

Between Apocalyptic Violence  
and Cosmopolitan Spirit(s):  
Waging Justice War in Leslie Marmon Silko's  
*Almanac of the Dead*<sup>\*</sup>  
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Abstract

This essay attempts to analyze how the discourse of terrorism (i.e. the extreme form of violence with political content) is intertwined with Native American claims for sacred land, assertion for rights to free migration and fight for ecological justice. It will also address the political and ethical complexities of the long-standing historical struggle not merely in terms of indigenous discourse, but against the contour of both colonial memory of holocaust and the rampant invasion of neocolonialism manifested in various forms of transnational technology. I would argue that Leslie Marmon Silko standing on the ground of indigenism is actually oscillating between the ideals of tribalism and cosmopolitanism. In other words, in Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*, tribal history is evoked to challenge the dominant hegemonic discourse and ideology, whereas cosmopolitan spirit(s) is recognized as that which has already been inscribed into the mind of Native people since time immemorial.

**Keywords:** apocalyptical violence, cosmopolitanism, indigenous spirits, justice.

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Europeans did not listen to the souls of their dead. That was the root of all trouble for Europeans.

—Leslie Marmon Silko

Terrorism takes many forms, but most often the violence is sexual, to convince victim suffering is part of their identity, as unchangeable as their sex or skin color.

—Leslie Marmon Silko

When the novel made its publication in 1991, Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* was condemned as an "ugly" novel (Yuknavitch 97). It is, as Silko expected it to be, horrifying. The novel horrifies the readers because various forms of crimes, wars, and violence that terrify readers dominate myriad scenes of the novel; the depictions of terrorist kidnapping, illegal guns sales, cocaine smuggling, drug addiction, and perverse sexuality occupy so many scenes in the novel that the fictional world is rendered horribly disorderly, disruptive and out of control.

Indeed, unlike *Ceremony*, *Almanac* is a strikingly chaotic novel fraught with unforgiving resentments: fury, rage, wrath, vengeance and belligerence. By virtue of its explicit expressions of anger, hostility, and protest towards the dominant European values, the novel is by no means amenable in tone. On the contrary, the novel deliberately exposes readers to a series of torture and brutality, arousing in them an unforgettable sense of fear and repulsion. By mapping a geographically, socially and culturally "dis-eased" world plagued with commotions and death, Silko has readers confronted with the terror of multiple groups of ethnic-minorities, the marginalized subalterns in particular: the homeless, the refugees, the exiles. The subalterns are spiritually disoriented and morally corrupted, subjecting to violent crimes while they struggle desperately for "survival" in a white society. It seems that the discourse of peace and harmony, which marks the virtues of *Ceremony*, is here superseded by a discourse of resistance and terror.

Given the fact that terror and violence inflicted on people across ethnic groups become prominent scenarios, the novel calls into critical attention and debates about Silko's political stance. In her "The American Indian Fiction Writers: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, the Third World, and First Nation Sovereignty," Elizabeth Cook-Lynn praises that Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* sets a good example to show a Native American writer's commitment to a nationalistic project, to "redefine the boundaries of the Western hemisphere" and to "create a pan-Indian journey toward retribution"; however, she also faults Silko for not being able to make explicit in the

novel the Native American concern and search for “tribally specific” sovereignty (90-93). Cook-Lynn’s denigration of Silko’s task is disputed by Arnold Krupat, however. Borrowing Kwame Anthony Appiah’s ideas about stages of postcolonial African novel, Krupat contends that *Almanac*, far from being nationalist and anticolonial, has “distinct affinities with Appiah’s second-stage postcolonial African novel” (*The Turn to the Native* 30). This stage of novel is, in Appiah’s words, characterized by its “appeal to an ethical universal [...] a certain simple respect for human suffering” (53). *Almanac*, Krupat observes, reveals this respect to human suffering and rejection of nationalism (54). It is, Krupat writes in Appiah’s words, “an instance of ‘postrealist writing,’ offering a ‘postnativist politics [...] [and] a *transnational* rather than a national solidarity” (54; italic original). In Krupat’s view, what distinguishes Silko from the postcolonial African novel Appiah has in mind is Silko’s display of optimism. The optimism, he suggests, is derived from a belief in the prophecies that the indigenous tribal values will be recovered through the commitment of a transnational tribe to “healing, to continuance and survivance” (55).<sup>1</sup>

Krupat-and-Cook-Lynn’s debate represents two utterly antagonistic positions on Native American literature. On the one pole stand the supporters of nationalist, nativist and essentialist writing; on the other are those in favor of cosmopolitan, postnativist, nonessentialist and transnational perspectives.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding their different standpoints, both Cook-Lynn and Krupat, however, addresses, though briefly and lightly, the ethico-political issues that Native American writers are

1 In both of his critical essays that appear respectively in 1996 and 2002, Krupat gives critical comments on Cook-Lynn’s essay. In *The Turn to the Native*, he writes that Cook-Lynn’s essay “remains the strongest and best account of the ‘nationalist,’ ‘nativist,’ and anti-‘cosmopolitan’ position” (4). He also contends that Cook-Lynn’s critique of Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*, and her understanding of the “Indian Nationalism” inaccurate [...] in its logic and its estimate of possible outcome (4). But he also praises that “no supporter of the internationalist or cosmopolitan position should proceed without taking Cook-Lynn’s arguments into account” (4).

2 Of course, between these two poles is, according to Krupat and other critics, the indigenist position. The indigenists emphasize the importance of land to the indigenous people. It may be true that in this protest novel, Silko, as Cook-Lynn notes, is adopting a nationalist approach to seek justice for the Native Americans, who claim that their lands have been “stolen” by white colonizers. But Silko’s radical position, I would argue, is mainly rested on her indigenist perspective that claims the foremost value of the land and earth to the cultural continuance of the indigenous community. For the discussion of three perspectives in the study of Native American literature—nationalist, indigenist, and cosmopolitan—refer to Krupat’s *Red Matter* 1-23.

compelled to grapple with: the issues concerning the legitimacy of counteracting the violence of dominant law by excessive violence and the ethics of seeking justice through retribution. As excessive violence is registered in the novel as a trope of resistance, it is then imperative to interrogate and re-evaluate whether this strategy of employing violence to fight for identity-based, sacred land rights is morally justifiable.

