

## I. Introduction

This research critically analyzes Don DeLillo's novel *Mao II* in the light of how western people dominate the non-westerners. The colonial unconscious of the western writers is the prime focus of the study. This research captures the picture of western writers who are guided by colonial unconscious because they always think that Europe is a land of opportunities where they can experience their life and transforms it into art. The western writers always follow the fixed and stereotyped construction while representing the countries and people of the orient. The discourse of West represents its desire to dominate and to control the others. Hardack Richard views western imagination in *Mao II*: "Throughout *Mao II*, DeLillo dramatizes the dichotomy between the domestic and the foreign, both of which turn out to be products of the same Western imagination" (28). DeLillo's *Mao II* has been described as a universalized understanding of colonial history.

This novel represents the historical document of colonialism. Moreover, *Mao II* exercises the colonial discourses that construct the inferiority of the orient people. The purpose of the colonizers' ideology is to define the colonized as inferior or the other. The Westerners believe that the Easterners are not able to govern themselves. They believe that non-western people especially Muslims and Communists are terrorists. With this imaginary conception about the terrorist, the West tries to justify its superiority. In this way, the colonial discourse deliberately produces the concept of terrorism in order to create its identity and to impose the colonial power over the Other. Maureen Whitebrook discovers political matters in this fiction: "this novel present 'discusses'-such political matters as the individual and the, the nature of leadership (particularly in totalitarian system), terrorism, and the problem of political agency and responsibility" (764). Western writers have always dichotomized orient

people as the terrorists and the westerners as the center of everything. They claim that they are searching for a method of creating peace, order, harmony and truth in multicultural community.

The protagonist, Bill Gray in *Mao II* misrepresents the orient people, culture and literature from the westerns eyes. He is guided by the western hegemony.

Moreover, this research analyzes how the characters have expressed their colonial unconscious, as the western culture and literary tradition are supposed to be superior to the non-western. Through the protagonist, we can observe how such colonial discourses encourage the westerners to colonize the orient people. As Benita Parry reads Homi K. Bhabha, she finds that colonial discourse is a kind of hegemonic discourse (22). She further quotes the idea of Homi K. Bhabha as follows:

[. . .] the master discourse was interrogated by the natives in their own accents, produces an autonomous position for the colonial within the confines of the hegemonic discourse, and because of this enunciates a very different politics ... power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser. (22)

The colonial discourse has always dichotomized the non-western world as the world of 'Others' and the western world as the centre of everything. The protagonist is searching for a method of communicating his ideas and feeling in western literary tradition. English literature, which is a vehicle for western imperial ideas, kills the native sensibilities of Bill Gray, the protagonist of *Mao II*. In this novel, the English literary tradition functioned as a legitimate colonizer in the highest and the most perfect state. This western literary tradition is, at the same time, the embodiment of universal human value. The political and totalitarian dimension of nationalism can not

guarantee the right of every cultural group to enjoy the same opportunities because of the construction of terrorism:

Terror is the force that being with a handful of people in a back room. Do they stress discipline? Are they implacable in their will? Of course. I think you have to take side. Don't comfort yourself with safe arguments. Take up the case of the downtrodden, the spat-upon. Do these people feel a yearning for order? Who will give it to them? Think of Chairman Mao. Order is consistent with permanent revolution.

*(Mao II 158)*

The purpose of this research is to enable the readers to comprehend how DeLillo's novel has expressed the success of imperial power over a colonized people without occupying military force and how it has suppressed the desire for self-determination by the colonizing power. Colonial unconscious is not only hegemonies by political and cultural events but also operates through a range of cultural processes.

Like the colonizer, Bill Gray is violent towards the native people for constructing the enemy because he represents the ambivalence status of the postcolonial human beings. The colonizers like Bill Gray can not possess the key to decode the orient people's language and culture. He also can not report to differentiate between the colonizers language and the conversation of the orient people. For constructing the Eurocentric self, the colonizers have to misinterpret their history of colonialism, their religions and culture. Through the discursive strategies, the western hegemony constructs Other as speechless, voiceless, because the colonizers speak of themselves instead of speaking to the other in the process of interpreting the orient people's behaviors and culture.

