). We might think of the poster, like the war parade and war bond rallies, as part of the visual spectacle

³⁹ The Think American series included "Divide and conquer is the Axis game"; "These Japanese women slave 14, 16, 18 hours a day...dare we slow up one day?"; "To all who use libraries, this is our war"; "One of the first acts of the Japanese army in the Philippines was to destroy an American library"; "Ideas will help beat the [Axis] promise." National Archives Still Pictures posters collection. A poster that combines both needs, for example, is the image of a parrot: "Free Speech Doesn't Mean Careless Talk" [figure 13].

of war on the home front, which serves both to mobilize and to contain behavior, and make scrutiny of public behavior more acceptable.

Foucault argues that delinquency has a "political use" in modernity: "controlled illegality is an agent for the illegality of the dominant groups." Surveillance serves to promote the "power or normalization," and likewise, I might add, the power of moralization by containing the abnormal/immoral (D & P 280-1). In this sense, there is really no "outside" of society, for society contains and controls all behavior. But the Foucauldian sense of total power, as I have argued before, fails to see the real conflict between images of loose and contained woman, between vocal and silenced. The conflict lies not in the fact that the loose woman shouldn't exist, but that her existence is required. To an extent, as Ruth Rosen writes about the prostitute in American,

the singling out of a caste of degraded women served as an object lesson and a threat to other women. The specter of the whore was always before them as a reminder of what they might become or how they might be treated if they failed to live up to the angel image or lived outside of male protection. (6)

Nevertheless, this loose woman undermines the existing codes of behavior, as she reflects and speaks to a real and developing tendency. We should not forget that "public women" denoted prostitutes until women from all classes could move with some freedom in the public sphere. Women by

the 1940s did live in some ways outside of male protection, even as they lived within the context of vast militarization; from changing mores about sex education, to Victory girls, to sexual independence, "sexual mores were generally looser" (Campbell 208), constituting complex and varied practices in American life. These cannot be attributed solely to control and cited as increased docility, just as they cannot be seen as victimization, in spite of the limitations imposed upon women at the end of the war.

Intimately linked to these practices and symbols, the poster campaign raises the question of women's relationship to nationalism. If a woman in wartime is aware that her "small bit" fits into a larger whole, she is aware that she must silence it, and thus she is conscious of her own link to the whole. The poster to this extent relies on the citizen seeing herself in such a submissive/accepting part, subordinating her desire to hold on to her fragmentary relationship, and replacing it with a belonging to the national whole, as a man is expected to. If it is not our government, it is the enemy who can make of her words an integral aspect of an informed whole, a little like the equally strong powers of God and Satan, one good, one evil. Nationalism itself becomes the primary organizing principle. As one poster, showing a hand wearing a swastika ring, putting a piece of a puzzle which is the map of Europe

together, warns "Bits of careless talk are pieced together by the enemy." Superimposed over this map is the valued information: "Convoy sails for England tonight" (Rhodes 172). Possession of such "bits" of information gives one an important function as a citizen. In this sense, the potential for gossip is a recognition not of one's smallness, but of one's integrity, and helps constitute one's meaning; it is part of the construction of a narrative of the self which is a self integrally linked to the national whole. Posters sought to solidify the woman's tentative sense of citizenship, at the same time that they raised the specter of her otherness.

Even as some propaganda and Hollywood films highlighted the mix of ethnicities (at times including Blacks in the American panorama), and lauded the cooperation of different communities as components of American individualism, a collective, uniform public is nevertheless the shape the citizenry ultimately assumes, containing the difference. An individual in this mold bears his/her sacrifice and anonymity without having to speak. As Margaret Mead reminded the American people in a discussion of "The Women in the War" in While You Were Gone, "during the war some 200 million people became anonymous overnight....[they] became part of a sea of soldiers and workers" (276). Josephine von Miklos's silent collective ritual at the Hoboken factory flag pole when she has been admitted into the circle of

"men" workers when asked to take off her hard hat, as the men do, is a meaningful moment of national conformity in which she thankfully becomes "for once not a woman in the yard." This is the silent ritual of the ideal citizen. In contrast to this uniformity, the only other audaciously vocal speakers in U.S. wartime posters in addition to those with "loose lips" are the Axis leaders themselves, made into vicious, ranting aliens. When their mouths are not set in sadistic, Satanic determination, Mussolini, Tojo, and Hitler are in numerous posters shown with widely open, screaming mouths. Venom, hatred, and a demand for uncontested obedience spill from them. Their one singular crime is that they have silenced their citizens. At other times, animalistic teeth protrude; at still other times, the mouth becomes the open, startled mouth of the corpse. There is no doubt that the enemy is made to look evil and threatening, but the open mouth is notable. Beyond the mouth is the dark, unknown space which is not that different from fearful depictions of female sexuality. That this abyss also represents a kind of deracination, signifying loss of American identity, illuminates the intimate bond between sexuality and nationalism.

Gossip, writes Patricia Meyers Spacks, "is talk based on personal rather than public values" (19). "Women's gossip seems dangerous," she points out, "not only because it belongs to women but because it belongs to the

unpredictable realm of talk, talk made more unpredictable by taking place in domestic rather than public settings"; such misconduct is not only socially disruptive, but sexually alarming (155-6). In this sense, the gossip of "idle talk" points to the inadequacy of personal values in a total mobilization, and this characterization seems to recreate the gendered borders of public and private discourse. And of course, gossip is more obviously gendered, illustrating the "aggressive impulses" which women dangerously possess (54). "The tongue as whore emphasizes speech's possibilities of corruption," and highlights woman's forbidden usurpation of a penis in its forceful use of the tongue (123). Here the virtuous woman's silence is overridden by her passionate, unconstrained desire to speak and have effect. Ultimately, however, we see that the borders of discourse are not so stable. What seems "personal" is highly public/political information: passing on news from a serviceman's letter -- someone's discontent with his unit, an overbearing officer; passing on news about troop movement; discontent with a boss, problems at work with equipment, or an accident -- these matters can allow the 'enemy' listener to make of this information anything from stories of low morale to significant military details. The proximity between the intimately personal and the militarized social has not been grasped by this careless speaker.

Hence, the characterization of gossip as solely personal does not work well in the highly politicized nature of war mobilization, unless we see the personal is composed of invasive or disruptive concerns requiring a presence in the political arena, when it has usually been excluded. Women's voices, normally "outside the register of speech," (Landes 157) come to have more significance than usual, in part because women themselves have a presence in the public sphere. But they are to behave as men, while maintaining the visual and virtuous senses of the "feminine." Their refusal to give up "idle chatter" might be looked at as a refusal to give up talking as women. While I want to reiterate that the posters did impart often-needed behavior about national security, they also address, symbolically, the transformation of women into public life. We might liken this period of collective mobilization and political drama to the heady days of the French Revolution, when "'disorderly viragos' appeared as a revolutionary army," until they were reined in and silenced by the increasingly controlling Convention (Landes 160). World War II's term "duration" suggests the suspended time of war; clocks were set to "war time" in early 1942, just as many pre-war codes of behavior were broken. Women were not so "off stage to the central drama of political life," although the extent of their involvement has been argued over. Margaret Mead, for example, sees "little disruptions" in women's lives,

suggesting that women really should focus on the need to soothe their soldier men when they returned from war. In contrast, emphasizing the importance of women's contributions, Margaret Banning recognizes the war as a dividing line for women, even while defensive about some women's sentimentality and gullibility (7), "This country has women in it who still prefer domination to independence," she notes, and she scathingly criticizes those who blamed "some of the collapses of other nations...on women"(8). She assures her readers that "the philosophy of women's progress goes along with democracy," (9) and it is on this basis that women's democratic spirit and independence should be mobilized for the war effort (12). Dorothy Thompson, herself expelled from Germany in 1934 for her outspoken criticism of Hitler and Germany's anti-Semitic campaign, wrote to wartime audiences of America that "War has its terrible, scaring joy....of knowing that there is in oneself and in one's people more than was ever dreamed: great unreleased energies; a new kind of laughter, open throated, vigorous, coming from the very bowels'" (qtd. in For the Duration 183)⁴⁰. Women's involvement in the national project was visceral, to be an "open throated" physical participation of a new type.

⁴⁰See Dorothy Thompson, A Legend in Her Time, Marion K. Sanders, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973, 197-9; Women of the World, the Great Foreign Correspondents, Julia Edwards, NY, Ivy Books, 1988, 92.

6. Conclusion: uneasy desires

Internationally, in war's murderous upheaval and devastation, women were as much on stage as men, even if not literally combatants. In the U.S., while conditions were certainly never so drastic, many women wanted to act in this great event as much as men did. Yet the means of their involvement could certainly differ, bringing into the public arena issues of affectivity and personal concern in ways that had historically been eclipsed in the fraternal state. This sort of difference is what Iris Marion Young points to as a challenge to the "ideal of universal citizenship."

The ideal of the public realm of citizenship as expressing a general will, a point of view and interest that citizens have in common which transcends their differences, has operated in fact as a demand for homogeneity among citizens....[T]he modern state and its public realm of citizenship paraded as universal values and norms which were derived from specifically masculine experience: militarist norms of honor and homoerotic camaraderie;...discourse framed in unemotional tones of dispassionate reason" ("Polity and Group Difference" 119, 120).

That homogeneity which conflicts with dispassionate reason, which Young has elsewhere described as women's caretaking position over "affectivity, desire and the body," falls victim as gossip and idle chatter. Such practices "threaten to invade the polity with differentiation" ("Impartiality and the Civic Public" 66, 67). This is a political matter, not a matter, for example, of bringing the desire to consume, or to feel sentimental, into the public sphere --

but an assertion that heterogenous discourses can co-exist, and are not to be solely determined by a normative and singular instrumental reason.

"Words," Patricia Meyers Spacks writes, "make communities." Unlike writing, she argues, "the more fluid permanence of oral tradition may possess equal or greater power: remaking history in talk." This subversive aspect for Spacks bespeaks of a "transformative gossip, interpreting a community to itself" (230-1) -- which we see is threatening if not dangerous when a community is not expected to name and define itself. In the absence of a national discourse which articulates and promotes a critical citizenship, where an increase in flag sales (For the Duration 188) substitutes for political conversation, and in period of hypermasculinization, women's difference is essentially blamed in the careless transmission of valuable data. This blame is always containing (both meanings here -- bearing and limiting) the threat to make women real and embodied, rather than to make women ideal images generally holding to virtuous silence, in the public sphere. Not only does silence mean security, it means virtue as well.

And who is the speaking woman? When Dorothy Parker writes in "Soldiers of the Republic" that the Swedish nurses have "seen too much to be kicked into silence," she suggests that speech comes from experience. It is as well tied to the nurses' vision -- their comprehension or grasp. But if

women were gaining this experience during wartime, the symbols of female behavior urged them to keep it under their hats. There was, in addition, genuine reluctance to deal in national terms, as I have noted earlier in this chapter and in my discussion of nationalism and film. The contradictory attitudes co-existed, on the one hand general reluctance to throw themselves into the symbols and discourses of the war, which made agencies of the state fear that the people's morale was low, on the other an enthusiasm that needed political containment and at times silencing. Katherine Archibald found in most respects the narrower side of this paradox in her experience working in a shipyard: a "shipyard nationalism" was not informed by much "war talk...to be noted in the workers' common talk" (186, 189). The mix of issues is quite evident; the prominence of economic aspects of the war served as the rallying point (188), and moreover, a significant number whose values were genuinely undemocratic, in Archibald's experience. "Idealism, whether real or specious, was not considered by the average shipyard worker to be worthy of regard or enthusiasm" (136)⁴¹ Furthermore, the "citizenship of women continued to be conditional" (39), stemming from how they saw themselves as

⁴¹This sense of nationalism is described differently in different situations. The news of Pearl Harbor "fused Americans into a people joined, in those first hours by the understanding that their world had changed" (Beth Bailey and David Farber 15) See my discussion of idealism in Chapter 4.

much as from the restrictions they faced.

A tentative citizenship of women is as easily maligned as it is extolled, because this public status is the position from which a woman can descend into sabotage, just as Eve's independence led her to commune with the snake. Her inappropriate speech, and her isolation, gave way to her unruly appetite. More generally a woman's voice, we have seen, was perhaps heightened by a sense of sexuality; an awareness of strength, it is also the site of woman's vulnerability. Mary Beth Norton has argued that "sexual behavior [is] virtually the only area of conduct in which [a woman] can be held personally responsible" (in Matthews 23), a damning and powerful insight about the narrow range of acceptable practices for women. Thus, the overly-sexualized woman, or the woman who is criticized for her sexuality, becomes a woman who is doubly irresponsible, because it is the one area which is "readable," yet expected to be consciously contained.

In the final analysis, Maureen Honey notes, the war failed "to alter traditional roles about female capabilities." This "was in part due to propaganda strategies for unifying the home front and to a top-down impetus for social change that left the new images vulnerable to annihilation" (17). The silence expected of women about their war jobs (193) left them unable to create a space of public discourse about themselves as working

women. Instead, discourse focused on bobby pins and make up--and while these, I have argued, have an important symbolic aspect as markers of female agency, that other political aspect of themselves as valuable women, and as citizens, is slighted.

Elizabeth Hawes reminds us in Why Women Cry, or Wenchies with Wrenches, her smart and amusing memoir of wartime factory work, that women' citizenship was unjustly tentative. Women cry -- both sign of their alienation and sense of powerlessness and of their affectivity, in Young's terms -- because they are excluded from the public arena.⁴²

One reason women cry is because they aren't women at all. They are wenchies.....there is a category of people, often mentioned by the United States Employment Service and the War Manpower Commission, known as "Women, Negroes, and National Minority Groups." These people have seldom had a break as far as being able to get good jobs goes. Adults may well weep until this situation is corrected.