Moreover, while Silko portrays Native American “defiance and resistance to things European” in diverse aspects, what she criticizes is not only European values but concepts of land ownership, property right, modern democracy and transnational capitalism. In one sense, Silko reveals her deep skepticism about the Western ideas of freedom, citizenship, human right, those concepts stemming from the change of world order and remaining at odd with traditional Indian ideas. As a result of this, we can say that Silko, in *Almanac’s* rather “encyclopedia” narrative, moves from a questioning of the legitimacy of white occupying the indigenous lands to the thinking of a more profound ethical problem regarding what constitute “rightful” Indian responses to a world greatly impacted by modern technology and controlled by system of capitalism. In other words, she reveals her concerns about the questions: Who are responsible for this new world (dis)order, what constitutes true humanism in a postcolonial world and what is a proper way for indigenous people to cope with the contradictions arising from cultural, belief and ideological differences.

This general observation on the scope of Silko’s novel brings us back to the fundamental questions about the causes of violence operated as an evil force in the novel. This essay will therefore attempt to analyze how the discourse of terrorism (i.e. the extreme form of violence with political content) is intertwined with Native American claims for sacred land, assertion for rights to free migration and fight for ecological justice. It will also address the political and ethical complexities of the long-standing historical struggle not merely in terms of indigenous discourse, but against the contour of both colonial memory of holocaust and the rampant invasion of neocolonialism manifested in various forms of transnational technology. It will furthermore demonstrate what counter discourse has been addressed by Silko in her celebration of revolutionary narrative to foreground the alternative vision of the indigenous people across the border. I would argue that Silko, standing on the ground of indigenism, is actually oscillating between the ideals of tribalism and cosmopolitanism. In other words, in Silko’s novel, tribal history is evoked to challenge the dominant hegemonic discourse and ideology, whereas cosmopolitan spirit is recognized as the spirit already inscribed into the history of Native people since time immemorial.

## I. Deconstructing “Terrorism”

Terrorism by definition is elusive. Researchers and critics have little agreement on what terrorism really means. The discussions about the nature, form and content of the terrorist violence become more controversial and complicated than before,<sup>3</sup> especially after a series of terrorist attacks on a global scale are initiated by what is called religious fundamentalists in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.<sup>4</sup> But the emphasis on the nature of terror, coercion and the subsequent psychological fear is a shared view. Just as Montserrat Guibernau in his *Nations without State* clearly defines, terrorism is a “calculated violence against a target population which may or may not directly suffer the effects of the act of violence, but which is terrorized by the prospect of becoming a victim. Fear is the intended effect of terrorism” (126).

Terrorism poses psychological menace, and despite our deep-seated aversion to it, terrorism, as Samira Kawash indicates, reappears like a haunting ghost. Due to its ubiquity, violence of terrorism, in Kawash’s words, is in excess and is “neither

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<sup>3</sup> Terrorism is a discourse widely addressed after the 9/11 attack, and is addressed as if it were a new discourse. Jeffery A. Clymer in his book *America’s Culture of Terrorism* (2003) traces the historical and literary discourse of terrorism and argues that in American culture, terrorism is by no means a novel discourse for it can be traced back to the nineteenth century after the dynamite was invented in 1886. The emergence of terrorist act is prompted also by the growth of mass media (7). Terrorism is always perceived as having a political purpose and is attacked at random with no regard to the possibilities of injuring innocent people. What differentiates this type of terrorism from slave uprising or riots is that it is characterized by its anonymity, and the magnitude of violence that dynamite produces. Also according to Gerard Elfstrom, there are many types of violence which can be termed terrorist acts. Some discrete violence may be categorized as a terrorist act, because it is undertaken by “small groups” with “limited equipment” to brutalize individuals or coerce political groups. One of the most common and familiar terrorist acts is placing bomb in public areas; the other generally known means is to hire gunman to conduct secret killing (42). Following this definition, we can see that many terrorist scenes are portrayed in *Almanac*. One example of terrorist killing is directed to Menardo, a Mexican Indian insurer, who was finally killed ironically by the insecure protection of the safety vest, after he witnessed the death of an innocent girl in an explosion of a terrorist bomb targeted at him. Other terrorist acts include riot, sabotage and the suicide bombing of the eco-terrorists.

<sup>4</sup> The most recent discussions about terrorism appear in the book by Giovanna Borradori, in which she conducts interviews with Jargen Habermas and Jacques Derrida, forming philosophical dialogues about the idea of terrorism.

containable, specifiable, nor localizable?” (238-9) Why is it that violence of terrorism can never be fully eradicated but erupts constantly to threaten us? What do we mean by terrorism? And who can define it? In her analysis of Fanon’s violence of decolonization, Kawash points out the pitfall of defining the notion of terrorism from the perspective of the “interest and entities that decolonization threatens” (238). She criticizes that what we learn about terrorism is usually conceived from the perspective of the Eurocentric Western colonizers (236-8). As she writes,

Terrorism is typically characterized in the media and by politicians and experts as opposing everything ‘we’ stand for and believe in. Terrorism is represented as a pure unmotivated attack that threatens the West, modernity, Judeo-Christianity, democracy, civilization itself. Terrorism is thus positioned as the evil to our good, the expression of the irrational, the anti-modern, the tribal, the fundamentalist, everything which must be excluded to make way for the progress of enlightenment. (236)

This discourse of terrorism construed on the basis of binary polarization of Us and Them, Kawash insists, fails to acknowledge the likelihood that every scene of violence may be shuttling between what Fanon calls “absolute violence” (which characterizes the violence of decolonization) and “instrumental violence” (the violence of revolt).<sup>5</sup> In the meanwhile, Kawash also suggests that the terror brought about by the ‘terrorist’ is the same as the terror of decolonization, although the latter terror is generated within the context of colonization and the former, in its confrontation with Western hegemony. The difference between the two forms of terrorist threat lies in the fact that “decolonization promises (threatens) the total destruction of law and right and the beings that come into existence in relation to law and right, and the opening onto a future that cannot be known [...] [whereas] today [...] the terrorist [...] confronts Western hegemony with the threat of a total destruction that [...] can never be contained or controlled” (240).