The colonial unconscious is necessary in the formidable identity formation. This research suspends and interrupts the teleology of the colonial state. It reminds that the images the state produce of its enemies are wholly contingent, yet necessary for, the self- realized needs of colonial expansion and hegemony. When we relate this novel in postcolonial context, we can observe the writer's intentions which are undoubtedly to inflect his narrative with the suggestion that all imperialist efforts might be similarly arranged. Furthermore, this research deconstructs this colonial history, much as an ethnographer or archeologist might peel back the recursive identity construction of "self" and "other" in situated contexts. Bill Gray is attempted to secure imperial dignity that is one of the feature of irony because the more he tries to legitimize the inferiority of orient people, the more he evokes his painful state.

Similarly, DeLillo analyses for the literal reading that is grounded in the experience of reading as an event, tempered by special, temporal and historical contexts. *Mao II* locates itself strategically within that portentous moment of suspension when an increasing defensive imperialism begins making plans for a final reckoning with its others. For instance, European constructs of Self and Other provided the fundamental building that blocks the hierarchies of power. It creates the centre for legitimizing the colonized people as margin. This research claims westerner's stereotype identity of the Communists and Muslim fundamentalists, as terrorism is the false notions: "*Mao II* reveals American's growing obsession of terrorism" (Velcic 5). It also intends readers to understand colonizer's concept to the colonized and how they represent the orient people as "Others" to claim their superiority. Western ideology is not directly imposed to them but the colonized people have accepted their superiority like the protagonist. Bill Gray, the protagonist, accepts the representation, othering and marginalization of the western imperial.

Regarding the same issue, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin borrow the idea of Gramsci that “the colonized people agree to be dominated because the domination by consent is achieved through what is taught to colonized” (127).

This novel intensifies how the western writers attempt to create the marginal position of orient. They believed that the Europe is a land of charm, attraction and full of opportunities and they marginalize the native land and people. The novel *Mao II* is centered on the colonial unconscious among the western writers because they try to internalize the white ideologies in the form of politics, identity, culture, language and literary traditions. They accept the Euro-centric belief of the westerners that white as superior and others as the inferior. Steffen Hantke views *as* conspiracy fiction: "In *Mao II* readers are again and again confronted with the figure of the infinitely adaptable trope conspiratorial violence" (21). The territory and the unconscious of the western writers are designed by the colonial discourse and they represent their social phenomena according to the western taste. Similarly, they feel that every thing that is connected with Europe is supreme and sacred. Western writers use their discourse for rationalizing their domination. The colonial discourse and power, which also have some ill-effects on the economies of the colonial interventions is able to exploit the colonized because this power often developed their colonies to serve their own ideology.

In *Mao II*, terrorists multiply; in addition to the new group of terrorist a, a group of Lebanese Marxists, and their leader Abu Rashid, the reclusive novelist Bill Gray, the main character, is accused of practicing the craft of writing akin to terrorism. The purpose of this research is to problematize the idea of Third World people and the writers who are represented from the western perspective. Jeffrey S. Bull argues *Mao II* as the novel of political inclusion. He notes:

The novel's attention to that debate in itself -support Bill's novalism but his politics of inclusion and individuality, events, in the books, such as Karan Janney's uncanny spiritual encounters with mass man suggest that the longing of many humans for the 'Symbolic Immortality' offers by totalist rulers. (73)

They construct their identity from the point of view of European civilization, culture and writing traditions. By identity, people are able to know the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, which are given priority over other source of meaning. Due to the colonial unconscious, western writers cannot believe that the identity and the literary text of orient must be dependent on western literary tradition. The text, cultural custom and history have their own values that must be judged from the particular social context. Regarding this issue, Manuel Castells borrows the ideas of Communal Heavens as:

We know of no people without names, no languages or culture in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made . . . self – knowledge- always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery- is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others. (6)

Heavens views that identity is people' source of meaning and experience which is socially, culturally and historically constructed and it is structured by the institutions and organization of the particular society.