One result of this process which will turn wenchies into women will be to help turn that whole category "Women, Negroes, and National Minority Groups" into American citizens. (49-50)

In addition, Hawes argues boldly that sex is not the issue, as she defends women active in war work as well as WACs against the malevolent rumors which circulate about them,

⁴²Nancy Huston argues that the narrative sequence of war and the "struggle for exclusive occupation in the field of discourse is as vital as the struggle for exclusive occupation in the field of battle" in "Tales of War and Tears of Women," in Women and Men's Wars, ed. Judith Stiehm (Oxford 1983) 279-80.

insisting that human sexuality is an aspect of life which adults engage in from time to time. Hawes focuses on allowing a woman to be a full citizen, enjoying in the near-future the "right to be socially productive in addition to child bearing and to work outside her home and to be economically independent if she wishes" (36). Loose and loose lips as maligned collapse in the category of dependency. Independences, economic as well as sexual, are the affirmative aspects of the metaphor of looseness.

"'You have a whole new life,'" the frustrated wife tells her army flier husband when he comes home for a brief leave and gives her little attention, including little sexual attention in Dorothy Parker's "The Lovely Leave." "'-I have half an old one...I can't get used to feeling so completely left out'" (123). She has been left behind by this new energetic, fraternal bond of men in the military. "When a man rises to a new situation, he may have a revised conception of what manner of man he is....The new self is an enlarged and exalted self" (Faris 126). Mimi, the wife in Parker's story, bought herself a new black dress for her husband's leave; now finding him with this "enlarged and exalted self" in its homoerotic community of men which excludes her, she realizes she must find new ground for herself, entering into the redressed national discourse of war. The poster campaigns recognized this new national discourse -- on the one hand sought to encourage it, but at

the same time presented it in the metaphors of containment and restriction -- to the vocal and sexually independent woman who herself was filled with "uneasy desire" (Schweik 98).

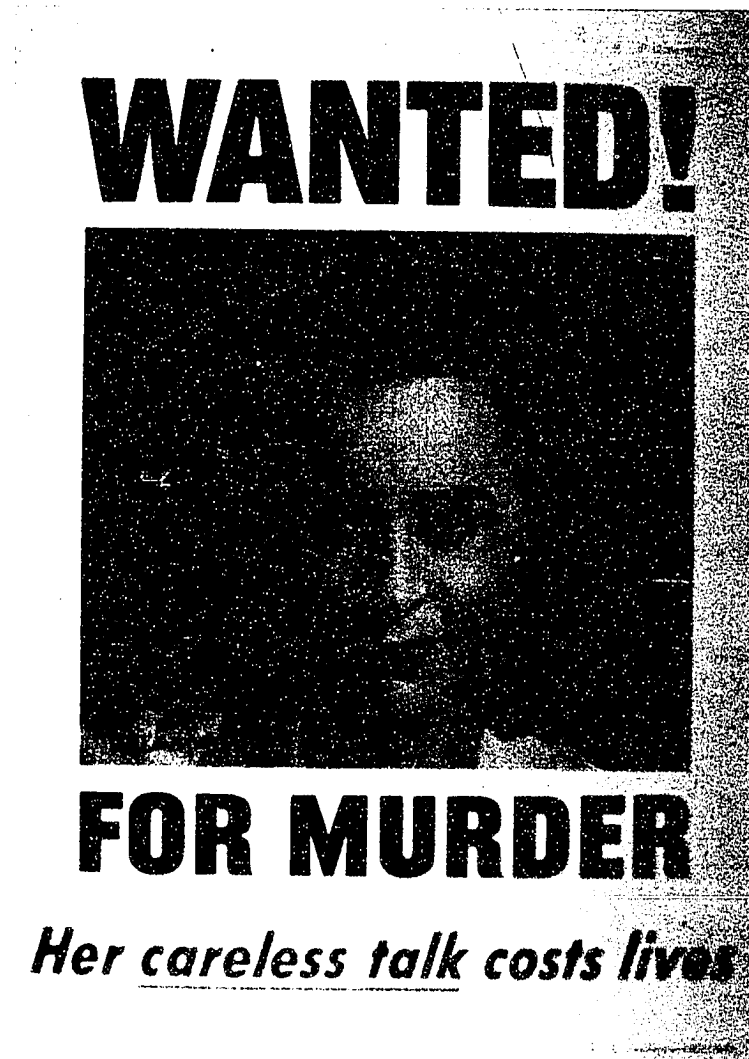


Figure 3 "WANTED! FOR MURDER.
Her careless talk costs lives."



Figure 4 "ALLURE OR A LURE? Always be careful! It's safer. Don't talk about Military Affairs."



Figure 5 "Saboteuse (Venereal Carrier)"



Figure 6 "SILENCE MEANS SECURITY"



Figure 7 "TELL HER YOU LOVE HER. THAT'S ALL SHE NEEDS TO KNOW! Keep your eyes open and your mouth shut!"



Figure 8 "BE CAREFUL WHAT YOU SAY or write!
Please don't gamble with your LIFE!"

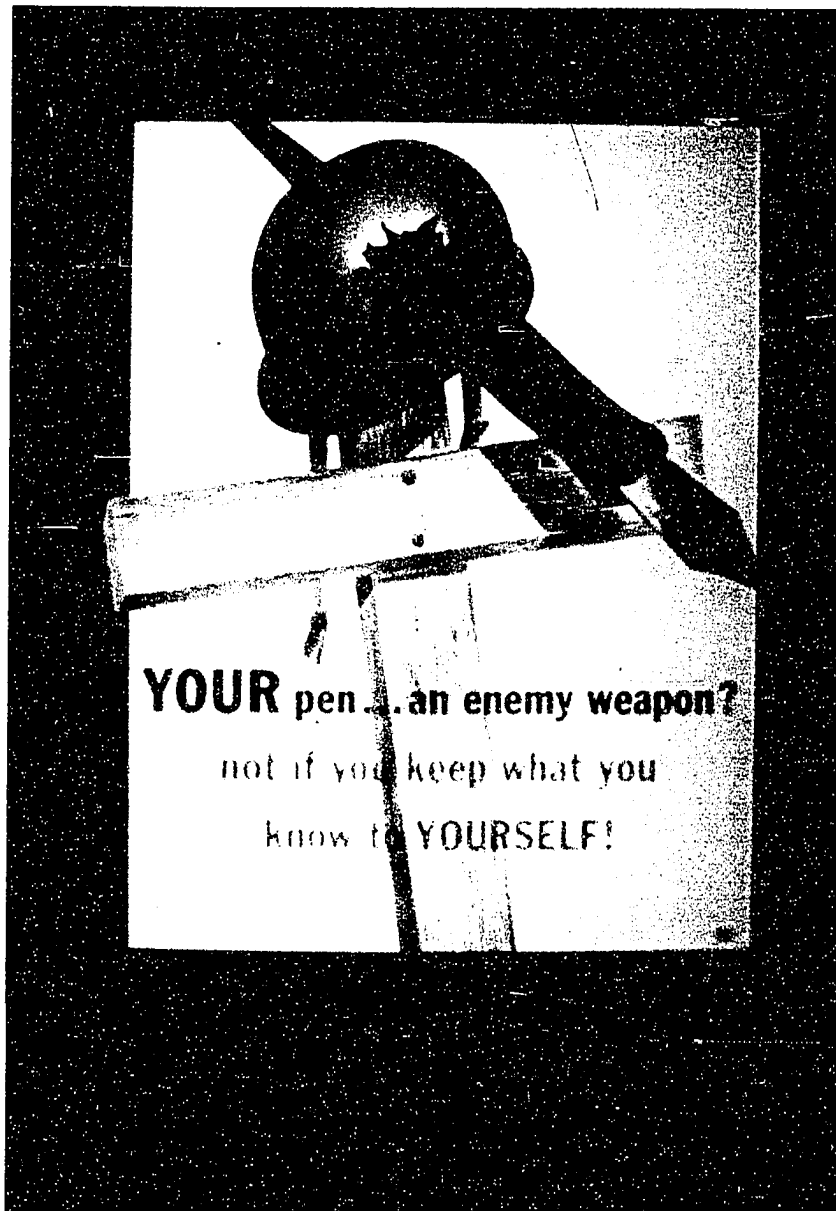


Figure 9 "YOUR pen...an enemy weapon?
Not if you keep what you know to yourself!"



Figure 10 "The M-1 does MY talking! Are you CAREFUL what YOU say or write?"



Figure 11 "SHOOT TO KILL! PROTECT YOUR VICTORY GARDEN"



Figure 12 "SOLDIERS without guns"



Figure 13 "FREE SPEECH doesn't mean
Careless TALK!"

Chapter 8

Loving Occupiers: Fraternization, Nationalities
and Post-War Fiction --
Gertrude Stein, William Gardner Smith and Kay Boyle

1. Fraternizing

Fraternization is simply a matter of sex.
An American with a German woman is with her
because she is a woman, not because she is
German....There is certainly no evidence that the
deep, instinctive nationalism of the American
soldier has been whittled down an inch, or that
his social and political beliefs have moved a
notch since he started going out with the
"furlines." --

--"GIs Between the Sheets," Julian Bach
Jr., America's Germany, An Account of the
Occupation 1946 (71)

The American boys liked the German
girls...because they looked so healthy and
clean."

-- Margaret Bourke-White, Sleep Quietly,
Dear Fatherland (146)

"'Are you occupied territory?'" asks an American G.I.
of a German woman in a bar, in William Gardner Smith's novel
of the American occupation, Last of the Conquerors (146).
That a woman can be deemed a location goes as far back as
the book of Isaiah: "And the daughter of Zion is left as a
cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,
as a besieged city" (I:8). Certainly, the "symbolic
figuration" of women as the nation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis
9) is at work in many ways in the modern period. With the
defeat of Germany, German women became booty, both symbolic
and literal; they became sites to "occupy" and to plunder.

So when General Patton told Margaret Bourke White that "we own the world up to here," as he pointed to a map's divide between Russian and U.S. forces (31), he was explicit in his claim to possessiveness about territory born of American victories. Implied as well is the sense that the women of the occupied regions are also to be owned. Military psychologists knew full well that women were considered part of the loot of war (Stouffer). This fusing of woman as territory -- to be "occupied" -- brings together issues of sexuality and nationalism in a particularly sharp way, as the Allies took control of a crushed Germany. Just as post-war politics found a manifestation in particular images of women, occupation is a moment in which we can see that for American culture the seemingly easy transition from a wartime woman into the docile, domestic but sexualized woman of the 1950s is not so seamless.

As Carole Pateman has shown, "to explore the subjection of women is to explore the fraternity of men," and I take her quite literally in this chapter. By exploring discourses of occupation and fraternization,¹ this chapter addresses gender and nationality in the American imagination in this immediate, intimate aftermath of the war, in the

¹ Julianne Burton in "Don (Juanito) Duck and the Imperial-Patriarchal Unconscious: Disney Studios, the Good Neighbor Policy, and the Packaging of and Latin America" examines "how a dominant culture constructs its subordinates" (23). This phrase helped clarify my own inquiry into American nationalism. In Nationalism and Sexualities, ed. Andrew Parker et al., Routledge 1992.

interests of exploring how a dominant culture reaffirms and reimagines its own dominance. Nationality has dual meanings, both of which I invoke, avoiding, I hope, the twin problems of separating them or collapsing their meanings: both as citizenship and ethnicity (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 3). I sift through contemporary accounts, and read works of fiction which illuminate and counter this shift toward domination. In the fiction of Gertrude Stein, Kay Boyle and William Gardner Smith, we find narratives which interrogate the loving occupiers, and subvert this glorified American nationalism with its dependent woman, reattached to the body politic in her domestic subservience. As Kay Boyle writes, some American women overseas lived a complementary position, dimmed behind their Post Exchange shopping carts, transmitting the national values and biases of the "over there" that Stein calls America. In Stein and Boyle's views, both the fraternized German and the dependent American women are evidence of a situating of women which helps define and invigorate a new American rigidity of thought, stemming from materialistic, narrow nationalism and the nation's duty as the arsenal of democracy. The independent woman, found most particularly in Boyle's fiction, who mixes with Germans or challenges American "thinking" is, on the contrary, the sign of a critical consciousness that disrupts this placidity. William Gardner Smith challenges the racist foundations which can continue

unabated in the revitalized, arrogant America, by having his black protagonist live with a German woman. Smith's query, like Bach's view noted above, that sex lies outside of nationality becomes the novel's driving problem, and even without coming to terms with this disjuncture, his character realizes he is not fully comfortable with Germany's whitewashed love of blacks, and cannot chose exile.

While I take some historical points about American post-war political and military possessiveness for granted, I argue that the term "fraternization" glaringly points to the gendering of the post-war era. Women's absence from this term which designates both public and private contact illuminates the inner workings of the modern fraternal state, which relies at war's end on women's political effacement and private containment, and on a sexualization that disavows female sexual agency more stringently, at the same time that this woman can be put to metaphorical service for the nation. It also sets terms for the period of political readjustment, predicated on a domesticity presided over by the contented housewife, and the naturalization of American foreign policy as the partner to a prosperous domestic policy.

As the most masculinized codes of wartime mobilization come to an end (for example, the security poster "I let this M-1 do my talking for me"), a shifting relationship with women is charted. This imagination is at work in Germany as

well. Fraternizing with German women, sexualized as war booty, effectively diminishes them as potential democratic citizens, and positions them as mirror of U.S. prejudices. This problem is taken up in both memoirs and fiction of the period from various perspectives. The autobiographical accounts of soldiers and other observers to which I briefly refer are characterized by a playful attitude, that fraternization represents a defiance of military bureaucracy, and an expression of independent desire on the part of G.I.s.² But touring Germany for Life in June 1945,

² There is an interesting array of writing from occupied Germany by American authors: See Margaret Bourke-White's Dear Fatherland, Rest Quietly (1946) and brief personal narratives written by soldiers and others: The Death and Life of Germany: An Account of the American occupation, Knopf 1959; Ann Stringer, German Faces NY Sloane, 1950; Bach, America's Germany, An Account of the Occupation, 1946. Two British accounts are Outpost Berlin, Peter Orton and Arno Scholz, Orton Press, London 1980, and William Peters, In Germany Now, The Diary of a Soldier: A Diary of Impressions in Germany August - December 1945, London, Progress Publishing Co. 1946. For a contemporary history, see Harold Zink, The United States in Germany, 1944-1955, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. Princeton N.J. 1955, and William Harlan Hale, "Our Failure in Germany," Harpers December 1945, Vol. 191, #1147, 515-523. See also George Clare, Before the Wall, and John Gimbel, The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military 1945-1949, Stanford, 1968.