Recently, in respective interviews with Giovanna Borradori, both Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida give their definition and analysis about terrorism from the global perspective. Both of them address the ethical-political issues extensively, concentrating on philosophical thinking about such topics as terrorism

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<sup>5</sup> In this essay, Kawash points out that it is hard to make a judgment of violence between absolute violence and instrumental violence. By instrumental violence he means the kind of terrorism that, following Fanonian ideas, should be understood as the tactic of the colonized in response “to the far more violent and ubiquitous terrorism of the colonial regime” (236). It takes place in the process of revolutionary struggle, while violence of decolonization “emerges as the world-shattering violence” that aims to destroy both colonizer and colonized and to create a new humanity. (236-7).

in relation to the impact of globalization, the idea of democracy and tolerance, and the concept of cosmopolitanism. Whereas Habermas discusses the topic in terms of modernity project, Derrida deconstructs the notion of terrorism, critiquing notion of sovereignty and nation-state, and elaborating on the concept of cosmopolitanism and hospitality. Derrida and Habermas both agree that the arrival of a new cosmopolitan order necessitates a reassessment of old idea of sovereignty based on the 19th-century model of the nation-state (Borradori, xiv). They relate the issue of terrorism vis-à-vis globalization and agree that globalization is connected with the problem of modernity and of the Enlightenment. They maintain that globalization benefits only a certain class in a few countries, making more people feel excluded and rejected; it worsens the problems of social, technological and economic inequalities. Habermas points out the structural violence in the Western society—"unconscionable social inequality, degrading discrimination, pauperization, and marginalization" (qtd in Borradori 63), and he looks upon terrorism as the consequence of trauma of modernization. Globalization, in his view, makes explicit the division between the haves and the have-nots, splitting up countries into winner, beneficiary and loser. Under this circumstance, those who are on the side of losers then must opt for traditional spirituality to counteract accelerated forces of modernization. However, in defense of modernity, Habermas evaluates terrorism from his theory of communicative action as a manifestation of distorted communication, the result of misunderstanding and deception. Similarly, Derrida argues that because there is no dialogue with those victims of globalization, "recourse to the worst violence is thus often presented as the only 'response' to a 'deaf ear'"(122-3). Whereas Habermas criticizes fundamentalist's rejection of modernity as a sign of intolerance, Derrida queries the Enlightenment concept of tolerance and propose to replace it with notion of hospitality.

Although both Habermas and Derrida's discussions are based on their reexamination of Enlightenment project and are directed to the political and global situation after 9/11, their philosophical ideas about terror, violence, cosmopolitanism, and modernity are inspirational and can be extended to our analysis of Silko's polemical novel.

## II. "Apocalyptic" violence

Decolonization, Fanon points out, "is always a violent phenomenon" (27). If Native Americans, as Krupat indicates, are still living in the state of colonialism (or, to put it more accurately, in the condition of internal colonialism), what Native Americans endeavor to achieve is a state of liberation. By liberation it means the

emancipation from the ideology of the Western colonizers. In view of this, the liberation dream or project Native Americans entertain is not entirely akin to what Fanon has in mind about decolonization. Rather, we can surmise that their project does not necessarily aim so much to produce a “historical rupture” (Kawash 241)<sup>6</sup> through violence, as to offer a vision and a hope for the future.<sup>7</sup>

In *Almanac* Silko expands her primal depiction of Fanonian violence, which characterizes national liberation movement, to an extensive portrayal of contemporary terrorist violence, which is apocalyptic in orientation. The bleak vision that anticipates a total destruction of the white world and a complete annihilation of Western civilization is supported by her belief in the Native American prophecy. Just as she writes in *Ceremony*, that the “evil witchery” of European values will be ultimately eradicated is foreseeable, for it is foretold in the prophecies. Here in *Almanac* Silko extends that futuristic vision and stresses that the threat of violence, terror and resistance has lasted for five hundred years and will continue until the disappearance of the European values. As she puts on the front page,

Sixty million Native Americans died between 1500 and 1600. The defiance and resistance to things European continue unabated. The Indian Wars have never ended in the Americas. Native Americans acknowledge no borders; they seek nothing less than the return of all tribal lands. [...] Ancient prophecies foretold the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. The ancient prophecies also foretell the disappearance of all things European. (15)

In this sense, apocalyptic catastrophe foretold in prophecies appears no less terrifying than what is generated by the terrorist violence or the violence of decolonization.<sup>8</sup> For five hundred years, violence has been committed in different names by both European colonizers and the colonized Natives. To Native Americans,

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6 According to Kawash’s explanation of Fanon’s decolonization project, decolonization aims to create a new humanity and to be departed from old colonial history. This is what he means by the creation of a historical rupture.

7 At this point I would agree with Krupat that Silko is optimistic.

8 By apocalypse, if we follow the definition given in Western religion, it means not only disclosure but revelation. It suggests the end of an evil world and the arrival of a prosperous good world. It “poses a potent contrast between ordinary existence and dramatic transformations of the world as we know it” (Hall 3). In Silko’s prophetic narrative, apocalypse refers to the destruction of whole world followed by ecological disasters like earthquakes, tidal waves, no rain, high temperature that trigger famines, starvation, etc. See *Almanac* 755-6.

violence has been a manifestation of resistance to colonization, whereas nowadays to radical white racists, terror is initiated in order to maintain what they deem as noble pure European bloodline. In the contemporary world, the practice of terrorist violence is transnational in scope and is accelerated by the development of modern media and technologies, the emergence of transnational corporations and the expansion of global economy. The terrorist acts become transnational in character, and the violence turns up to be apocalyptic in nature. In light of this, *Almanac* indeed enables readers to see this multi-dimensionality of violence in force. Readers come to realize that violence and terror can be inflicted on one another from multiple directions, and can be incited by painful memories of trauma as well as the fear of racial holocaust. On the part of the oppressed subalterns, violence is operated as an effective weapon to revolt against the colonial Europeans, who have historically condemned them as inferior race and aimed to terminate their race with horrible violence. Painful memories of holocaust and genocide compel the denigrated subalterns to grope for strategies to counteract the ethnic-cleaning mentality and practice.

Resistance and revolutionaries is to continue because Eurocentric ethnic-cleaning mentality and practice is not only dominant but also accelerated by modern technology and mass media. In the novel, Trig and Serlo clearly exemplify the Hitler-like, Nazi mind to preserve the “genetically superior man.” (546). They display not a bit of sympathy for human suffering while they are engaged in the project of promoting “biological warfare” to wipe out the races of the Other. They take advantage of biotechnological development, exploiting it to the full in order to accumulate material wealth. Trig runs the Bio-Material Company, selling human organs and blood plasma with no regard to its inherent consequences of spreading diseases, while Serlo, “a charter member of a secret multinational organization with a ‘secret agenda’ for the entire world,” is gratified in developing the HIV designer virus to destroy those unwanted group of people that constitute what he condemns as a filthy world (*Almanac* 544-9). In their mania for pure European lineage and greed for material life, human bodies in their hands are commodified and sacrificed.