Critical analyses of *Mao II* have focused on the overt and striking parallelism between writers and terrorists alluded to on many occasions in the novel. Like the characters of *Mao II*, colonial unconscious can't resist their identities constructed from the western ideology. As *Mao II* moves towards the closing, the reader is left with

Bill's narrative about the leftists, which appear in the American community. The realities of social changes, via natural or artificial means, conceive of the fact that cultures do not remain the same, pure and pristine; rather they are diverse, multiple and constantly changing. In the contemporary world, it becomes hard to find any pure or pristine culture, which is untouched by outside and other cultural influences. One implication of this changing perspective towards is looking not so much at cultures but rather at the spaces between cultures. Starobinski says that the myth as history is patent in the defense that George makes of the terrorist and the use of real violence (3). It is very difficult to project their own identity on the basis of which ever cultural materials are available to them, can't build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing, they can't seek the transformation of overall social structure. Stephen Slemon also argues that literary resistance is a kind of discourse about the ex-colonial settler cultures and their literatures. He writes:

Is literary resistance something that simply issues forth, through narrative, against a clearly definable set of power relations? Is it something actually there in the text, or is it produced and reproduced in the through communities of readers and through the mediating structures of their own culturally specific histories? (53)

Naturally, the third world people have to accept the domination of the Europe. If they become aware and doubt about the western hegemony, the European creates another kind of discourse and they rationalize their domination. The discussion of 'terrorism' constructs the 'Other' by the colonial unconscious of the western writers that evokes the colonial allegory.

The allegory of the colonial discourse legitimizes the binary opposition of terrorism and civilization. The word 'terrorism' is also the western construction that is

used to legitimize the western civilization as superior and non-western as inferior or 'Other'. Thus, 'terrorism' is a fixed entity constructed by western discourse. It is the colonial mentality that projects the meaning of the terrorism. "Since World War II and despite the current focus on Muslim fundamentalists many Americans narratives about terror and terrorism continue to fashion leftists always as potential terrorists" (Velcic 3). The colonial discourse regarding civilization and terrorism does not signify the real relationship between the 'Self' and 'Other' that is lurking at the very centre of imperial discourse. Thus, this research counters the colonial discourse and tries to dismantle the western writers' representation about the orient. Furthermore, it deconstructs the misrepresentation of the orient people which is based on westerner's colonial mentality.

No identity and culture can be an essence, and they have no progressive or regressive value outside their historical context. A different, and very important matter, is the benefits of each identity for the people who belong. Edward W. Said in *The World the Text and the Critic* claims that texts exist in context (47). It means that the value of every text, culture and history lie in their own socio-cultural background and they should be judged from their social contexts. In *Mao II*, DeLillo faces up to most of the contradictions which are present in contemporary society and culture, and through the peculiar structure of the book helps us to enter a world mainly ruled by pictures and violence. This research reflects the refusal of an absolute Truth and of a western writer who tries to be a creator of Truth, something that holds the right of representing the life and death of orient people. In this context, they give to the figure of the terrorist: "They carry the old wild-eyed vision, *total destruction and total order*" (158). For creating discourse of terrorism, the westerners attempt to give an identity that is not the one that images suggest: "He could have told George he was



writing about the hostage to bring him back, to return a meaning that had been lost to the world when they locked him in the room" (200). According to Said, post-colonial criticisms like *Orientalism* attempts to reexamine the colonial relationship and colonial perspective employed in discourse of cultural representation and the text dealing with colonial relation: "The teeming market place the terrorist courtesan, the Asian, despot the child-like the native and the mystical East" (Gandhi 77).