Some European women's memoirs of the war period record the initial stages of occupation, notably All But My Life, Gerda Klein; Marie Vassiltchikov, Berlin Diaries 1940-1945. Concerning rapes see n. 11,

Hans Habe's Off Limits (1957), a German novel of the period, received mixed reviews in the U.S. American films from the late 1940s are pertinent and continue to be compelling: Hitchcock's Notorious (1946) which follows escaped Nazis in Brazil and in which a "loose woman's" efforts to devote herself to her nation as a spy are contrasted to the prostituting powers of the FBI; A Foreign Affair (1948) dir. by Billy Wilder (banned in

Gertrude Stein reminds us as well that many G.I.s tended to admire Germans uncritically. "[I]t angered her, she said, when she heard the men express their preferences for the Germans. 'Of course you do, I said, 'they flatter you and they obey you'" (qtd. in Bridgman 337). G.I.s began to seem less enlightened than she had found them a year earlier when they liberated her home in the South of France, illustrated by their uncritical desire for German women.

Susan Jeffords argues that remasculinization following the Vietnam war was needed to reestablish the victorious masculine image and the politics of gender tarnished by U.S. military and political defeat. The needs after the Second World War differed, to an extent because the U.S. so dramatically won the war; these needs seem intimately linked with how the U.S. could imagine itself in a continued role internationally. Emily Rosenberg has recently presented important work that couples "sexual and global politics in the immediate post-World War II era." Rosenberg explores the cultural image of women in diplomatic matters by looking at two films, Foreign Affair and Man in the Grey Flannel Suit; in the former she finds the "moral superiority of the heartland, and dangers of foreign entanglement," and in the latter she notes the importance of male "'responsibility'

Germany by US occupation command) looks cynically at the Army of the Occupation and Germans, including ex Nazis in occupied Berlin. See Ralph Willett, The Americanization of Germany 1945-1949, London, Routledge 1989.

and taking charge" (61, 62) and the comforting of wives, images which work metaphorically for the nation's foreign affairs.³ I look on this project as a sororial continuation of Rosenberg's discussion. However, my interests lie more particularly in the "occupied" body, and the registers of fraternization in the American fraternal state, and fiction which challenges these terms.

"Contrary to the hopes of publicists, war service abroad 'had not after all provided an education in internationalism...one might hazard the view that [G.I.s] returned even more American than when they departed'" (Reynolds). A "brittle" internationalism, in Geoffrey Parrot's view, was really "'little more than the old-fashioned boosterism on a global scale'....One America could now become the world" (qtd. in Sherry 117). Indeed, as some critics have suggested, the U.S., in winning the war, began to mimic aspects of fascist practices which had earlier been

³See Emily Rosenberg, "'Foreign Affairs' After World War II: Connecting Sexual and International Politics." Diplomatic History, Vol. 18, No. 1, Winter 1994 (59-70). Elaine Tyler May, Susan Jeffords, Geoffrey Smith, and Amy Kaplan provide accompanying essays in a commentary section. See also George Schmundt-Thomas, "Hollywood's Romance of Foreign Policy: American G.I.s and the Conquest of the German Fraulein," Journal of Popular Film and Television, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter 1992. Schmundt-Thomas addresses 3 films, Foreign Affairs, The Big Lift, and Fraulein, to show how the U.S. moved from an isolationist position to an "interventionist, cold-war consensus," ultimately "articulat[ing] foreign policy as an war between the sexes" (187).

central targets of its ideological call to war.⁴ This consolidation of political values had an impact both in terms of the nascent post-war foreign policy and in the behavior of troops themselves. As John Dos Passos observed in his travels for Life in 1946, the concept of "liberation" changed: "Before the Normandy landings it meant to be freed from the tyranny of the Nazis. Now it stands in the minds of the civilians for one thing, looting" (23). One found these cynical positions concentrated in Germany. To Dos Passos, the ease with which German women "'spread their legs'" -- he quotes a soldier sailing home -- was a sign that the morale and morals of the occupiers were equally low.

But rather than see the easy Frauleins as a sign of American immorality, I see them as a link in America's new "ownership." "'Lust, liquor, and loot are the soldier's pay'" (qtd. in Tour of Duty 335) not because soldiers grab this pay without acknowledging military discipline, but because this part of acquisition in occupied territory is their due, and it is enacted symbolically through discourses

⁴"When we beat the Nazis, we emulated them. I include myself. I became callous to death....I followed my leaders enthusiastically and rather blindly," recalls Frank Morrison, a physicist involved in the Los Alamos project. In 'The Good War': An Oral History of World War II, Studs Terkel, 1984. 516. George Orwell's 1984 can be read as a post-war critique of American authoritarian practices, as much as an exposure of the Soviet Union. See Mark Crispin Miller, "Big Brother Is You, Watching" in Georgia Review, Winter 94 Vol 38 No 4, 695-719, reprinted in Boxed In.

of fraternization, even as non-fraternization was the rule. This was a transgressive behavior that brought warriors back into the non-warrior fold. A self-gratification which echoes the national claim to consumption and pleasure is enacted through, and helps condition, assertive military might and instrumentalization, drawing when possible on pre-war gender and race relations. The accompanying exit of women, often reluctant, from the defense factories and their emphasized role in carpool, kitchen, bedroom, and bikini have been richly documented. Elaine May for example, in her study Homeward Bound, addresses the variety of ways in which women led "a contingent life'" in the context of the Cold War (80).⁵ The slight gains which African Americans made in wartime employment and income were not complemented by a substantial expansion of rights.

The concept of fraternization is, of course, not confined to fiction and other texts of the occupation. Most American novels commonly thought of as war fiction, that is, novels of men at war, involve the interaction of American combatants with civilians, at times WACs, but women in particular, in occupied territories, including Italy, Germany, and Japan. Even England is invaded by Yanks. Such novels include John Horne Burns' The Gallery, Joseph Heller's Catch 22, John Hersey's War Lover and A Bell for

⁵See also Boyer, By the Dawn's Early Light, American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age. Pantheon Books, 1985. Ch. 6-7.

Adono, Malcolm Lowry's Casualty, James Jones's From Here to Eternity, Irwin Shaw's The Young Lions, Martha Gellhorn's Wine of Astonishment, and Clem Woods's Welcome to the Club (1966, a novel of occupied Japan). This wide field of fiction brings into critical relief not only concepts of valor and heightened masculinity, but more importantly, it plays out a devotion to concepts of American democracy in conflict with blind militarism. But equally important, if less noted, is the eroticization of the military, where the fraternity of soldiers, however democratic among themselves, is nourished by sexual engagement with women, not always based on mutual respect. Military life consistently intermingles with sexual life, in a way which valorizes masculinity. The critique of a bloated, monolithic nationalism, which many of these novels develop, is most generally linked to the attack on the individual, or rather on masculinity.⁶ And while free of women in the battle zone, the purer novels of combat, such as Norman Mailer's

⁶For discussions of World War II American fiction, see Chester Eisinger, Fiction of the Forties 1963, a sweeping but early discussion; Stanley Cooperman, World War I and the American Novel, Baltimore 1967, which contains an important chapter on the Second World War; Peter Jones, War and the Novelist. Appraising the American War Novel, Missouri 1976; Joseph Waldmeir, American Novels of the Second World War Paris 1969. John Limon, Writing After War, American War fiction From Realism to Postmodernism, New York 1994. Horne, The Wounded Generation. For a study of women's writing in Britain, see Phyllis Lassner, "The Quiet Revolution: World War II and the English Domestic Novel." Mosaic 23/3 1990:87-100.

The Naked and the Dead and James Jones's Thin Red Line, rely on recollections of encounters with women, albeit frequently bitchy, untrustworthy, or domineering, women whose unreliability, or rather femininity, helps rouse the soldiers' agonies of masculinity and shape the ambivalent national devotion which nevertheless produce heroic action.

Thus the real victims of war are men. Men have agency, but they're victims as well -- and while I believe this is a true paradox, I don't think it is so at the expense of gender. To explore this victimization, we might consider "Queen Penicillin," a chapter in John Horne Burn's The Gallery. A nameless sergeant is the victim of syphilis and must endure treatment by being locked up for 60 shots, one every three hours, with other sufferers (not carriers) of VD and gonorrhea. The military Medical Center, in a sprawling complex built by Mussolini, reminds the narrator of an American high school, suggesting the easy transition from one state's institutions to another's. "This is the place where the shackees repent their shackin'" he's told upon entry. "'Guests with the syph are put in the bridal suite'"--as if marriage is being rewritten, now without women (275). Upon his release, our now-deranked sergeant (with the assistance of a gay medical officer) steals a vial of the precious penicillin to take to his former lover/prostitute, as if he wants to indoctrinate her into this restoration. But in the end he gives up, knowing it is

a closed world, for men, that he's returned to, and she does not deserve entry. He destroys the vial. Victim, he is now taking responsibility for curing himself; woman, an agent of the disease, will not be able to do so.

Many valences are embedded in the term fraternization. In its non-military context, fraternization denotes cordial relations and sympathy between members of the same group, as well as friendly or intimate relations with the people of an other grouping with whom one might ordinarily be expected to be unfriendly. In the military, both aspects had currency, and World War II gave both provocative charges. Rules maintaining the hierarchy of officer classes limited contact across ranks to insure that discipline and obedience won out over friendship, and at times over democratic values. Warned by its own researchers that soldiers were not interested in military discipline as the war ended in Europe, and shaken by protest within the military--including demonstrations in Manila, Paris, and Hawaii demanding quicker demobilization, the military faced criticism that it was too protective of its hierarchy and privileges for the military caste, at least when off-duty.⁷

For my purposes, the more dramatic aspect of military

⁷ See Stouffer et al.'s study of military attitudes from 1944-1945; Life Jan. 21, 1946 "We Want to Go Home," Joe Weston, 36-37; "What's Wrong with our Army?" Robert Neville, Life Jan 7 1946; Bach, 51-56; and Hanson Baldwin, "G.I. Gripes: Causes and Cures," New York Times Magazine 31 March 1946, 12, 13+ on the military "caste system".

fraternization involves the relationship between Allied soldiers and the people of occupied zones. At first, the U.S. Army of Occupation's restrictions against fraternization in Germany were severe: the ban on personal contacts with Germans, except when carrying out official business, made even hand-shaking suspect. When this policy was deemed too unworkable, it was relaxed to allow contact with children, and then modified by July 14, 1945 to allow "Army personnel 'to engage in conversation with adult Germans on the streets and in public places'" (qtd. in Stouffer 568).⁸ Yet the general policy was already understood to be unworkable, for as Army researchers found, "even during the heavy fighting in the border cities of Germany, the nonfraternization order was being violated very frequently." Military interviewers "reported that fraternization of certain types, chiefly involving German women, was occurring on a fairly extensive scale and that the officers in charge were extremely dubious about being able to enforce the rules against it, particularly after hostilities ceased" (567-8). Indeed, fraternizing in its most colloquial usage referred to sexual relations with

⁸Barron notes that Army propaganda units tried to discourage fraternization through a "public relations program of its own. It began distributing in graphic detail some of the atrocities committed by the enemy. The literature further exclaimed, 'Don't visit in German houses, drink with Germans, shake hands with them, play games with them, give or accept gifts of attention social functions'" (68).

German women. Intercourse as public transaction and sexual intercourse become conflated, and war's subtext of "wine, women and song" is underlined.

Sex is certainly not the only target of lax discipline. We see in many war novels that discipline connected to uniforms and saluting officers is relaxed overseas, and that those officers who push regulations are deemed unsympathetic hardliners. We might think of Hersey's The War Lover, where pilots constantly evade regulations. Fussell talks of "chickenshit" orders which had the effect of fusing the irrational and rational, met by efforts to subvert such orders; he further attests to a rampant use of alcohol among all ranks in the military (Wartime 98-105). And he insists that "the front was the one place that was sexless" (108). Whether or not Fussell is accurate, away from the front, soldiers on the prowl could face "'a vast battlefield of sex'" (qtd. in Fussell 109)-- fraternizing skirmishes which, often as not, meant disavowing official military resistance to prostitution. But these seemed bans meant to be transgressed.⁹ Indeed, sex was, all in an all, not a site

⁹ As we still hear: note the comments by the Navy Admiral addressing the recent rape charges against three G.I.s in Okinawa, that they should have used their money for prostitutes. Disciplined by the government for his "unacceptable" remarks, he nevertheless speaks of the prevailing practice, legal in Okinawa, accepted by the U.S. military (New York Times 11/95). See Let the Good Times Roll, Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia, Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, The New Press, NY, 1992. Kathleen Barry, Female Sexual Slavery, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979. In Japan,

for invoking rules of discipline -- except where venereal diseases were at issue. By the end of the war, punishment for contracting VD had been, at long last, withdrawn, except for obligatory treatment.¹⁰ The Army's bottom line position was to look the other way but provide a safety net; as of August 1, 1945 the "U.S. Army bought 50 million prophylactics a month" (3 September 1945 Time). Nor did anyone seriously expect G.I.s to abstain from sexual encounters. "Troops," Bach reported, "who have the knack for calling a spade a spade, promptly called Non-Fraternization, 'non-fertilization'" (72).