Terrorism in the novel, as Clinton, a black Indian Vietnam veteran engaged in recruiting guerrilla puts it, “takes many forms.” (*Almanac* 427). With the aid of new technologies, terrorism is enacted slowly, invisibly, formlessly, and is sometimes disguised in high-sounding rhetoric. Because of this, Silko then spares no effort to uncover the intricate connection between the horror of racial holocaust and the “violence” of Eurocentric thinking, policies and institutions. For instance, the spread of epidemics, drugs, HIV, Hepatitis B is interpreted by her as a way to deteriorate the body of the colored people, whereas the implementation of slavery system is suggested as a means to naturalize the terrorist exploitations of the colored people.

The enlisting of the colored people to the Vietnam War or Korean war is thought to be a project to shrink the populations of the Native Americans, while allowing the smuggling of cocaine to the black and tribal communities is evaluated as a mean-minded policy, because it aims to demoralize the colored people, to weaken their rioting spirits, and to exterminate them ultimately (*Almanac* 405-6; 549).

Silko believes that it is apocalyptic violence returned onto the Europeans that will lead to the destruction of the European world. Capitalism is singled out and denigrated as the root of evil; i.e. the main culprit of world catastrophe — social upheaval, ecological catastrophe, as well as human corruption. Violence is, in a sense, entangled with capitalism. Using the metaphor of vampire incorporated in Marx's idea of capital, Silko portrays the situation of what Kawash describes as “the living death” of those “living victims” engulfed by the overwhelming “political economies of imperialism and capitalism” (247). Menardo's story clearly illustrates how a greedy Mexican Indian capitalist can ruin his own self and life simply because his rejection of his own cultural heritage and blind accumulation of material commodities leave him to nowhere but deep fear of death. Also in episode about Beaufrey's story, Silko exposes the sadism of a ruthless society in which personal gratification and profits rein over a sense of morality. Beaufrey is a white gay, who gains profits from selling the obscene, bloody films of infant killing, through doing transnational business with a rare-book seller in Buenos Aires. An admirer of European cannibalism and child molestation, Beaufrey found pleasure in doing violence to the bodies of children, in mutilation as well as in pornographic voyeurism (Moore 160). He kidnapped children, sold the organs and filmed the procedure of dissecting the babies. The footage of the aborted fetus, the tortured tiny babies, and sodomy rapes and strangles reflects nothing but his moral perversion and the cruelty of a selfish, merciless capitalist. Without shame or guilt, Beaufrey, however, tried to rationalize his sexually perverse act, arguing that the film was produced for the antiabortionist lobby.

Militant political activists tend to exploit their political ideals and misuse their means to an end. As Derrida indicates, implicated in terrorist act is always a socio-political content. In the novel, the apocalyptic violence of radical Green Vengeance eco-warriors illustrates how an ideal of environmental protection can be exploited and abused, for what eco-warriors protest is not simply the deterioration of the environment but the discriminatory policy of political institutions, the government, for instance. Calling themselves ‘Earth Avenger’ and ‘Eco-Coyote’, eco-warriors are maneuvered from gay rights activists and terminally ill AIDS patients to sabotage infrastructures of the government; they initiate suicide bombing of the Glen Canyon Dam. They claim that what they are determined to accomplish is to “avenge gay genocide by the U.S. government” and to “die to save the earth”

(730). Awa Gee, a Korean computer hacker, for instance, helps by using his knowledge to debilitate US power sources and forging new identities for smugglers to cross Mexican borders.

If “violence in Western societies,” as Borradori writes, “is haunted by social inequality, discrimination and marginalization” (19), then *Almanac* clearly delineates the violence of a group of people tormented by the so-called social inequality, discrimination and marginalization. It is clear that *Almanac* is not confined to a depiction of a supposedly Native American nationalist liberation movement, but rather concentrates, to a great extent, on the portrayal of the sufferings of the marginalized minorities. Silko has readers see the spectrum of subaltern people haunted by spectre of violence: the disabled, the homeless, the exiled, the refugees and the war veterans, besides the indigenous people in Americas. Thus, the novel dramatizes the victimization of the oppressed people, paralleling African-American resistance history with that of the Native people. It delineates the survival history of the Mayan indigenous people through decoding Mayan almanacs about their revolutionary uprisings.<sup>9</sup> It sets a juxtaposition of anti-colonial resistance history that occurs in the borderland with the contemporary socio-political activisms organized by ethnic-minorities with an attempt to cross the boundaries.

Into the novel are inscribed myriad stories of outlaws, the criminals, and law-breakers, whose outrageous behaviors illustrate how defiant transgression of law is continuously adopted as a resistance strategy to challenge the established social order. The story of legendary Native American “cultural hero” as well as criminal, Geronimo, for instance, is the most renowned one.<sup>10</sup> Zeta and Calabazas are other examples to show how Native American law transgressors determine to move between the borders, challenging not only legal but also ethical boundaries. Like Geronimo, Zeta smuggled drugs on the border of Mexico and the United States. One thing she could not understand is why free transportation of goods across the border was judged to be an act of smuggling. Different viewpoints made her rationalize her own criminal act and allege, instead, that the white government was the number one stealer, and that the injustice had been done on the Native

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<sup>9</sup> For detailed description about history of Mayan resistance, refer to Joni Adamson’s *American Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism: The Middle Place*.

<sup>10</sup> Stories about Geronimo recur in Silko’s novels. Many studies have been done on the analysis of cultural and political meanings of Geronimo in Native American culture and history. David L. Moore sees Geronimo as the “paradigm” of Silko’s revisionary history. He contends that through the retelling of Geronimo’s story, Silko opens up her narrative between fiction and reality (166). For other detailed analysis about Geronimo’s story, also refer to Anderson 63-76; and Muthyala 363-69.

Americans for a long time.