Colonial ideology is inherent in a discourse which defines the identity of non-western people in relation to the westerners. In this way, the colonial discourse has deliberately produced "the Other" in order to create its identity and to impose the colonial power over "the Other". In *The World the Text and the Critic*, Said argues that the western discourse legitimizes non-European culture as an inferior (47). The relationship between the West and the East is depended on the colonial discourse that enveloped the western power. Slemon says that colonial discourse operates as an instrument of power:

On a crude scale that ranges from "oppressor" to "oppressed" within contemporary neo-colonial international relations, the political location of such nation may differ fundamentally, and this raises a question as to whether both kinds of ex-colonial states ought to be thought of equally as "post-colonial nations". (102)

As Slemon has said Bill Gray as an oppressor, represents the western as superior, educated civilized and active. No matter what he reads and known, he feels orient as inferior due to the colonial psychosis. In the same manner Ashcroft et al in *Key Concept in Post-colonial Studies* view about Fanon that "the effects of colonial domination on the psyche of colonized remain due to the white colonial powers" (99). Bill Gray is the writer of higher standard but the way he treat himself is not different

from the way westerns treat to the colonized people. He misrepresents Mao as the other. He seems to be educated and creative; however, he has the feeling of hatred and distrust to the orient people.

We can observe the western writer's intentions that are undoubtedly inflect their narrative with the suggestions that all imperialist efforts might be similarly arranged. Furthermore, the critical reading of this novel deconstructs this colonial discourse, much as an ethnographer or archeologist might pole back the recursive identity construction of 'self' and 'other' in situated contexts. DeLillo's narrative seems to contradict postmodern ideas about the end of history; the interpreter argues that there is too much history, history that is forged with violence. Colonial unconscious reveals the repressed desires of the sovereign subject of the colonizer rather than the real nature of the natives. The alternative locations for observing the non-western culture without simply distorting the image of the orient people tries to give true voice that gives people its ontological consistency and its fundamental structure. But the western writers have to misinterpret the orient for imposing the definition of terrorism to defend their own civilization. For Eurocentric self, the constructed terrorism is necessary in the formidable identity, constitution of their oppression.

This research analyzes that how the western ideology constructs the identity of the non-western people because the social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relationships. The construction of identities uses building materials from history, geography, institution, power apparatuses and religious revelations of particular society. All these social materials rearrange the meaning according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in the social structure and in the space-time framework. In this way, the identity of the

person is historically and culturally constructed from the particular society. So, a western ideology cannot legitimize the identity of the orient people.

The characters are influenced by the colonial unconscious like the characters of DeLillo's *Mao II* because they always fractionalize the social, economical, individuals, political and geographical situations about native land and people. This attitude is always characterized by the hierarchical relationship between the colonizers and the colonized. The colonial unconscious always creates binaries regarding the orient as inferior. The colonial discourse and power, which also have some ill-effects on the economies of the colonial interventions is able to exploit the colonized because this power often developed their colonies to serve their own ideology. Critical analyses of *Mao II* have focused on the overt and striking parallelism between writers and terrorists alluded to on many occasions in the novel. This means that colonial unconscious represents the orient what they want it to be, but not the orient as it is. It also further adds on inevitable fact that the representations that are made by the westerners are partially read and mostly these object matter of any colonial uniting is the encounter between the western colonizes and the Eastern colonized. Said says in *Orientalism* as:

I shall be calling *Orientalism*, a way of coming to terms with the orient that is based on the orient's special in European Western exercise. The orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of it's civilizations and languages, it's cultural contestant, and one of it's deepest and most recurring images of the other. (1)

The mission of the colonial discourse is to legitimize the other as inferior. It defines them through such a colonial dynamic, simultaneously existing as perpetrators and

legatees of historical disenfranchisement and the politics of forgetting. This research is concerned about the term representation that is directly relevant to the hostility between the West and the East. This concept of representation is connected with the basic issue of cultural theory. A postcolonial study incorporates the problem of representation in colonial writing under its subject of study. George describes a typical postmodern consumer society; humanity is so overwhelmed with images, goods, messages and their multiple meanings that everything becomes indistinguishable, a blur. In this postmodern glut and blur both artists and writers are lost; only the extreme gestures of terrorists cannot be absorbed and stand to be noticed. And the resistance to assimilation allows the terrorist to stay in control.