Yet the word fraternization contains no literal notation of women, suggesting rather the relationship between brothers, as if the antonym of 'womanizing.' Gaining currency in the language of the Enlightenment through positive enactments of brotherhood in the French revolution and anti-slavery movements, fraternization promotes identification with others and sympathy beyond one's own position. Hannah Arendt's discussion of public and private sphere in The Human Condition (1959) is

the occupying forces initially took over the Japanese system of comfort women, ostensibly to keep Japanese women from being raped in large numbers. This evolved into "a network of mainly small brothels, with within easy reach of camps." Payment was often in cigarettes and other goods useful in the black market (Hicks 159-162). See Hicks for a discussion of continued prostitution around military bases in Korea, 174.

¹⁰See Costello, Brandt, Quetzel.

illuminating here. The personal intimacy which a defiant fraternization promises is in part "directed...against the leveling demands of the social, against what we would call the conformism inherent in every society" (36). Yet to see contact with Germans as solely personal behavior and not as public or political -- and this certainly is the tension between the eager fraternization and a nonfraternization policy -- perpetuates modernity's emphasis on the personal realm as site for freedom rather than to address the political realm. While formerly the public realm was "reserved for individuality," and this is where Arendt thinks "plurality" is best enacted, the public is now abandoned in these matters: "distinction and difference have become private matters of the individual" (38). Certainly in American post-war terms, the importance of achieving recognition for individual difference or freedom in the body politic is diminished.

This relationship has much to do with the practice of the modern nation-state, where Arendt sees "the eventual substitution of bureaucracy, the rule of nobody, for personal rulership" (41). This "last stage of government in the nation-state...is not necessarily no-rule; it may indeed...even turn out to be one of its cruelest and tyrannical versions." While elsewhere she has pointed to totalitarian Germany and the Soviet Union as sites of such tyranny, she aims her criticism at modern societies in

general, which promote the "phenomenon of conformism" (37). Fraternization, to the extent that it signifies resistance to rules or conformism, is a sign that mixing with "an other" is desirable; yet this plurality is left as a private matter, and to the extent that it denies the public, political qualities of those individuals, it essentially levels difference, and hence, we see the intrusion of a political conformity into the seemingly isolated, but manipulated private. And, as I have noted earlier, the absence of a word designating woman, and the use of 'fraternization' genders the depoliticized status. Women in the occupied zones of course were, in practice, by no means ignored. They were raped by the thousands, chased, and wooed.¹¹ Not surprisingly, because the constitution of

¹¹ The controversial rapes by Allied soldiers, in particular by Russian soldiers, is written of in three texts in particular from the period: The Big Rape, James Wakefield Burke (1952); A Woman in Berlin, an anonymous but believable account (trans. in US 1954); and Inga Chesney, A Time of Rape, 1972. See also The Other Price of Hitler's War: German Military and Civilian Losses Resulting from World War II, Chapter 10, "The Great Rape," Martin K. Sorge, Greenwood Press, 1986; personal accounts in Allison Owing, Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich. See also October 72, devoted to this topic and to Helke Sander's 1992 film Liberators Take Liberties, in particular Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," and Gertrud Koch, "Blood, Sperm and Tears." For more on fears of rape by victorious troops, see New York Times "Okinawans Look Back and Call War Futile," 22 June 95 A1, A8. on invasion of Okinawa June 1945 when Japanese Army nurses committed suicide in large numbers rather than be captured by American troops.

It is possible that rapes by American troops have not been documented very accurately. See Brownmiller, Against Our Will. Zink argues that American men, because

gendered and political relations is ongoing, words were coined to designate women in the practice. Many women had a public presence, put to work, for example, cleaning the rubble of the bombed cities, earning among Germans the term Trummerfrauen (rubblewomen); Nazis were supposed to do this lowly work although certainly Nazi women were among the Trummerfrauen, but again we see a depoliticized term.

"Fraternazis" referred to women with whom G.I.s socialized. The word suggested that Nazis were found in men and women, yet it muddled clarity about the Nazis by accepting sexual contact as a perverse form of punishment or, to reiterate, a way of depoliticizing, and avoiding a woman's Nazi past, a muddling that ultimately served a political purpose for the U.S. as well. By illustration, Stein reminds us that "wine women song" does not necessarily mean that G.I.s like women (B&W 53). "Greedy bitches," one American called them, and there was some disgust that a woman could be had all night for four cigarettes (qtd. in Tour of Duty 321, 323). By ascribing an inherent evil to

they had so many material goods to offer, did not have to rape German women to get sex. The most significant article on this issue is Annemarie Troger, "Between Rape and Prostitution: Survival Strategies and Chances of Emancipation for Berlin Women after World War II" in Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change, ed. Judith Friedlander et al., 97-117. Atina Grossman has argued that if German women became pregnant by American soldiers and wanted to abort, they could then say they were raped by DPs or Russians. This chapter looks at a more "consensual" sexuality. Certainly hunger drove many German women into the fraternizing arms of American G.I.s, and so sexuality perpetuates gender domination.

the sexualized woman, the fraternazi, Nazism was effectively rendered benign, stripped of horrific agents. In addition, to have sex was to Americanize--at least in the G.I.'s mind, or deracinate. Another American term, "furlines," also sexualized German women, mixing Fraulein and fur, a synechdocal/sexual depiction of women. As observer Julian Bach reminds us at this chapter's opening, "furlines" suggested that such conquests were thought to be far removed from political life: "[f]raternization is simply a matter of sex" (71).¹² Being with "furlines" promised divorcing political meaning from intercourse with Germans. Yet the soldier aspect continues to be validated. Theveleit notes that pre-war fascists fantasized over "aggressive removal of [radical] women from the scene of action" (159). The post-war's extensive fraternization by Americans allows a similar aggression, on this "terrain of warfare" (50), where the erotic woman lets the foreign soldier continue battling and conquering by moving under the sheets, even though the war is over.

Bach reported that "most girls, seen with troops, are the Teutonic version of the bobby-sock and Victory-girl

¹²Time writes of "Frauleins with fraterneyes" --a word I assume which turns "fraternize" into a noun, embodying a "no" in its sound -- as the number two source of venereal diseases for U.S. troops, after French women (3 September 1945, 68).

brigade" (77).¹³ Thus they are made to be like American girls. Their sexual assertion is predicated upon ultimate submission to American soldiers. Some Germans, from the perspective of Kay Boyle's story "Cabaret," find these young women ridiculous caricatures of American girls: their clothing "was recognizable as that mail-order-house merchandise which had become standard apparel for the Frauleins of the American zone" (142). The girls who sell themselves for a few Camels are symptoms of a ruined Germany--which had sold its complicit soul to Hitler. But Boyle won't let them solely be emblematic--rather they are part of a community of women who have possible choices, but seem malignantly unaware of their own agency.

In Wesley Towner's novel The Liberators a reform-minded American officer tries to promote the Social Democrats and anti-Nazis in his region. He is rebuked by his commanding officer. "'You are part of an army which came to Europe to deliver shell fire, not social theories,'" he is told (267). The shift from shelling to ruling, from military to

¹³In Chungking, China U.S. soldiers were enticed by "jeep girls" according to Time 11 June 1945, 34. "Chungking people believe that woman's place is in the home, that no nice girl goes out publicly with a man....When [honest working girls] dated U.S. soldiers, Chungking confused them with the jeep girls who ply their trade with great zest and professional abandon." The article concludes: "Not all Chinese consider jeep girls a national disgrace. One newspaper suggested that they be given medals for bringing in U.S. gold wherewith to balance the national budget." Note the ironic, tongue in cheek language of Time writers in depicting prostitution. This tone is pervasive in wartime reporters' writings.

political practice, met a mixed reception in the army. Additionally, to rebuild the German economy quickly, the military government consistently drew on local government and industrial figures closely linked to the Nazis (Hale 517-519). Ultimately, the U.S. chose to turn denazification into a mockery. To suit American needs to develop Germany as an ally in the cold war, and because an industrialized Germany was quite quickly seen to be a more reliable partner than an agricultural Germany, which had been the early recommendations of Treasury Secretary Morgenthau, denazification became exclusively a matter of expedient cleansing, the "business of removal of character stains" before a Nazi could resume his industrial or government position now as a non-Nazi (Stern 147). ¹⁴

In practice, as Gertrude Stein and others found, nonfraternization did not seem to be based on any particular abhorrence of Germans or outrage at the extensive tortures and murders that the Allied forces increasingly uncovered as

¹⁴See Stern, Ch. 2, 3 on treatment of German Jews at the immediate end of the war and during the occupation. See also Christopher Simpson, Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effect on the Cold War, New York 1988. In his memoir of occupied Italy, Alfred Bruman writes that defascism and "epuration" were not meant as "punishment, but to purify the civic service and some nongovernmental entities affected with the public interest of fascist and collaborationist elements" (103). (Zones of Strain, A Memoir of the Early Cold War, Stanford 1982.

they routed the German army.¹⁵ Novels and memoirs relate some exceptions, most frequently in the earliest stages of occupation: Martha Gellhorn's enraged Jewish soldier mows down three Germans with his jeep after he visits Dachau in Point of No Return. Bourke-White recounts how M.P.s, ordered to bring 500 civilians from neighboring Munich to view the liberated camp, brought twice as many townspeople, out of rage at the carnage done in their name. And an advertising executive turned soldier retells one dramatic account of a Jewish corporal who "said he fraternized with the Frauleins with the hope of impregnating them. 'I'm going to make it possible for one of them to give birth to a kid with Jewish blood,' he said" (Barron 69). But the cleanliness depicted in Time and elsewhere also appealed to American prejudices, and G.I.s often preferred clean Germans to unruly refugees.¹⁶ Both animosity and brutality toward

¹⁵The first stages of military occupation were characterized by "uncoordinated pragmatic efforts of local detachments to restore a semblance of order and security to community life" (Gimbel 46). Freidrich and Associates stress the "paradox" of installing democracy by force.

¹⁶And not with other women in Germany, such as DPs. Bach writes that to circumvent non-fraternization rules, soldiers dated DPs who, because they "naturally did not wish to be taken for Germans, ...were given brassards so that they could distinguish themselves." The G.I.s would then borrow the brassards, put them on the arms of the German women they wanted to spend time with, and be untroubled by MPs (74). "The final hypocrisy--not lost to the Germans--was the appearance in large communities and at all headquarters of neat Prophylaxis Station signs at a time when intercourse of any kind was banned" (75).

displaced persons were widespread¹⁷, and racism was untempered by the awareness of more than a decade of Germany's racist practices. To John Dos Passos in November 1945, Germany seemed a "fluid mass of homeless people, displaced Germans, Poles, Balts, Ukrainians, Serbs, Russians, deserters" (Tour of Duty 316), a characterization which seems to disparage this melange, in favor of an implied order. If American troops felt malicious toward the German population, they generally curbed these sentiments; a benign attitude prevailed. In The Last of the Conquerors, William Gardener Smith shows that white MPs felt greater hostility toward Black G.I.s than they did toward Germans, especially when they dated German women.

How one dominant nation quells the aggressive nationalism of another nation without destroying the idea of dominant nationalism becomes the matter at hand. The victor replicates his idea of social relations in the occupied zone, looks for its ideology reflected there, while maintaining some "otherness" of the vanquished. That the Germans were "clean people" with indoor plumbing and a patriarchal family structure somewhat intact, were grounds to praise them and to neglect the political critique, so that "ideology" becomes a "system" of consumption and

¹⁷See Robert Abzug, Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps (NY: Oxford UP, 1985), esp. 145-152. Kathryn Hulme writes of her experience with Wildflecken, a camp for Polish DPs, in The Wild Place; Little Brown, NY 1953.

domestic comfort. We have already noted the tendency to downplay the abstracted political sweep in the U.S. during the war. The "other" -- comprised of the political radical (remnants of the Social Democrats of Communist Party), Jews, foreigners, and women, become the distasteful element or element to occupy and to silence. Relations with women in particular promise a "dehistoricized" narrative which feminists have described since Virginia Woolf, promising only "private remembrance." In a sense this relationship does not disrupt the existing social order beyond its being acculturated to the American order (Gattens 53, 54).¹⁸

2. The conversation between sisters and brothers: Gertrude Stein

"Ain't you heard there's a no fraternizing law, Gil?..."

"How do you know he's been fraternizing?" another inquired. "Maybe he didn't talk to the dame. It ain't fraternizing unless you talk. That's the way I look at it." (Towner 103).

So goes a conversation between American G.I.s in Wesley Towner's novel The Liberators, revealing the inventive ways in which soldiers approach the nonfraternization rules. Some describe their girlfriends as children; others, like

¹⁸Anne Marie Troger also writes about a woman's memory that is ahistorical, that is, not connected to the goals, telos, or phallogocentric foci of men's memory. Hence dates, chronological order and the like are reshaped by upsurge and trauma. Her discussion is interesting, but fails to acknowledge the self-imposed "loss of memory" or "we-didn't-know" position that many Germans fell victim to at war's end.

the G.I. above, suggests that one need not talk during the date. Neither way is satisfactory: one infantilizes, while the other limits the encounter to a sexual exchange.¹⁹

Gertrude Stein's final novel, Brewsie and Willie, published in 1946, opens with a frank discussion of fraternization, and the dimensions which wartime nationalities brings to the matter.

You know Willie, said Brewsie, I think we are all funny, petty funny, about this fraternization business, now just listen. They did not have to make any anti-fraternization ruling for the German army in France because although the Germans did their best to fraternize, no French woman would look or speak to them or recognize their existence. I kind of wonder would our women be like French or be like Germans, if the horrible happened and our country was conquered and occupied....