Zeta wondered if the priests who told the people smuggling was stealing had also told them how they were to feed themselves now that all the fertile land along the rivers had been stolen by white men.[...] Stealing from the ‘government’? What ‘government’ was that? Mexico City? Zeta had laughed out loud. Washington, D. C.? How could not steal if the government itself was the worst thief? (133)

Whether such strategic demand for justice through a criminal act is morally justifiable is of course debatable. However, we can agree that Zeta’s border-crossing, transgressive act is “not action of Destroyers, but rather the overturning of conventional moral categories” (Powers 266). Besides, strategically speaking, such lawlessness, indeed, challenges, to a certain extent, the European concept of nation-state, and demonstrates the possibility that borderline between States can be weakened despite the close surveillance of the border police.<sup>11</sup>

Surely, the most common resistance strategy that the marginalized minorities use is to disturb social order by transgressing the white law. Zeta, as well as other Native American dissents, is convinced that an incessant breaching of the border will definitely create the greatest fear of all in the mind of the whites, and that mass migration movement is subversive and coercive, because it suggests the possibility of territorial conquest, and the “redefinition” of hemispheric power. As Lecha, Zeta’s sister, said: “The white men had always been trying to ‘control’ the border when no such things existed to control except in the white man’s mind. The white man in North America had always dreaded a great Indian army moving up from the South. The gringos had also feared that one day there would be a spontaneous mass migration—millions of Indians coming out of the South” (592).

Not only Zeta, but also the homeless Barefoot Hopi roams and travels across border, raising transnational funds for revolution and leading demonstration protests both in Mexico and the United States. Not only indigenous but other subaltern political activists are convinced that there stands a great chance to challenge the notion of nation-state through disrupting the porous, vulnerable border-security. They abuse media, technology, free traveling and the flow of transnational capitals to empower themselves for political and social activism. Thus, through radio

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11 Although to the U.S. government the control over state borders may be an expression of state power, it is, to Native Americans, a menace to their freedom. In the eyes of Native Americans, the American military construction of “bastion of strength” on the southern border in the name of national security constitutes one of the most unbearable forms of violence (*Almanac* 133, 561).

broadcast, Clinton, a Black-Indian, consolidated marginalized groups by conjuring up the “spirits” of his African ancestors in Haiti. And homeless Vietnam veterans, who were exploited by the government to expand the imperialist power and ended up nowhere, also joined to form “the Army of Justice.”

It is very likely that the mobilization of marginalized minorities for transnational alliance may help internationalize “the ‘universal grievances’ of the oppressed subalterns. But for Silko, the activation of transnational Native American diaspora contains another significant meanings, culturally and politically. One of the concerns of *Almanac*, Silko indicates, is to represent “the vast Native American diaspora and all the people who had been scattered, taken far from their homelands by the European slave hunters, the survivors who were the last of their kind, who died without ever hearing another word spoken to them in their language” (*Yellow Woman* 86). Through the representation of the displaced Native Americans who are snatched away from their homeland and never return home, Silko unveils the muffled, silenced and unwritten migratory stories of the Native Americans in diaspora. In *Almanac*, the Pueblos, Mayans, and the Yaquis represent the types of scattered Native Americans, who move, migrate and fight at different periods of history against the domination of Europeans. They are convinced that their political objective to subvert the colonial rules can be attained through intertribal affiliation. But today the alliance of transnational Native Americans in diaspora perhaps means the subversion of what Arjun Apparurai refers to as “the hyphen that links the nations to the state,” or it suggests the possibility of realizing the dream that Vine Deloria, Jr. has in mind — to build communities of their own.<sup>12</sup>

The coalition of the colonized people, as Fanon maintains, brings hope to revolutionize the moribund aspects of the colonized society (Gandhi 111); however, unfortunately, in a modern transnational capitalist society, the complicity between the revolutionary and the capitalist ruins such hope. Conspiracy ruins. Moral corruption, betrayal, lie, treason, greed, selfishness and mercilessness sometimes contaminate the ideal goal that allies support. They disrupt solidarity. In *Almanac*, the marriage and betrayal between Bartolomeo, a Cuban Marxist, and Angelita La Escapía is an example. A Native American woman who had received Cuban Marxist training, Angelita La Escapía determined to lead an all-tribal army to wage an

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12 Vine Deloria, Jr. maintains that the hopes for the Native Americans rested in the end of confrontation politics and in mobilizing diasporic American Indians back to build communities (Warrior 52). Silko seems to endorse this view. The subversion of nation-state, I would suggest, is to go back to the pre-colonial Native American political status—to be in the political condition of what what Montserrat Guibernau called “the nation without state.”

American Indian war against U.S. troop to retake the land. She was described by Bartolomeo as “harboring nationalistic, and tribalist tendencies” (*Almanac* 310), but Angelita repudiated the label of being “a treacherous tribalist” (514) and preferred to call herself and her groups “internationalists” (515). Despite her proclamation about her international vision, it is later made clear that what she meant by internationalism, refers to nothing but her exploitation of transnational capitals for an American Indian war: “Angelita had lied to all of them—the U.S., Cuba, Germany, and Japan” (513). At the heart, she was, as malevolent as antagonistic tribalists, harboring a cannibalistic idea of terrorizing the white adversaries: “Hilarious how terrified the whites were of Indian wars. To further terrorize army and police officers, La Escapía promised if she captured high-ranking officers in battle, she would feed them the steel of her namesake and cook their testicles for lunch” (590). This anti-white vengeance, which contributes to the coalition of groups of similar resentment, breeds more fear, chaos and anxiety than peace. And it is obvious that this fear of terrorist vengeance is not what is appreciated, nor encouraged by Native American tribalist like Calabazas. An old Yaquis Indian, Calabazas expressed his worry and trepidation when he saw the affiliation between multinational prison uprising and the Green Vengeance eco-warriors’ plan to bomb power plant in the name of saving the environment.

### III. Waging a Justice War

Derrida says that down to the bottom what terrorist act demands is always justice (Kawash 255; Borradori 167). In this polemical novel, terror is purposefully enacted to disturb the white European society to the trauma, guilt and injustice they have done to the Native people. Native American militants tend to confront the government that, they think, “had failed to deliver them either protection or justice” (*Almanac* 40). Native American revolutionary uprisings reflect their fight for lands, which they claim “had been their birthright,” and their demand that “these lands would never again be held as private property, but as lands belong to the people forever to protect” (*Almanac* 532). It is true that for centuries Native American social, political and environmental activisms have been directed by the claim for land rights and tribal sovereignty. However, Silko seems to suggest that no other counter-cultural or counter-hegemonic discourse can be most effectively enunciated than through such “revolutionary” narrative as telling the spirits of traditional Native people. Thus, in *Almanac*, through reversing the revolutionary discourse of Marx, she evokes the historical dimension of the revolutions, foregrounding the powers of narratives and storytelling. Through the mouth of Angelita La Escapía, Silko allows

readers to know that the virtue of Marx does not rest in his subversive ideology but in his insights into the power of story, and history in particular. “History,” said Angelita La Escapía, “was the sacred text. The most complete history was the most powerful force” (*Almanac* 316). Marx is admirable to the indigenous people in that Marx understood “that within ‘history’ reside relentless forces, powerful spirits, vengeful, relentlessly seeking justice” (316) and that he knew the importance of “gather[ing] together a magical assembly of stories to cure the suffering and evils of the world by the retelling of the stories” (316).<sup>13</sup>