Being guided by colonial unconscious, the protagonist of DeLillo's *Mao II* treated as western imperialism and hegemony that compels him to experience the marginal life which is the binary opposition of various kind of dominant discourse created by Europe:

The valuable advantage that spectacle has obtained from situating history outside the law, from sentencing a recent history to clandestinely and helping to forget, in general terms, the historical spirit of society means, in the first place, hiding its own history: the movement of its recent conquest of the world. (Starobinski 18)

The western imperialism is able to promote its own interest in the protagonist. Colonized people accept that the interest of the colonizers is the common interests and they have to adopt it. DeLillo's *Mao II* is useful for analyzing the success of imperial power over a colonized people whose desire for being independent has been suppressed by colonial discourse. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin say that hegemony is

the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interest of all (116). They further say:

Consent is achieved by the interpellation of the colonized subject by imperial discourse so that Euro- centric values, assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes are accepted as a matter of course as the most natural or valuable. The inevitable consequence of such interpellation is that the colonized subject understands itself as peripheral to those Euro- centric values, while at the same time accepting their centrality. (117)

The protagonist, Bill Gray finds that his life, culture, religion, custom; language and writing are superior because his thought is influenced by the colonizers' discourse. Indeed, DeLillo presents that the colonized people assume their life as a provincial because of the cultural and political hegemony of western imperialism.

## **II. Colonial Unconscious and Representation of Other**

### **Colonial Unconscious**

This research has discussed how the westerners dichotomize the non-westerners as the Other and the westerner as the Self. The colonial unconscious accepts the colonized people as an inferior and it believes the colonizer's discourse that the colonized or non-western people are irrational, barbaric, emotive and primitive. The colonial discourse is not only able to rule the colonized people but also able to contain the possibility of resistance from them.

The postcolonial writers present the colonial history from the perspective of colonized experience. By doing this, they revealed what the colonial authority did to them in the name of progress, science and civilization. Postcolonial criticism licensed with the cultural discourse of suspicious on the part of colonized people; seeks to undermine the imperial subject. It has forcefully produced parallel discourses that have questioned and even subverted since long time and protected by stereotypes and myths about the "Other". The economic and social power aim to strengthen the social forces, which is used by west to create myth about the Others. The role of amplification arranges power, which is intended to make it more economic and more effective. They express love and sympathy to the non-westerners as a new mode of powers to govern them. It does so not for power itself, nor for the immediate salvation of a threatened society.

The colonial unconscious has deconstructed the reality of non-western and produced colonizing myths about irrationality of non-western people. This process begins since Greco-Roman period because westerners have been attempting to marginalize the non-westerns by creating the fictitious reality about the orient according to their own interest. They have been endeavoring to represent the

easterners through their imagination. The post-colonial theory deals with the issues like representation, hybridity, diaspora, nationalism, problem of migration and so on. Post-colonial theory is a single index of linguistic, philosophy, literature and culture but also a mixed identity, ideology and hegemony that dominate the orient world.

So the colonial discourse is only to justify their mission of colonization in various forms. Since the beginning of the human civilization, the westerners have put themselves in the centre and the rest in the periphery. They created the term other in relation to the term "We". It exercises the power relation between the occident and the orient. The term "Other" is directly represented the third world which were once colonized by the west and those which have been still colonized by the west and those which have been still colonized. So it carries out a fact that the westerners do not represent the reality but they always represent the Easterners by used of various images.