You get the hell out of here, Brewsie, no American woman would sleep with a foreigner. (3)

Brewsie and Willie's varied cast is American. They are located, if we locate them by the referents of their conversation, formerly in France, now in occupied Germany, or at least they are in the military zone of "here." "Here" is contrasted to America, which is "over there," a

¹⁹Silence with the female sexual partner is of course not new. For example, in their brothels in Vietnam, the French army preferred prostitutes who could not speak French "or any of the several languages common in Vietnam;...these women could have sex with the French troops without their commanders worrying about lonely soldiers whispering military secrets" or developing an emotional attachment (Enloe 32; she cites Barry 72). The tendency toward intimacy and a political "fraternity" is to be averted in this "no talking." See Mamie Stover and Bailey and Farber for discussions of social and economic restrictions on prostitutes in Honolulu.

reversal of the conventional centrality of *here* and otherness of *there*. Stein's play with and against American ideas and practices is ongoing, for the novel presents a fluid conversation of speculation, observation, desire -- mitigated by the characters' shifting sense of their Americanness, as well as by their shifting sense of gender and social codes. The novel presents a heteroglossia, as Mikhail Bakhtin uses the term, a public conversation of different voices mediated by their own interaction with each other.

Two particular moments of origin for Brewsie and Willie point to the importance of this conversation. One is Gertrude Stein's newfound admiration for G.I.s when she encountered them as liberators in France in 1944, noted with passion in Wars I Have Seen. Unlike their counterparts of the 1918, they were more open-minded.

This army conversed, it talked it listened, and each of them had something to say....these don't tell stories they converse and what they say is interesting and what they hear interests them and that does make them different not really different God bless them but just the same they are not quite the same. (WIHS 248-9)

"Telling stories" suggests subjectivity located in a Logos, which is thus unable to recognize the intersubjectivity which multi-originating "conversation" addresses. Less provincial and more open to foreign experiences, this generation of liberators exhibits curiosity. Less concerned with getting drunk, G.I.s have become "men of the world,"

qualities which could keep them from "just get[ting] dull" when they resume their lives in America (252-3). Stein assesses a mature American possessiveness, stemming from their "dominating their language." This might seem an odd phrase, since she emerged from the literal domination of the Germans. Thrilled to hear American English so fully, and so assertively again, Stein invents a "domination" which indicates radical possession and lack of fear, yet she means control and inventiveness as well in terms of multiple identities. Words like "jeep," which she had heard of but now saw and rode in, pointed to the 'mastering' of industrialism in a way which linked it to logical and beneficial practice. From this "domination" of language, both self possession and possession of the political terrain appear promising.

The second point of origin is Brewsie and Willie's conversation about fraternization. Its inflections here ask for a reexamination of the "possession" Stein has lauded in Wars I Have Seen, and of the American soldier as liberator, as gendered political thinker, and as quasi-internationalist. The "complication" of this matter -- as well as other connected matters she will raise -- is clearly evoked at the novel's final section, "To Americans," where she urges her American readers to "express complication." The second origin calls into question the first, for Americans who cannot acknowledge the political registers of

the terms they work through, and who cannot continue critical conversations, seem less likely to avert the dullness of post-war life, rooted in industrialism, job-mindedness, pin-ups, prejudice, and patriarchy.

Conversations about fraternization lead to queries about gender and race which challenge this potential rigidity of thought, all of which I want to examine briefly here. But nothing in Stein is natural; rather discourses inform attitudes. The initial question asks if American women would fraternize with their captors. Willie says, "Well I wouldn't want any American woman to be like a Frenchwoman." Brewsie responds: "No you would want them to be like the Germans, sleep with the conquerors," and Willie defends the honor of American women. But Brewsie pursues this contrast, asking, "Which do you want American women to be like" (3). His question is without question mark: syntactically it is still a question, but the period serves to suggest the query is a statement of the problem--in which the relative comparisons are limiting and narrow. Not "America" as we know it, not "American women" as we know them, but some revision is implied, tied to a virtue that is not linked to whom they sleep with.

When Brewsie and Willie raise their concerns about fraternization, they thus invoke the complex matter of nationalities as well, where women seem adjuncts of nationality. Much of the novel is concerned with how the

post-war community of brothers and sisters, a word Stein interjects into the discourse, will think, talk, and thus act.²⁰ Just how American is America to become -- what kind of national identity will the postwar nation have, and what role will American women play? These questions are rooted in the spontaneity of discussion and thus oddly freed from authority or rigid definition, yet they point to concerns about the body politic and ideology, as containment or freedom, and we can see their conscious contrast with a "dulled" G.I. whose only concern is said to be getting back to work and home.

That the U.S. might be defeated and occupied is incomprehensible to Willie: "And that's the reason there ain't going to be any more war not if I can help it." Brewsie is the voice of realism here, replying: "But that's what they said the last time and hell here we are" (4). Willie's desire to prevent war seems somewhat absurd, as Brewsie reminds him, a little voice against huge political and military forces. Yet the role of individuals, of subjectivities, seems crucial in providing opposition, resistance--what was far too weak in Germany, and may be needed to check the rising American arrogance of

²⁰While a Time reviewer complained of Stein's "girlish extravagance," (48:102 Ag 5' 46), Edmund Wilson found that Stein must have listened attentively to the G.I.s she encountered, having captured G.I. idiom well, and addressing the "endless repetitions of soldier conversation and the stultifying monotony of soldier life" (New Yorker 22:92 Je 15 '46).

possessiveness. How this is connected to sleeping with German girls is interesting -- for German willingness is not necessarily an act of virtue. And while women's virtue in different countries seems at first tied to their resistance to, or acceptance of, a conqueror's desire to "fraternize," the meanings of the practice differ. The seemingly "honorable" position of French women is undermined by Willie's dislike for them; women's sleeping with the conqueror, if he is American, is deemed desirable. Foreigners, that is occupiers, are seen as naturally expecting sexual relations. But American occupiers seem to shake off their own identification as "foreigners" because they are not the different ones (they're "here"); they are the norm.

Willie's response to the political complexity is pragmatic.

Willie: Well, did I say we werent here, we're here all right, you betcha we're here, and I am going to sleep with any German girl who'll sleep with me, and they all will and that's what I call fraternization, and they let us do it and we're doing it (4).

The first "they" in this passage clearly refers to the women, although the referent is singular, an odd grammatical conflation of one with all. It is a collective willingness on the part of women, which cannot stem solely from "desire," but is engendered as well by economic necessity -- the chocolate, cigarettes, coffee, and gum, which are commodities to be bartered. Furthermore, the second "they"

is ambiguous, for the question of permission points to the Army's nonfraternization policy as well. That defeat could inflect a change in American women's practice, in the description of their virtue, is difficult for Willie to accept. This possibility requires a consideration of what American women are like now, so that women's ongoing engagement with military victory overseas and American women's position at home are connected. Willie insists that such a defeat would be unthinkable, but we must remember that Europe had lived for six years through the unthinkable -- and Stein's novel is a call to think. Hence to set something up as unthinkable is merely to show its transparency and its need for being thought about.

While Willie and Brewsie have previously distinguished between women of different nationalities, now they claim commonality as Americans. Willie reminds Brewsie: "Now you take us, we dont think we know that all America is just so and we are all Americans, that's what we are all Americans." Stein's inconsistency in contractions and irregular grammar point to irregularities in national and gender compositions as well. The unitary position of being American is further subverted when, to this seemingly self-evident but perhaps empty statement, Brewsie announces that "I wish I was a girl if I was a girl I would be a WAC and if I was a WAC, oh my Lord, just think of that" (11). While this desire may allow Brewsie easy access to American women, what creates this

urge to change gender is not evident. Change seems arbitrary, yet emancipatory. This passage follows the discussion of worrying and the attempt of Willie, Brewsie, and their comrades to identify themselves as Americans: they know "we are all Americans."

Willie's "all Americans" may involve men only; Brewsie widens the definition. Further, Brewsie's words introduce a different concept of women--rather than the German women to be fraternized. Hence his desire for radical change deprivileges masculinity, and the sexualized limitations for women, where the "power of sex" (Archibald 16) seems women's "power." Gender's insistent presence in these conversations show that gender's position in national meaning is vital but not stable, and by way of inference, that a static national meaning relies on a static version of gender, which includes women's exclusion from public definitions.

Characters also astutely address new racial attitudes among G.I.s in Europe, pointing clearly to the artificial, non-natural makeup of racism: "we just lost the way of getting mad" about Negroes, one G.I. offers (43). Racism is rooted in a desire to "feel alike," and it requires the effort of "getting mad" and being distressed at differences. Stein links these fears to industrialism, which is to her an alarming instrumentalism beckoning in the post-war era. The power of industrialism means to Stein that the U.S. is as "old-fashioned as Germany," an oblique political criticism

which implies that the human qualities of individuals will be effaced, and pleasure becomes a form of temporary obliteration. For example, Ed tells of G.I.s who were so drunk that

not a single one noticed that there was a mighty good-looking real American girl with us, good as any pin-up they ever pinned up, but because she did not wear a label saying pin-up not one of those fellows not one of them ever noticed that she was there. (53)

Such men's inability to recognize woman unless she is signified as mechanically-reproduced Woman is a disturbing indication of the dulled thinking, the "job-mindedness" and desire for rigidity which locks out thinking, and consoles those who worry about bills and little else. To insist on being mad about race and to be "employee" echo Arendt's analysis of the "new social realm [which has] transformed all modern communities into societies of laborers and jobholders" (HC 42). Following is opposed to thinking. Stein opposes "employee" with "pioneer" (65). Women and blacks can exhibit pioneer behavior. "Yeah it's funny, said Jimmy, the only real pioneering there is in America these days is done by Negroes....kind of queer and funny." The point disturbs some of the group: "No I dont like it, said Jo, it makes me kind of nervous" (65). For women, pioneering is done by being loud, as Janet explains, insisting to the group that "we got to be heard." When Willie interrogates this "we," Janet links women's making noise to a broader context: "We are all we, said Janet, all

of our age all together, we got to make a noise" (89). Such pioneering and uproar, on the heels of a horrific war, go against a strain of thought which seeks silence and stability, as stasis.

What is talked of, and what might be enacted by the speakers may not be in synch, for the disjunctive narrative of the novel may skip over events, such as actual encounters with German girls, as for example when Brewsie, Jo, and Willie go to the river at the end of the first chapter. "Let's go buy something" Jo says, "...and then the girl came along." From here the conversation moves to girls who do not say no "because there is chewing gum, and tobacco and coffee and chocolate, yes there is," until the speakers "were busy in other ways" (7-8). In this sense, obscuring the "private" from the reader, Stein privileges the communal discourse as an intellectual or ideological rumination which hunts out a new way of thinking among Americans, in spite of possibly varied practices of G.I.s and WACs who weave in and out of the novel. Furthermore, to look at discourse split from practice allows us to examine the conversation itself, not as a joint affirmation of the characters' masculinity and exclusion, but as ideas which express national and gender identities, and not "naturally" --as war or prejudices might have seemed natural, but as constructed and mutable practices. For Hannah Arendt, the public sphere is where "word and deed" come together, and where difference is

enacted: "With word and deed we insert ourselves into the human world" (HC 157).²¹ Stein's call for all to get together and think, to "express complication," supposes a public which allows for distinction. Stein points to the value of speech as a way to shape practice, and ultimately of speech's relation to power.

We should note that Stein does not draw upon arguments about the war being fought against fascism and authoritarianism. Rather, she suggests that the very practice of war is the basis for pushing them to continue try not to "feel alike," but rather to feel and think (55). This reiterates the value now of conversation. Her philosophy is not really as pragmatic as it might seem, for she captures the paradoxical nature of the war --terrible, yet liberating to some extent for women, poor whites, and blacks. War creates the G.I. vocabulary, with new expressions for new experiences; it exposes millions of men

²¹ For Arendt, "the modern age was intent on excluding political man, that is, man who acts and speaks, from its public realm" (HC 140). I have of course added political woman to this critique. Jurgen Habermas writes that "Arendt equates strategic action with instrumental action. She demonstrates that in the waging of war strategic action is as violent as it is instrumental; an action of this type is outside the realm of the political." He argues that Arendt's interest in a theory of action rooted in Aristotle needs to be reexamined. Perhaps Stein makes this move in setting off practice beyond the text. A more developed study might follow this up. ("Hannah Arendt: On the Concept of Power" 180). See also Nancy Fraser on Habermas' omission of women from this public realm in Feminism as Critique: on the Politics of Gender ed. Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell. Minneapolis, 1987.

as well as women to differences which they might by now be mature enough to accept and learn from. She gives us an apolitical approach to the political, linking nationality, gender, and race.

Yeah, said Pauline, that's easy, be the strong white man, who can never be brought down, that's all right if you had never left home, but you have left home, you're scared, you're thinking about everything. (69)

Stein wrote in Wars I Have Seen that the G.I.s "have become more American all American" (259). From this position, the trajectory from old-fashioned liberator, to occupier, to being "here," to returning "over there" is not one-dimensional, but enriched by critical thought and conversation of intersubjectivity. Stein's "feeling" is not the leveling "sentiment" which Hannah Arendt finds modernity has substituted for public discourse. Hers is, rather, the antidote to industrialism's (read modernity's) separation of reason and emotion, where "behavior" replaces individual identity and speech.

A conscious distance from the simplifying pull of American life, from the powerful but dulling conformity, threatens to be checked with victory. Stein asks for a continuation of this marginal and inventive more American all American conversation she encountered in Wars I Have Seen which can never be only like itself. As Arendt might suggest, this variety has to exist in public discourse--and cannot be relegated to the silent, both naively accepting

and hostile, encounters of fraternization.

3. Traveling beyond the borders: Kay Boyle

In the short stories of The Smoking Mountain Kay Boyle shows that genuine fraternization is not a matter of army policy, but rather a possible compassion or comraderie, which necessarily exists in tandem with political disdain for continued sympathizers of fascism. This concept differs from Julian Bach's version where fraternization is "simply a matter of sex" with someone is solely because she is "a woman, not because she is German" (71). Boyle's ideal fraternization recognizes national borders, but demands crossing them, without aggression. There must be a willingness to accept difference, but it is a difference predicated on openness. By contrast, the Army's [non]fraternization maintains otherness, yet incorporates its violation; this engenders an objectification. When one fraternizes, in Boyle's writing, with someone truly different, and accepts this distinction, the possibility of political diversity and a critical politics become available. But the more narrow concept of fraternization requires likeness, seeks similarity and imitation. Likeness itself becomes an issue in Boyle's stories. We find this phrase, and similar language, highlighted. The dependent wives within the military compounds are often interested in creating "home's facsimile" (155), living in a world with

"the look of home" (169), while they are oblivious to the destruction around them, wrought by silent submission to Nazism. A more diverse 'likeness' of humanity is asserted by the American woman driver in "Begin Again," a story I will return to later.