To preserve the revolutionary spirits is to preserve the vernacular history, and is to empower the oppressed natives, too. In the novel, the enunciatory power of revolutionary narrative is displayed in the form of Mayan almanac rather than through traditional oral storytelling. The revolutionary spirits are particularly exemplified in Angelita La Escapía, a Marxist revolutionary and Old Yoeme, an ancient Yaqui woman. Old Yoeme is a legendary-like woman, who joined in sedition in 1918, but escaped from the death penalty while “20 to 40 million perished around the world” (*Almanac* 580). After being separated from her family by political upheaval for decades, she returns to her tribe, giving the fragmentary almanac, with her personal notes, to her granddaughters, Zeta and Lecha.<sup>14</sup> Into the old almanac manuscript is inserted some historically, culturally and politically significant stories, including Yoeme’s ‘Day of Deliverance’ story. Yoeme’s fragmentary notes on the margin releases to Zeta and Lecha the contact stories

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13 Angelita and the crowds spoke in court against Bartolomeo, charging him as “the perpetrator of crimes against history” (*Almanac* 527), because his paranoid racist ideology made him believe that “[j]ungle monkeys and savages have no history” (*Almanac* 525). To revolutionist Angelita, the best storyteller was the one who recognized the sacredness of tribal stories. The sacredness of tribal stories lied in the fact that “the ancestor’s spirits were summoned by the stories” (*Almanac* 316). The memory of the past and the spirits of the ancestor ascribed meanings to stories. Marx, in her mind, was like a tribal storyteller because Marx understood “that within ‘history’ reside relentless forces, powerful spirits, vengeful, relentlessly seeking justice” (*Almanac* 316).

14 Yoeme was married to a German miner, Guzman, to assure that Europeans keep the agreement not to hurt Indians while they looked for silver mine on Indian lands; however, her bloodthirsty husband and other Europeans miners brutally killed her clanspeople without any mercy. Witnessing series of unbearably brutal acts of Europeans greedy silver miners, Yoeme decided to leave, abandoning her mixedblood girl to her husband. Because of this rebellious desert, Yoeme was not accepted by her daughters. The separation between mother and child entails the loss of mother culture to her daughter. But this link with the matrilineal ancestry is revitalized when Yoeme returns to give her granddaughters the almanac.

between the Maya and the Yaqui, the religious conflicts between the European priest and the Indian spirits, the spread of plague and disease, the aftermath of genocide, the migration of Yaquis, etc. Collaborative transcribing job compels Zeta, Lecha (the Yaquis), Seese (a white girl) and Sterling (the Pueblo) to reflect on their identity in relation to ancestral history. The almanac notebooks maintain a dialogue between Yoeme and her offsprings, transmitting to them the persevering spirits of revolutionaries like Yoeme, as well as the inspirational power of stories. The written record, supplementing the power of oral storytelling, displays itself as a stronger testimony to betray the brutality and violence that has been done to the indigenous people by European colonizers during five hundred years.

Here, the preservation of stories in *Almanac* indeed serves as “political activism” (Yuknavitch 100). E. San Juan, Jr. points out that for the colonized subalterns the key problem does not arise so much from their inability to speak for, or represent, themselves as from the sadness that their voice cannot be heard (85). Terrorism, which Habermas sees as the result of distorted communication, reflects, to a great extent, the urgencies of the marginalized subalterns for a space in which their narratives and stories can be communicated effectively. Like what is celebrated in *Ceremony*, underlying *Almanac* also contains an attempt to restore spiritual sources, and to uncover the interlocking relationships among land, stories and spirits to the formation of Native American culture and identity. The novel implicates that violent insurrection or revolution derived from Marxist ideology will not necessarily lead to the political or cultural liberation of Native Americans. Political activism through transnational coalition may perhaps suffice to solidify Native Americans around the globe to press for justice, but chance of success is unknown. The hope, Silko suggests, lies, for one thing, in Indian spirits of the dead, for the spirits are overwhelmingly evasive, uncanny, and uncontainable; the self-sustainable spirits possess the power to withstand the threat of white cultures. As Old Yoeme puts,

The white man hated to hear anything about spirits because spirits were already dead and could not be tortured and butchered or shot, the only way the white man knew how to deal with the world. Spirits were immune to the white man’s threats and to his bribes of money and food. The white man only knew one way to control himself or others and that was with brute force.

Against the spirits, the white man was impotent. (581)

It is evinced that the presence of ancestral spirits provides the Indians with power and strength, whereas the ignorance of ancestral spirits will make them

vulnerable to the sucking forces of capitalism and subjected to evildoings.<sup>15</sup> It is, therefore, imperative for Native Americans to empower themselves. The evocation of ancestral spirits, it is believed, will work to consolidate the Native people when their minds are still imprinted with traumatic memories of Native American holocaust. As Angelita observes, “for a moment the crowd had forgotten the Cuban on trial as people began to recall stories of the old days, not just stories of armed rebellions and uprisings, but stories of colonials sunk into deepest depravity—Europeans who went mad while their Indian slaves looked on” (531). In one sense, the spirits conjured up in the prophetic narrative that foretells the appearance and destruction of the European people and culture from the earth will serve not only to sustain the spirits of the Native people in their confrontations with white power, but to liberate them from the constraints of white ideology. As the Barefoot Hopi affirms, “bombs and guns are the least important weapons. The power lies in the presence of the spirits and their effect on our enemies’ morale” (627). Stories open up a futuristic vision about the ruin of a white civilization. They make Native Americans believe that European thinking of the earth as property to be possessed and exploited will lead Europeans to nowhere but the devastation of their world. Here is what Angelita says:

Europeans have not understood that the earth was mother to all beings, and they had not understood anything about the spirit beings. But at least Engels and Marx had understood the earth belong to no one. No human, individuals or corporations, no cartel of nations, could ‘own’ the earth; it was the earth who possessed the humans and it was the earth who disposed of them. (749)

The restoration of Native American spirits embodied in the cosmopolitan view of the earth is therefore what Silk’s *Almanac* aims to emphasize. We can find that for some Native American anti-colonial nationalists, their project is perhaps targeted at not only subverting the colonial rule and ideology but also evacuating the white settlers out of the indigenous sacred territory; nevertheless, this exclusive thought stands contradictory to what Silko claims indigenous people believe in. Old-time Native people, Silko stresses, are inclusive in spirit (Coltelli 123).<sup>16</sup> They believe that human beings and the earth are inseparable, that men should keep harmonious

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15 Similar emphasis on the power of spirits is found in her *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirits*.