There is then, an affinity between fraternization and issues of representation itself, for Boyle seeks to find who represents the German in the outset of this collection, and implicitly, who represents the American as well. Indeed, her unease about the authenticity of representation is found throughout the collection. In "Home," a prejudiced German saleswoman, serving a black G.I. who wishes to buy a wardrobe in the PX for a destitute German boy, insists that "Germans like that deserve nothing, nothing!" (166). While the PX mimics home in its possibility of endless consumption and materialistic satisfaction, it also replicates racism. If this Americanized but simultaneously non-denazified saleswoman has her way, a culture of division would reemerge, where anything but a facsimile of the dominant, or the urge toward the dominant, would be banished.

Boyle's context of fraternization is more general than in the works of either Stein or Smith, for her stories are critical excursions into Germany during the years when the Army of Occupation and American government officials had dug in to reform and control. As Jaeger, a German journalist, says in Generation Without Farewell, "'I'm afraid of these

men of the Occupation....men whom victory has made like other men'" (156).²² Boyle is torn between addressing what Jaeger realizes is the "terrible burden of Germany" as teleological history, or dehistoricized and varied, personal accounts. She argues that both are present. She does not attempt to reconcile them, but finds that these two strains co-exist. Yet to the extent that America claims the mantle of history, promoting progress and democracy, it is dangerous, for this regime is engendered by military force, by the centrality of a culture of consumption and conformity, and by the creation of dependencies, most notably the dependencies of women. The aftermath of the war results in an increasingly corporate, unfeeling, and undemocratic American sensibility which undermines an internationalist, "deeper, wider honor" (Introduction 74). Boyle points to the role of American "dependent wives" in narrowly transmitting cultural values, and thus as a significant component of a resurgent American nationalism. Frequently, Americans are locked in their compounds, steeped in Americanness, in American goods and material aspirations, and quite oblivious of the registers of political difference in Germany. In contrast, among Americans, other women depicted often as they travel within and outside Germany, thus literally mobile, represent a critical independence

²² Generation Without Farewell (1960) is Boyle's novel of post-war Germany. Many of the themes from The Smoking Mountain recur here.

that resists this monumental nationalism. Depicting Germans as well, Boyle places these transmissions and displacements of culture and politics within the context of interconnected German and American imaginations. Some Germans nurse their disdain for the occupiers because they see themselves solely as war's victims, and because defeat is ignoble and unfair, even as they themselves try to benefit as much as possible from America's material wealth. Many are sympathetic to the Nazi past, or are thoughtless perpetuators of a nationalism in which anti-Semitism and near-violent disgust for the current impoverished of Germany find fertile soil. Hence, fraternization itself is richly problematic, especially when we keep in mind the revelation of the America woman traveller in "Frankfurt in Our Blood" that Germany's evil is being transmitted to the occupiers. "'I see Germany like some isolated territory, like a lepers' colony, an infected island which free men conquered, and who have, because of this, become ailing and evil and no longer free'" (123). Boyle alarmedly points to the receptivity of Americans to this contagion.

Americans' contempt, which alternates with political callousness suggests the veil of uncritical thinking that dogged Gertrude Stein before her, and again allows us to consider Arendt's critique of the modern nation-state. On the one hand Americans merge with the German middle class in its contempt for the displaced and broken people who bother

whatever serenity one might create, and on the other hand they exhibit a capacity for bureaucratic rule which cannot allow diverse democracy to grow. In "Summer Evening," the cocktail gathering of officers of the American Army of Occupation and civilians attached to the Military Government, "some with wives, some without" (102), a major discusses acquiring antiques. A young man replies: "'Let me tell you that Berlin's the territory for the man who's got a flair. They're still pretty hungry over there, so they come to terms without too much of an argument'" (113). Such shady transactions signify a larger greyness of governing: rather than it be a goal to rid the country of hunger, hunger is helpful in the personal acquisition of antiques. Such perquisites enhance the bureaucratic positions of governing. The rote of rule and democratization are enacted with little concern for those it is meant to benefit.

In the Introduction, a non-fiction account²³ of the German government's war crimes trial of Heinrich Baab, a

²³ See Elizabeth Bell, Kay Boyle: A Study of the Short Fiction, Twayne P, NY 1992 56-67. Bell notes a journalistic style in some of the stories, but does not interrogate it. While offering a substantial analysis of the political impact of these stories, Bell is uninterested in the importance of women characters. Henry Moore of the New York Times (22 April 1951, 5) was impressed with Boyle's "six or seven genuine short stories, like the documentary items, [which] reveal skillful observation and an expert's careful prose." Their "fusion of theme, symbol and character...enable fiction to be a powerful agent for revealing truths."

Frankfurt S.S. officer, a shabby seamstress testifies against him.

[S]he spoke now and again with nervous belligerence, as if for a great many years she had been told (and perhaps even recently warned again) that the things she was saying were not the proper things for a German woman worthy of the name to say. But still she testified that in 1942 Heinrich Baab had arrested her seventy-two year-old Jewish mother-in-law... (21)

Defying the "weight of conformity" (Generation 151), the seamstress refuses to be complicit. She differs in this sense from women who complain of how much they lost due to the bombings; these are the women who help turn the young American woman in "Frankfurt in Our Blood" so bitterly against present-day Germans, for it is a sign that they cannot accept responsibility for fascism or the war. To be a 'virtuous German woman' under National Socialism meant to conform and be silent, yet this code continues to exert pressure, even if such women feel freed up to complain. In fact she may have recently been warned, as Boyle alludes to an extant fascist network of intimidation. Bach writes that some German women were beaten and their heads shaved by such guardians of virtue. Evoking a context of repression against vocal or independent women, however timid they might be, Boyle identifies this woman who speaks against Baab as one who claims that "deeper, wider honor" rather than clinging to "outraged national honor" (Introduction 74).

In contradistinction to the seamstress, Boyle also introduces the reader to an extreme version of the German

state's "virtuous" woman, former test pilot Hannah Reitsch. Although neither Boyle nor Reitsch mention it, it should be understood that as a woman test pilot, she was unlike most German women in wartime. In spite of her access not only to high military officials but to Hitler himself, she insists on a gendered transcendence of political affairs, inspired by a most intense manifestation of abstract love: "While she talked, her small hand dropped on my arm from time to time, and she spoke of love, of that tremendous love which women, above all, must possess to overflowing for humanity" (43). A touch of hypocritical intimacy, or one based on complete misunderstanding of Boyle, and words that speak of a sublime love and over-sentimentality, none of which Boyle comments on -- the gesture identifies her as someone who has completely divorced herself from immediate love in its human enactment. "She did not wish to speak of, or hear of, the fate of the German Jews....'You see, I was a flying woman, a birdwoman, I only knew what was taking place in the sky. I was not even a member of the Nazi Party, for I scarcely knew what the whole thing was about. If you belong to the air, you do not know what is taking place on earth'" (42).

As such, Reitsch represents a rarified version of the woman who has dedicated herself to the state out of an almost erotic involvement, yet insists on non-participation, even absence, in spite of her very practical role in testing

airplanes. She exemplifies the words of those Germans who insisted, as Margaret Bourke-White so distressingly recorded, "We didn't know. We didn't know"²⁴ Reitsch is a sinister, dangerous imitator of the male citizen, as if disembodied, enacting the masculinist values of the fraternal state out of pure love, which has the most impure of embodied results. Her individuality and dissimilarity only validate the extreme and murderous conformity of the Third Reich. We will hardly find such a type in the American imagination, for in the American context home and family are to be linked with slavish desire to the nation.

Boyle depicts doomed fraternizations between German men and American children, between American G.I.s and displaced boys, and attempts by an American woman who attempts to communicate across the buzz of a well-stocked PX to German workers -- all impossible crossings because of the emergent values of American power. Juxtaposed to these is the collection's one instance of sexual fraternization -- depicted in "Cabaret," a narrative of a theater revue in which both occupiers and occupied are ridiculed. In one skit, young girls emerge, in the words of the Dietrich-like narrator, "'out of the debris where once a city stood.'...Love, or some imitation of it, had crawled like a rat, had slithered in hunger and desire....' Girls lingered

²⁴ Dear Fatherland Sleep Quietly, Margaret Bourke-White, 1946. Account of arrival in Germany in May 1945, encountering death camps, and flying over the country.

on street corners like alley cats, accosted the living with their hearts sick for the dead!'" The girls, dressed in versions of American teens' clothing, in "mail-order-house merchandise which had become standard apparel for the Frauleins of the American Zone" (142), slide across the stage, while the narrator begins to sing for an American Johnny: "'wenn Du'ne Kamel hast....I'll spend the whole--long--night--with--you!'" (142-3). The audience loves the cabaret's mockery, but as spectators they themselves are implicated, for the scene is not only a symbol of Germany's defeat--and the claiming of its women as visceral symbol of the nation by the victor, but a primitive capitalism rising from the ruins, ruins that they themselves are astounded by but helped incur, as spectators or participants in the Third Reich. In this primitive reconfiguration of capitalism, the teens themselves are capital. As Arendt writes, the "exchange of products" becomes modernity's "chief public activity" (142). Sex itself becomes such an exchange, traded for products which are representative of America's mass production and of a tier of consumption beyond immediate needs: chewing gum, stockings, and as in this scene, cigarettes. The loss of sexual intimacy's "intrinsic worth," and its pervasive "'marketable value,'" Locke's term, in Occupation relations speaks not only of a commodification of women, but of a continued "devaluation of all things" (145, 144). This serves two purposes -- it

deflates German selfhood and endorses a growing American commodification of social relations: women are to be trafficked. It is also a return to a restrictive sense of virtue.

Addressing the American community, which concentrates the future of the nation-state, Boyle shows us the dependent, effaced zone of virtuous but "dependent wives." Literally marking their confinement as American dependents, the term suggests a restricted consciousness as well, devoted to things American, uncritical of policies of occupation, and equally uninterested in the burden of German national identity. As exiled as she is from the burgeoning post-war life of consumer goods and domesticity, the dependent woman is able to reenact this in the protected American zone overseas. We have already seen American consumption inscribed on the teen pick-ups. Now we see it fully replicated: "Once you stepped from the German city street, and into the Commissary, here, for better or worse, was the look of home. Metal push-wagons waited in a double row...as they waited in the chain stores of any Stateside city you might name" ("Lovers of Gain" 169-70). In the store world, reproduction of consumption rather than maternal reproduction is women's lot.

There is also motherhood. Life as a mother in an American compound is one of passive endurance and obsequient transmission of Americanization. Children dress in cowboy

outfits, as Indians, and in "child-size M.P. outfits bought at the Post Exchange, with handcuffs jangling at their belts" ("Fife's House" 89). The play is normal, except that we have been alerted to the possibility that there is no normal, that all activity can be directed toward sinister purposes. Their dress-up play takes us back to a moment in the Introduction, when S.S. defendant Baab's childhood is being described:

while still in his teens, he joined...a militant, uniformed branch of the S.P.D....This predilection for uniformed violence is not uncommon in the young of many countries, and in the ordinary development of children and events, it might have led to nothing. (26)

The world inherited after 1945 is not ordinary as much as it tries to resemble the ordinary, so this depiction of uniformed children, enacting the conquests of the American empire, as they are watched over by the "dependent wives," is a chilling signal that domesticity may conceal terrible developments.

In "Begin Again," the independent American woman who drives on the Autobahn recalls that the this highway was "built for conquest, as were the rest of Hitler's highroads" (79). We see how pervasive the foundation of fascist territory is. The possibility of whether this tract can be reclaimed for diverse voices, or for democracy, is questionable. The autobahn is dotted primarily with American cars, which suggests an American fraternity of models has replaced the German pack. The driver picks up a

string of cold-hearted German hitchhikers, which becomes a way to encounter "the voices of many people" (80). Her final passenger is a German teen who spits out racist venom against black G.I.s, language faithfully learned from her American soldier boyfriend. This character reveals the malleability of young German women, absorbing new versions of racist thinking. Thus Boyle depicts a woman's mimetic capability: brazen, outspoken, she reveals less of her own thinking than what she copies from the new dominant group. She is parasitic and without identity except through the man she has attached herself to, a man whose dominance and language she appropriates uncritically.

The American woman watched the blond girl as she put lipstick on her mouth, watched the sullen, bewildered mask, the blank flesh on which had been painted brightly as viciously a child's stubborn resistance. (83)

Whatever thin understanding which existed between the two women fades when the girl begins to talk about black G.I.s. Her affection for Americans abruptly sours:

"Only, I won't have nothin' to do with niggers," she said. "I don't know how a white girl can go out with a nigger. They're just like animals. They ain't like men. They sure ruin every place they go."

The driver refuses to let the conversation end here.

"No, you're wrong," the American woman said. "They're like the rest of us--some good, some bad."

This simple statement is meant to open up a discussion of goodness and evil, certainly the subject which Germany is

expected to be addressing in order to "begin again." But the warped young girl has lost the ability to engage such issues, or to make such distinctions, opting instead for myopic prejudice: "her eyes went blank. 'Excuse me, but I don't understand your English very well,' she said" (84). The teen's dishonest denial, her refusal to translate what contradicts her backward values, ends their encounter.

In this context, we can think of translation as a recognition of likeness. It rests on an understanding that what is spoken of both intimate and public occurrences can be transmitted across boundaries, relatively intact, so that meanings and values are upheld. To this extent, translation bears difference as well -- not in the sense of containment, of locking it, but in conducting. This plurality is what the young German girl refuses; it is what the fascist "flying woman" rises above, so to speak, into a realm of pure "testing" which can never be pure, so that she explicitly endorses every crude gesture of tyranny. The dependent wives lock themselves within the American zone of militarism and bureaucracy, and embrace their mirror image of submission, as they find their identity in consumption that seems to be without political meanings. In this context, "fraternization" is the crudest of exchanges--as the teen hitchhiker proves. Only the act

of looking for varied voices, as the American driver does, or a new way of listening, as in "Frankfurt in Our Blood," points to a resistant internationalism. In Boyle's resistant exchange, fraternization is redescribed as sisterhood, the mix of two outsiders, one of whom in American military eyes might be considered "German" and thus to be shunned. In "Frankfurt in Our Blood" a Jewish woman who long ago escaped from Frankfurt to China with her two younger sons, is returning home. Two sons left in Germany were killed in Dachau. "'I am afraid of hearing what the living now have to say,'" she tells the American traveller.

"We can listen to other things," the girl said, and their hands held to each other's as the waiter set the plates of crackers and cheese before them, and poured the fresh wine out." (126)

This moment of touch and of renewal--unlike the touch of the flying woman in the Introduction, helps the older woman to "shoulder the burden of patience and resignation again." For Boyle, the post-war world is undoubtedly a burden, both individual and collective that must be exposed, examined, and carried by people who recognize both individuality and plurality. Nationalism is a contagion. As the Major asks himself at the end of "Summer Evening," having played a trick on a German house servant, "'What are we doing here, any of us?....What has become of the lot of us?'" (117). Boyle warns that

America, nation of becoming, torchbearer of the Enlightenment project of instrumentality and progress, can only see its own power and its own appetite.

4. The place race occupies: William Gardner Smith

William Gardner Smith's 1948 novel The Last of the Conquerors is predicated on the possibility of difference being shared--but ultimately criticizes America's refusal to accept difference. Difference in this case is the divide between black and white, but the difference between men and women runs like a red thread as well. Like John Oka's post-war novel No-No Boy in its profound ambivalence about American identity, Smith's central character Hayes Dawkins, an African American soldier serving in the Army of Occupation, finally cannot relinquish his complex, even defective nationality. Even if Germany can create a facsimile of American life in its swing music, for example, and even if Germany seems to offer a possibility of private and public life free of racism, it will not satisfy. This "possibility" of course is highly problematic, for Germany's recent history is one of unbridled racism leading to mass extermination -- and it leads the reader to consider that the romance between Dawkins and Ilse, his German girlfriend, is a rhetorical move which allows the protagonist some space in which to be "free" of racism

and to read America.

While Stein and Boyle both address the strong currents of racism within the military, unmitigated by the promise to deliver democracy to Germany, Smith's novel unfolds with race and race mixing through fraternization as the central issues. This newfound friendship with German women and their families reveals, in the words of Dawkins's friend, the Professor, "'the irony of my going away to Germany to find democracy'" (238).²⁵ The Last of the Conquerors follows the pattern of many American war novels, both as bildungsroman and realist criticism. Through his essential comradeship with enlisted men, through engagement with women of the war zone or occupied area, and in his conflict with autocratic self-serving officers, the soldier/protagonist comes to know himself better, and gains a more critical vision both of America and of being American. The similarities fade here, since Smith unfolds these relationships through the determining lens of race, so that the citizenship contested is far

²⁵ Written by a 21-year old veteran, The Last of the Conquerors is one of an important group of novels by African Americans from the war years which viciously attack a racism that flourished in spite of claims for liberty and the rights of individuals. Chester Himes' If He Hollers Let Him Go; John Oliver Killens And Then We Heard the Thunder; Ann Petry, "The Winding Sheet," The Street; Brown Girl Brownstone; James Baldwin, "Notes of a Native Son." John Okada, No-No Boy also questions national devotion and race.

more elusive, and the attitudes toward self and nation are both more ambivalent and angry.

When the army begins to reduce the percentage of blacks from 20 to 10 percent, reactions are divided, reflecting the ambivalence of many African Americans toward national service and the war. Homo surmises: "'there ain't no more dying to be done. All you niggers can go home now. This is going to be a white man's Army again.'" Homo eventually deserts to the Russian sector, leaving Dawkins to consider him "a man without a country" (111). While the black soldiers realize that the Army has provided opportunities beyond the slums and rural areas many hail from, the disgust for the nation which sent them overseas is unmitigated. Yet, to those curious Germans, home can only be re-described, for there is pain in an accurate description. In addition, the black soldiers have a sense of patriotism; they don't want to feed Germans' awareness of racial injustices which the Nazis had pointed to. Like the moment of truth in Boyle's hitchhiking story "Begin Again," the true discourse of race is difficult to translate, and is easily disguised. Dawkins in fact creates a different origin when asked by his girlfriend Ilse asks him about his home. Thus the attraction of the intense brotherhood the military offers them, based less on defending what they come from and more on defending what they have now.

Three simultaneous fraternizations co-exist and interpenetrate: the basic comraderie among the company of black occupation soldiers, ironically set in motion by the war itself; the promised fraternity of American brotherhood, about which they are cynical; and the fraternization with German women. This third allegiance reveals the frail bonds of ideal America, for when Ilse and Dawkins are found together by white M.P.s, they are subject to racist harassment.

I did not notice the jeep rolling slowly by.

Then I heard the shout...

"Hey beautiful, why the hell you wastin' your time walkin' down the street with a goddamn nigger?"

I looked up and saw the jeep with the white American soldiers in it, all laughing and looking. (96-7).

Clearly the MPs are more interested in harassing a mixed couple than enforcing the non-fraternization rules. Later Ilse is taken from Dawkins for a humiliating VD check; she is incarcerated for two weeks by Mps who urge her to give up her black boyfriend.

But the ideal is the most fragile of the bonds -- the one most closely tied to patriotism and a sense of citizenship. This is in part because what women represent does not have this valuation in the ideal but is only physical. Randy reminds his buddies:

'Dumb niggers. You ought never forget what Hitler said about you in Mein Kampf. These people ain't changin' overnight.'

Homo laughed. 'The women don't have anything to do with it,' he said. (21)

As one cynical and embittered character announces, he hopes that there is another war, so that he can refuse to go. Another says he would embrace the Russian soldiers. "I'd face death for something I believe in, like my family or my race. But I ain't taking a chance of getting even my little finger scratched for the States in the next war. I'll surrender first, so help me" (83-4). Yet by the novel's end, this sense of nation as fraternity -- with its community of family and race -- in spite of its disjunction, is the one which exerts the greatest pull.

The novel opens with heady interest in Germans, but not everyone among the group feels ready to embrace Germans. Yet German women are another story. Randy, who hates Germans because he, alone among his buddies, has encountered them in combat, argues that "sex...transcended all lines of demarcation" (16). Women are the fruits of occupation, what they set out to encounter as they first arrive in Berlin: "We looked for some girls to pick up, but without luck....We kept walking, and kept looking for some stray girls" (16-17). Stray girls sounds not unlike stray cats, and even as Dawkins falls for one particular girl, he can't shake this concept that women are "to be occupied" like territory. After being shipped away from Frankfurt, he encounters a woman in a G.I. bar:

"Are you occupied territory?" I asked. I could feel the whiskey very much now.

"Please?"

"Do you have a boy friend? A darling?"

This mixing of occupied woman and occupied territory, which I noted at the beginning of the chapter, removes the women from any political framework, and makes them a reflection of masculine positions. Women can occupy space, as they do in Frederic Wakeman's home front novel, Shore Leave, their detritus all over the room in the wake of a party between men on leave and civilian women²⁶, and as they do, tentatively, in Wesley Towner's occupation novel, Liberation, in which Day enters a room "occupied by women in embroidered peasant costumes" who join "hearty laughing men" (87) -- where the women's "national" dress allows them to share the space of German fascism which undermines the U.S.'s literal occupation. Observer George Clare wrote that women "dominated the scene....Every night is Fraulein night" (19, 29). Yet this is not 'domination' of a geography which wields power; rather the opposite is true -- there is such a

²⁶ Wakeman writes:

The living room, or the party room, was literally full of women....There were a few men besides the fliers, but certainly not more than one for every three women. Women dominated the party.

Women, then fliers, then waiters with drinks and trays. The characteristic pitch of conversation was soprano. The place smelled like women too. A blending of odors that ran the gamut from Woolworth's cosmetic counter to Chanel Number 5 (29).

plethora of "easy ladies [with] sexy red lips" (22) available that men have great freedom in picking them. The "power" of lipstick here is frail indeed. Consider the term occupation itself. Women to be occupied suggests that they are spaces which the national agent himself can inhabit and live in, a place for the affirmation of his imagination, including his national imagining. It is image, metaphor, cipher for the enactment of masculine /national power and identity -- in this case the re-nationalization of Germany and the U.S. for the post war world.

One other form 'being occupied' takes in The Last of the Conquerors is in the replication of bourgeois marriages, where each G.I./girlfriend unit creates a little "home," even if it has its exotic qualities of black and white mixing. While Dawkins has forgotten "the feel of home" (111), here he can command and care for his Fraulein, constantly affirming his superiority over the German demobilized soldiers who might otherwise expect to occupy this domestic space. With four women to every man, threadbare German men were noticeably rejected in these occupation romances and engagements. Smith's women are not pick-up girls or "fraternazis"; rather they are honest, hardworking girls looking for someone to love, (Ilse works for the chaplain). They find what they're looking for in the company of black G.I.s, perhaps the

most American of Americans in their eyes -- or paradoxically, they're attracted to the maligned part of America. In this case, their fraternization is not so wholeheartedly pro-American, for every racist response by M.P.s and officials affirms that America is just 'as guilty' as Germany. It furthermore affirms the Germans' victim status. Yes, the now abandoned German racism is ironic, as the Professor notes, but what causes the women to love black soldiers in spite of more than a decade of racist inculcation? Any discourse among the women characters of the merits of sexual relationships with G.I.s does not emerge, which again leads me to argue that Smith is somewhat blind to the innuendoes he has created here, or creates a gender heaven, i.e. subordinated women, to emphasize the painful discrepancies of race. The framework for women is quite narrow: women are either slut-like, indiscriminate pick-ups, or devoted to a single man. Whichever position is claimed, German women come into focus through their relationships with American G.I.s. The good girls possess wisdom and insight, but this exists in the context of stereotypical, selfless devotion to their boyfriends, a union nearly devoid of politics; they are eager in their domestic duties, and far more faithful than American women might be.

But their blandness also works as a way to reflect the energy and anger of black G.I.s. Dawkins likes

German woman because they seem different from American women:

Vaguely, I knew that the German girls were not as thin as average Americans but I could not remember exactly how thin the American girl was. One thing I liked about the German standard of beauty was its emphasis on naturalness and abhorrence of too much lipstick, rouge, or face powder. (110-111)

The heavier German woman suggests that she hardly suffers from the deprivations of war, but it is unclear whether Dawkins considers this-- (in the way that Margaret Bourke-White does when she reiterates her observations of German women's healthy white teeth). Nor is it evident that Dawkins realizes he echoes the Nazis' vision of the natural woman. The woman he is attracted to is not the new woman of modernity, but rather the 'natural' woman of a more demure custom. That his anti-racist argument lies on the context of an anti-modern stance toward women, which echoes a nationalist longing for the woman as healthy, robust symbol of the volk, is problematic.

And contrary to Randy's claim, such a woman is undeniably German; that sex transcends boundaries is also perplexing, for even as sleeping companions, women are emblems of a racist nation at the same time that they are emblems of opposition to American racism. That sexual relationships are the place where racial equality is concentrated, found in its most basic meaning, from which other friendships and support grows (Ilse's landlords

also become fond of Dawkins) seems to be a crucial problematic, highlighting a double consciousness of both blacks and women -- except in Smith's construction of the women characters he does not permit them the complexity of double vision. Whom to trust, and how to reconcile the German friendliness, even intimacy with blacks, with their Nazi past and hatred of Jews emerge as central, corrosive questions. The male characters answer by leaving women out of the body politic.

Having noted the "irony" of the racial situation, Smith aims his blows at the malignant racism lingering in the victors. The efforts to ship soldiers home, to give unfounded disciplinary measures, reveals festering prejudices. In one scene the Professor begins to expound on the limitations of the occupation in a club drinking, while with a white captain.

"We have not succeeded in interesting the German people in such democratic institutions as elections, political parties and the like....They are still the same people they were when our troops first crossed the Elbe."

The Captain agrees. After more conversation, and more drinking, he adds, "'there was one good feature about Hitler and the Nazis.'"

We waited for the one feature.

'They got rid of the Jews.'

A bolt of tenseness landed in the room. You could not see or hear it, but you could feel it land. The German girls especially were struck. (104-5)

While the German women have only half-listened to the

conversation as it developed, as if it is not really of interest to them, this burst of anti-Semitism shocks them, but their response is not vocalized. It is as if they have overheard grown-ups say bad things. The black soldiers, caught between their disgust and their need not dispute a superior officer, quit him as quickly as possible. Leaving the club, Dawkins gives a man begging for cigarettes his half-empty pack, a human gesture to counter the captain's hateful inhumanity. However, like the efforts of a black G.I. to buy clothing for a cold and threadbare German child in Kay Boyle's "Home," this cannot be read as so simple a gesture. It speaks resistance to American racism, but it reaffirms Dawkins's position as benefactor to an impoverished supplicant, one with the might of arms to back himself up, a replication of white/black relations in the U.S., and it is reactive, shaped by an uncensored American prejudice.

While Germany is riddled with contradictions, the Professor, the character blessed with intellectual insight, realizes that he may "never be happy at home again.'" Home is a complex place: it is not only the nation, but the streets one lives on, the relationships with others. When Dawkins is asked if he'll take Ilse with him to America, he knows it cannot happen. "I thought of slums, and bugs in the bed, and roaches in the closet, and plaster cracking, and garbage in the yard,

and little money" (250). Only now can he face the image of his home realistically. All that makes Germany attractive to G.I.s-- its cleanliness and order, is unavailable in his own community. Unspoken is his understanding that an interracial couple would face nearly insurmountable obstacles.