16 In another interview with Arnold, Silko reiterates the influence of inclusive view of old time Natives on her. She says, “I refuse to forget how generous, how expansive, how inclusive the way of the old people was, of seeing the world and of seeing human beings. You can see it being eroded” (172).

relationship with the universe in order to keep ecological balance.<sup>17</sup> They see the earth belonging to no one, and refuse to possess it as private property like Europeans do. Because of this belief, they repudiate the so-called “imaginary lines” that separate people, nations, and states; namely, European notion of border, boundaries and nation-states.<sup>18</sup> Calabazas’s words in *Almanac* clearly express this indigenous discourse about the borderless state. He says,

We don’t believe in boundaries. Borders. Nothing like that. We are here thousands of years before the first whites. We are here before maps or quit claims. We know where we belong on this earth. We have always moved freely.[...] We pay no attention to what isn’t real. Imaginary lines. Imaginary minutes and hours. Written law. We recognize none of that. [...] We don’t see any border. [...] We don’t stop. No one stops us. (*Almanac* 216)

Thus, Native Americans call to rejuvenate their tribal spirits through going back to their sacred land. Like El Feo in *Almanac*, they believe that “with the return of Indian land would come the return of justice, followed by peace” (513). In the minds of indigenist Native Americans, the return of land perhaps means justice done. Nevertheless, can peace really entail justice and vice versa? Justice, in an age of transnationalism, as Derrida suggests, “is not just about our conduct within the framework of the state or under the obligations of citizenship but also in the face of a stranger” (Borradori 163). In view of the emergence of new cosmopolitan order accompanied with the “coming of a universal alliance or solidarity that extends beyond the internationality of nation-state” (Borradori 124), Derrida argues that it is imperative for us to reexamine the concept of cosmopolitanism in light of Kantian call for the right of hospitality—to give a stranger the right “not to be treated with hostility when he arrives on someone else’s territory” (Borradori 54). In a sense, Derrida’s call for tolerance and hospitality is quite correspondent to old-time Native

17 Silko says, “I have [...] learned that the Earth is my home, [...] Now I begin to suspect that in the days before monarchs’ maps with boundary lines, the tribal people of the Americas thought of the whole earth as their home, not just one continent. Humans used to feel that way until the rise of the nation-state fiction, which sought to destroy ancient liaisons between people on opposite sides of the newly-created borderline” (Coltelli 123).

18 This clearly reveals the epistemological and cosmological differences between Native Americans and Europeans. Whereas Native Americans see ecological disasters as the consequence of human intervention into universe, German-originated deep ecologists attribute ecological catastrophe on earth to overpopulation, so they propose the policy of “stopping immigration” and “closing the borders” in order to preserve the good land and good water (*Almanac* 415).

American worldview.<sup>19</sup> For the idea of cosmopolitan hospitality was practiced in the old-time Native Americans culture. Just look at how they treat the white immigrants in their early period of encounters.

Tolerating strangers and travelers, Silko indicates, is not uncommon to Native people because nomadic Native people have experienced migration and have learned ancestral migratory stories from oral history. They recognize the possibility of becoming refugees and they are tolerant of the appearance of refugees in their territories. However, with the emergence of nation-states, migration is criminalized (Coltelli 123). In her interview with Coltelli, Silko says, deplorably:

Long ago, [...] most communities recognized the right of strangers to take flight into or across one's home territory. Today, nation-states have greatly limited human migration and attempts are being made to stop human migration altogether. [...] I am alarmed at the way the dominant powers and the media that serves the powers have managed to make the status of refugee or immigrant a crime. The sexual urge was criminalized, and now they have criminalized an even more basic human urge, the urge to flee, to move, to migrate for survival. (123-4).

In *Almanac*, with the stories of the Yaquis' fled and migration from Mexico to Tucson after the genocide of the 1900s and 1920s, Silko elucidates this human condition. Historically, the Yaquis crossed the U.S-Mexico border to escape Mexican persecution, and they finally settled down in Arizona, building up several Yaquis tribes around the Tucson (Adamson 143). The reason why these displaced, dispossessed refugees could be "relocated" in Tucson is because they were tolerated.

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<sup>19</sup> Tolerance and hospitality are two different notions in Derrida's philosophy. According to Derrida, tolerance is conditional hospitality, which has its limit, whereas pure hospitality is open outright. Tolerance, with its roots in Christian charity, shows its limitation in that it is always given by those with mighty power from its "elevated position" to those who enter their "home." The tolerated are thus expected to follow laws, conventions and practices of the hosts within their sovereignty. However, pure hospitality is open to "someone who is neither expected nor invited, to whomever arrives as an absolutely foreign *visitor*, as a new *arrival*, nonidentifiable and unforeseeable, in short, wholly other" (Borradori 128-9). Derrida argues that only through this understanding about pure hospitality can we recognize and accept the alterity of the other, "someone who enters into our lives without having been invited" and then "live together" (129). Although Derrida's notion of hospitality is raised in response to the current issue of asylum rights that overflowing refugees seek in the European continent, Derrida's call for a cultivation of the ethics of hospitality is still meaningful, especially he stresses that "Hospitality is culture itself and not simply one ethic amongst others" (*Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* 16).

However, tolerance, as Derrida contends, is inadequate, having its limitation, because tolerance displays, in Borradori's words, "conditional hospitality. By being tolerant one admits the other under one's own conditions, and thus under one's authority, law, and sovereignty" (162). No wonder that Yaguis's resistance to US hegemony continues. It is because they are living within the sovereignty of the United States, under the domination of Western juridical, political and culture systems.