But his promise to return to Germany is equally impossible. The German idea of America exists through its encounter with American G.I.s, just as it was colored by films before the war. "I thought of the club. I thought of the German band attempting American swing" (253, 33) --their attempt is only partially successful. Likewise, this replication of America -- the German's imagination of it, is not satisfactory. Fraternization between Black G.I.s and German women has only brought to light how difficult home, the American nation, is.

Dawkins' understanding that he must return is not an affirmation of America, but an awareness that the German concept of "America" that he would live with in Germany cannot match his own imagination. We might recall a conversation he had with a Germany who suggested American needed a stronger government. Dawkins defends his nation: "it is not the government but people who must change things. One must look to 'friends of the heart.'" (163). This sense that the nation is not the state, but those varied people now represents some possibility. It

will not be without its conflicts.²⁷ This continuing contested relationship with America is foreshadowed for example when the mess sergeant being sent home on a degrading and unmerited "blue" discharge burns Stars and Stripes. This is both an Army newspaper and representation of the American flag. The question "Who did win the war?" lingers as the novel closes, for American practices are shown to be undemocratic, and the injustices meted out for rank and race continue and flourish. Women--those fraternized, those who "don't have anything to do with it," are the territory from which this angry exposure takes place. Finally, the German woman cannot signify "home" without nationality. We see that they do represent Germany. Smith's move from the universal (women don't have anything to do with the particular nation) to women as echo of a particular reverses the expected trajectory, but we must assume he goes home to the rouged and lipsticked, thinner American sisters as well as his brothers.

5. Conclusion: the writing woman goes home

"Who is bad and who is good? What is
barbarian and who is civilized? Who is

²⁷Smith himself moved to Paris in 1951, "to break away from the conformity of the black bourgeoisie of which he felt he was a prisoner rather than from a need to escape the racial scene." He returned to the riots of 1967 for Agence France Presse (Fabre 239, 253); in 1970 he published Return to Black America.

fit to lead the world to peace and security, and by what token?" --Roger Wilkins, September 1945²⁸

The texts I have addressed illuminate not only the vision of overseas G.I.s and other American observers, but offer critical commentary as well about a virile, so to speak, a singular American national identity, one cleansed of racial ambiguities, celebrating the fraternal state after victory. Victory shifted the emphasis now more clearly away from military to political concerns, but surely inextricably tied to military strength, as the nation sought to bring home the meaning of its victory, as well as to internationalize that meaning, so as to justify its continued military mobilization of war-weary soldiers and its military occupations, and ultimately, to redefine itself as a new world power in a world which continued, or so it seemed, to be dangerous. Furthermore, this was a world in which women could continue to be represented as brazenly as metaphors for this idealized nation. Historian Mary Ryan's observation of the absence or presence of women continues to be of value: in celebrations of female monuments and symbols, "gender was at once the symbol of the Republic and a sign of the exclusion of women from its universal, rational, and disembodied plan of public deliberation" (172). Ryan addresses nineteenth century America, but I think the

²⁸ Editorial in The Crisis, qtd. in Boyer 199.

metaphorization of women in representations of post-war Germany shows that equality of female agency--some of which had been permitted in wartime America--was disrupted and reimagined in the post-war fraternal state, now become symbols of a revitalized American nationalism.

The fiction noted here treats fraternization quite differently: as engagement through which to query postwar culture. In Stein, reference to fraternization is a means to discuss a break with binaries, in particular that of women as either virtuous or bad, virtuous because they, like the idealized American, patriotically faithful and attentive to their men away at war, or overseas, because they willingly sleep with soldiers. Or, they are bad like French women -- because they have an independence. So Stein begins a heteroglossia on Americanness and on difference. In the text, her soldiers are drawn to fraternization, while the novel expands the 'fraternity' of G.I.s to include their sisters, American women. Their exchange is self-consciously American, and self-consciously focused on their relation to others. Public space is to be the site of the enactment of difference, and she refuses to silence or hide this discourse, the multi-voice discussion of the national imagination which she urges among Americans.

Boyle turns to a variety of meanings for fraternization. The young woman hitchhiker evokes the trace of the standard fraternization, and it is seen to be an undesirable relationship. The girlfriend's assertive racism against American blacks is nursed in her encounter with a G.I. boyfriend. Or fraternization, through the German girls who get fraternized, is the subject of mockery by German actors -- a way for self-critical Germans to distance themselves from the public performance of commodified sexualizing, and show their cynical response to occupation, which is neither collapse nor liberation. Some of Boyle's American characters engage in genuine moments of fraternization, as interactive, often crossing gender or race lines. Not sexual, these exchanges expose both the persistent remnants of fascist thinking among Germans as well the new biases of American power, but for Boyle they show as well the tendency for people to withdraw into private space which seems immune from political life or public good as much as it is from the state.

Smith's novel is the only one directly about fraternization, but Hayes Dawkins' relationship quickly develops as monogamous intimacy: his is not the furtive relationship in the wheat fields which Margaret Bourke-White said "enlisted men found extremely convenient, since the fraternization rules were so slow in being

modified" (96), nor is it the cigarette transaction initiated at a public square. For Smith, fraternizing involves not only breaking the military's rules against contact with Germans, but breaking the U.S.'s color line as well, and thus it is resistant. Within this resistance, however, a neatly bourgeois relationship is protected. Ilse has made slippers for Hayes -- a sign of her domestication. This is ultimately a relationship which constitutes him as private man, with freedom to 'wander' wearing the slippers, but not as public man -- to be a public man requires possession of civic agency and citizenship as well. His citizen/soldier status is certainly questionable: the army doubly restricts and contains him rather than accept his subject position because he is black. Woman, banished to the private, to the role of comforter/ and private passion, can never be the location of this subjective position-- and this is more complicated by the fact that Ilse is a German woman. As an exile, he can create his identity of Americanness - - but not within the slippered domestic world of Ilse. To this extent, the fact that this world seems somewhat idealized does not matter -- because within the economy of gender here, that is, the revitalized domestic whether it be in Germany or the U.S. -- man can only assert himself as independent in distinction to women.

There is an added issue. Feminist theory in

particular is still unsure about depictions of women's sexual encounters as positive. Certainly, the vocabulary and instances of the abject needs elaboration, but "victim" cannot be the only term used for the sexual woman. In addition, feminism needs to expand its vocabulary in understanding nationalisms, national boundaries and concepts of national imagination. An exile/spy such as "Arabelle Smith" (who is both, a German political dissident made familiar to us in the guise of spy) in Hitchcock's The Thirty-Nine Steps (1935) may be such a woman who through her mystery, and in spite of her brief appearance in the film, allows us to see the ambiguous positions of erotic woman and national subject. She tells Richard Hannay "I have no country." But even then, one assumes she has not given up the idea of Germany, but has only rejected what it is to be German in 1935. She throws herself upon him in what appears to be a sexual manner, in order to enlist his political aid, but Hitchcock clearly blurs the borders between these two 'states.' She is nationally stateless, or in exile, but these are positions of loss, just as her sexuality seems self-contained in the interest of her political task.

Feminism's difficulties with woman as "victim" are rendered more complex due to different valences given nationality as ethnicity, as dominant nationality, or as colonized. Kay Boyle deserves particular attention in

exploring subjecthood and nation, for her work shows us that women's positions cannot be reduced to one location of victimization (or agency for that matter). In her rich discussion of Boyle as an inventive modernist, Suzanne Clark writes that Boyle offers "multiple and complex borders" (129), which "establishes the basic moral principle, the metaphor of intersubjectivity" (145). In addition, Clark writes, Boyle's

later work becomes more difficult and less accessible in a way that is significant for feminism....[Her work becomes] more rhetorically challenging to familiar (family) ideologies of human relationship and more clearly different from familiar male narratives. (145)

Boyle shows that nationalism itself is a category of distinction to consider when reading the dependent, the abject, or the complicit. The American women's dependencies, this re-articulation of female 'virtue,' she argues, must be read in tandem with German sensibilities: their constructions are interdependent. As the U.S. moved into a period where it claimed it was politically and economically independent and singular, Boyle shows us this imagination is international, and to an extent cumulative and reactive. Thus her concept of the "contagion" of German nationalism. Likewise, the Nazi validation of the virtuous woman, evoked in her account of the Baab trial, threatened to be transmitted to American society, where a silence, or

acquiescence was brewing. It stemmed not only from the exhausted relief that war was over, but also from the material comfort creating a literal "dependency," and from a reframed masculinity which demanded the ministrations of the domestic woman. Women's voices would be heard only in the writing of grocery lists for their husbands at the PX: "men in uniform...pushing their wagons as carefully as if babies rode in them, while they studied the lists their wives had written out" ("The Lovers of Gain" 170).

This study remains an incomplete exploration of women's sexual agency. The conversation I addressed in my chapter on security posters makes frequent use of the term "conversation," which occurs frequently in Stein's fiction as well. This conversation, I have noted in the earlier chapter, addresses both political discourse and sexual practices, and it is clear that the sexual conversation between different individuals in Brewsie and Willie is also a matter of importance to Stein. In closing, I want to refer to a brief series of anecdotes which play with the tropes of the sexually independent, vocal woman after the war. The first appears in Elizabeth MacDonald's memoir of her years with the OSS, Undercover Girl. In collecting stories of active women in the OSS, MacDonald comes across the feat of Barbara Lauwers, a WAC in Rome: "Barbara was the only girl I've

ever known who made six hundred men fall for her line--all at the same time! (254)" MacDonald clarifies this claim by explaining that Lauwers received a bronze star for writing five fake speeches about Czech defectors which was sent to Czech garrisons in northern Italy. The story is in keeping with MacDonald's spunky tone, smartly combining the writing (vocal) woman with the sexually alluring woman, as military might. Interestingly, she singles out a volcanic disruption where the taboo of "loose lips" is put to patriotic, military use.

An anecdote to this disruptive woman comes, not surprisingly, from the pages of Life. In January 1946 Life reported that "Man's Stance Declines." With tongue-in-cheek alarm, author Gary Richards finds a cause for the increasing instances of male slouch. The slouch is clearly a "sign of the deterioration within many institutions, ...most of all barrooms." Although meant to be humorous, Richards squares off on the need to expel women from public arenas and return them to their submissive place. The bar as haunt of the sexually assertive woman, the Victory "woman," is implied. Women are the source of deterioration: "Then women ruined everything." In the first flush of Prohibition came the speakeasies, and with the speakeasies women flocked to the bars."

His analysis of the importance of alcohol is not

that different from that of Margaret Banning at the outset of the war. In her Women in Defense, she assesses the positive impact of prohibition--because public drinking brought women into public spaces, in turn stimulated the drive for women's rights. Banning's aim was to draw women into social, energetic participation in the war, and she particularly lambasted the Nazis for opposing women's rights.

But now the time has come to stem that advance. "Astute" bartenders are aware of man's "diminishing male status in modern society," where a man fears "any minute his wife may drop in and find him" (my emphasis), or he may have to offer his stool to a woman, in a useless and unpleasant gesture of chivalry. This suggests, somewhat spuriously, that men had to acquiesce to a wartime gender equality.²⁹ This opening for women forced a change in "posture," according to Richards, because women have forced the lowering of bar heights, and men slumped. They were not erect as they should be. It is time to restore the correct proportions; keep the wives out of bars, for this is sacred public space for men--and women should be home with the kids, letting their husbands release some steam. Or women who do prowl bars, that is, pick-ups, should adjust themselves to male needs' in that

²⁹Anderson notes how difficult it was for single women to frequent bars. In Seattle the police rounded up bar goers and arrested them as prostitutes.

space. The wartime homosocial world must, to a great extent, disband; it must find its place within the normal workings of post-war society. A disrupting presence, signally sexual independence rather than being sexualized, women should be evicted, insuring that the warm glow and murmur of barroom chatter can continue, uninterrupted.

The voice that might have been claimed, in the loose lips metaphor, was itself critically reexamined by MacDonald as she concludes her memoir: she starts with a written statement to explain her resignation from the MO branch (Morale Operations) of the OSS at war's end.

MO...means persuasion through subversion. It plays on the weaknesses and vanity of human nature, on what people want to believe rather than on the truth that people ought to believe. The only effective counter weapon is a thorough knowledge of international affairs, and how inextricably woven they are with human nature. It is also important to know that MO has been a weapon of penetration during the war, an organized subversive warfare campaign waged by all nations who participated in the struggle for power....We must approach any controversy with an open mind, always remembering that there are such forces of evil as MO at large in the world today. (304-5)

For MacDonald, the powerful role of creating "lines" to subvert and disrupt the enemy is no longer appropriate. Yet she claims no "return to domesticity" here, but rather a principles political criticism of continuing mistruths in peace time. However, she rips this sheet up, and instead writes a "'singing commercial....light

and repeatable and hummable.'" We see the shift from international political subversion to advertising -- even though her 'resignation' is not silence, but rather implicates the terrible power of the A bomb.

There is, however, another story, which Boyle tells in "Frankfurt in Our Blood." I began this chapter by referring to women as a city -- in the Book of Isaiah and in the images of "occupied" women in Germany. Boyle instead makes the city something that is carried within - the body seems to occupy the city, as Rukeyser has written earlier in "Ann Burlak," "we know in our bodies other cities." The woman returning to Frankfurt explains to the young American woman on the train:

We carried what we could of Frankfurt in our blood with us....perhaps the only thing we really took with us was the sound of Goethe's words saying...very clearly, that wisdom's last decree is that freedom and life are deserved only by those who conquer them anew each day. (124)

Boyle rewrites this city, not as a woman but as an image to illuminate intersubjective self-consciousness. This is the loose-lipped thinker, that is the woman irreverent to power, the critical citizen, whose "domination," to use Stein's word, is a radical inventiveness of self and community.

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