Law is fragile and sometimes fails to do justice, Silko seems to suggest. Not only white laws but even Tribal Council, which runs a legal system differently from the European society, fails sometimes. In Silko's view, sometimes it is injustice rather than crimes that drives a man homeless, exiled, or stateless. In the case of Sterling, Silko shows how likely it is for Native people to displace their anger and make wrong judgments on the issue involving white people, who have been labeled in Native American communities as "thieves." Sterling is banished from his own Laguna Pueblo tribe because he is accused of allowing Hollywood camera crew to enter the sacred land to film the Giant Stone Snake.<sup>20</sup> Injustice is done, Silko implies, because our defensive mechanism refuses to allow the strangers to enter into our territory, and because we deny the kaleidoscopic beauty of differences and heterogeneity. Thus, in her novel, along with a call for respecting the rights of strangers (or others, refugees, outsiders, etc.) is implicated a celebration of difference and heterogeneity. Yet to Silko, what sounds pathetic is that in a capitalist white society, few can realize the meanings of heterogeneity as fully as those who are marginalized, excluded and traumatized: the subalterns, the minorities, the victims, the survivors, and the disabled. Just as Root, a mestizo motorcyclist paralyzed by the motorcycle accident, said, "Survival had depended on differences. Not just the differences in the terrain that gave the desert traveler critical information about traces of water or grass for his animals, but the sheer varieties of plants and bugs and animals" (202).

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20 Sterling's banishment is an intriguing story. Sterling is accused of betraying the secrets to the whites who, Laguna people assume, "want to steal." Because Native American sages hold the belief that tribal secrecy must not be released so casually to cultural outsiders until the right person appears to share their secrets, Sterling's act is blamed for violating this tribal law. In her interpretation of Sterling, she thinks that injustice done on Sterling simply reflects the result of displaced anger of Native people to the past and present injustice done by the whites. In reality, Silko is accused by Paula Gunn Allen for releasing the cultural secrecy to white readers in her *Ceremony*. In a sense, Silko bears a quite a similar tribal indictment as Sterling.

## IV. Conclusion

That the Fourth World people<sup>21</sup> should appeal to political terrorism to fight back their rights displays the grim reality that the spectre of violence haunting the colonial world still exists. It indicates that in their grope for a rightful way to cope with a postcolonial world, Native Americans are still unable to rid themselves of the aftermath of colonialism and fail to liberate themselves from the constraining memory of oppression and injustice they have experienced in history. If what specter of violence demands, as Derrida argues, is a justice that “opens up for the *l’avenir* the transformation, the recasting or refounding of law and politics” (qtd in Kawash 255), that is probably what pan-Indian insurgents expect to obtain. It, then, is arguable that when Silko writes from an indigenous perspective, what she endeavors to look for is this hope of “opening up” a possibility for the recasting of law and politics in the United States. Like El Feo in *Almanac*, Silko does “not believe in political parties, ideology, or rule, [...] [but] in the land. [For] with the return of Indian land would come the return of justice, followed by peace” (513). However, this does not imply that justice may take a natural course for Native Americans if the lands are to be returned. It simply suggests that the return of land entails the possibility of the rejuvenation of old time spirits, or the likelihood of reviving the tribal system, which is independent of the Western system of democracy, capitalism, and law. But in the age of globalization, indigenous people are confronted with greater challenges.

*Almanac of the Dead* challenges, in a sense, the tendency to universalize “Western liberal democracy as the final point of human government” (Kamuf 274) by re-imagining the indigenous struggles to revive a political and ethical system, which is alternative to the Western liberal democracy. In the meanwhile, the novel testifies Silko’s sharp observations about the roots of moral degeneration of human beings. Through readdressing the discourse of violence and terrorism from an indigenous perspective, Silko builds up a narrative that unsettles the stereotypical demarcation of “good” and “evil” on the basis of ethnicity, directing readers to a deeper thinking of what constitutes evil and what defines “humanism.” She exposes the terrifying acts of radical Native Americans, who seek justice through bloodshed violence; she also derides the vengeance sentiment of those both white and

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21 Many terms have been applied to designate the indigenous people: the First Nation, the Fourth World. It is, however, termed as the Fifth World by Silko in *Almanac of the Dead*, to imply the cosmological views of the indigenous people. Here the Fourth World is used to deviate from the Third World in order to highlight the culturally and politically specific appeals of the indigenous people not only in the Americas, but on the globe.

non-white terrorists in the name of whatever causes they run after. In her attempts to dissect the Manichean paradigm of savage, evil Indians vs. civilized, good whites, she brings up the question of how to construct what Fanon suggests “new humanism”<sup>22</sup> from an indigenous perspective. She seems to suggest that a sense of humanity built upon the “voices” of the ancestral spirits rather than Western rhetoric of rationality is an answer to today’s chaotic and disturbing world.

It is true that the prescience of prophetic narrative enables the Native Americans to affirm their traditional worldview, while anticipating the destruction of a capitalist society dominated by white values. Yet Silko’s *Almanac* reveals her detestation against apocalyptic violence, which is directed by militant terrorists in the name of cleansing the world through eradicating the unwanted Other. What Silko anticipates is the restoration of old-timer cosmopolitan spirit manifested in showing a generous hospitality to the newcomers, and opening arms to strangers, the exiles, and whoever needs refuges.

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22 Fanon’s advocacy of “new humanism” appears in *The Wretched of the Earth*, in which he writes, “For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man (316).”

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# 末世預言式暴力與世界主義精神之間 ——《死者歷書》中的正義之戰

張 月 珍\*

## 摘 要

本論文試圖分析：深具政治意涵的極端暴力式恐怖主義如何和美洲原住民在索回聖地、宣揚自由遷徙權利以及為環境正義奮戰等政治訴求活動糾結在一起。析論過程中將從原民論述觀點，探察此長期歷史奮戰中政治與倫理的複雜性，論證難忘部族遭屠殺的殖民記憶歷史而積極從事政治社會活動的原住民，以及激進的白人種族主義者，何以難敵全球不同形式資本主義與跨國科技衝擊，皆仰賴不同形式的暴力，迎拒歐美龐大複雜的政治經濟體系與價值。文中認為席爾柯站在原民立場，游移於本土部族主義與原民世界主義理想之間。其《死者歷書》中，一方面喚起部族歷史以挑戰霸權式論述與意識型態，他方面則不忘直指原住民祖靈重視的宇宙世界主義精神，與當代所宣揚的善待異己的世界主義觀念若合符節。

關鍵詞：末世「預言」式暴力 世界主義 正義 原民祖靈精神

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