Western imperialism becomes a dominant and more transparently aggressive policy for a variety of political, cultural and economic reasons. Due to the western imperialism, western writers felt that it is necessary to write about new places and the people. They began writing about the people who are colonized by the westerners. But they misrepresent the orient people, culture, geography and the landscape. They become surprise when they watch the situations and life style of the orient people. They find strange and unique behaviour and attend orient people. In this way, they represent the orient people according to their own interest, taste, metaphors and the use of their own vocabularies. Arguing the same issue, Boehner says:

From the early days of colonization, therefore, not only texts in general, but literature, broadly defined, underpinned efforts to interpret other lands, offering home audiences a way of thinking

about exploration, western conquest, national valor, new colonial acquisitions. Travelers, traders, administrators, settlers, 'read' the strange and new by drawing on familiar books such as the *Bible* or *Pilgrim's Progress*. Empires were of course as powerfully shape by military conflict the unprecedented displacement of peoples, and the quest for profits. (14)

Classifying orientals as far basic continues colonial unconscious and degenerate, either it is dangerous or alluring. The most important function of colonial unconscious is to reveal the ways in which the world is decolorized in various manners. Due to the colonial unconscious, non-western people are compelled to accept that they are an innate part of their degenerate or barbarian state. They accept their representation as less human, less civilized, savage and inferior because they have no white skin.

Western discourse always forms images about the east and aim at ruling and dominating over the orient. In this regard Ashcroft et al quotes said as; "This link between knowledge and power is particularly important in the relationships between colonizers and colonized, and has been extensively elaborated by Edward Said in his discussion of *Orientalism*, . . . this way of knowing the 'Orient', is a way of maintaining power over it" (72). Thus the agents of representation always play a discursive and hegemonic role. In other words, the very essence of the notion of representation is violated by the interest of the westerners. It is the colonial unconscious that creates binary opposition to establish a relation of dominance.

A simple distinction between center/margin; colonizer/colonized; civilized/primitive represents very efficiently the violent hierarchy on which imperialism is based. Rajeswary Sundar Rajan emphasizes the paradox between the real meaning of represent and the politics associated with it she states; "representation is something



other than the "representation of reality". It is rather, an autonomous structure of meaning a code of system of signs that refers not to "reality" but to the mere reality of codes system and signs themselves" (167). Representation presents an ongoing tension between "west" and "non-west". The play of identity and difference become conspicuous in the process of standing for the other because ". . . representation is always of something or someone, by something or someone" (12). The westerners are substantive because they can only substitute their interest rather than consult them and act as they are.

Colonial unconscious plays great role between eastern and western in term of representation. We can find inequalities in various modes and process of representation that unmask the ideological disguises of imperialism reciprocal relationship between colonial power and knowledge. In *Key Concept of Post-colonial Studies*, Ashcroft et al view; "The binary structure, with its various articulations of the underlying binary accommodates such fundamental binary impulses with imperialism as the impulse to 'exploit' and the impulse to 'civilize'" (25). The main mission of imperial ideology is to govern the non-west geographically, politically and culturally. The representation means misrepresentation because they represent the colonized as they like.

Ideology is like a discourse that attempts to represent the orient from western perspective. Through it, westerners always create the hierarchy of superior and inferior and the creator and the created. Jeremy Hawthorn says that "ideology is a near neighbor to discourses in both Foucault's and Bhabha's understands of the terms" (90). Euro-centric discourse about the non-western world plays a great role in serving the purpose of European expansion. This colonial discourse is always based on the interpretation, which pervades each and every cultural phenomenon. The discourse by

Europe about East is based on the knowledge they have gained about the East during the period of colonization. Western discourse always form images and stereotype about the East and creates ideology for ruling and dominating over the non-westerners.

It creates literacy between the whites and the non-whites. It marginalizes the colonized people. Westerners visited the non-western countries for various purposes and later on they make discourse about those countries on the basis of their own horizon of knowledge. It is a discourse, which is made by the western ideology to govern the non-western people. Fanon views that western thought, language; life-style and culture are imposed to the non-western people through ideology. He says in his book *Black Skin White Masks* as:

Every colonized people in other words every people in whose soul on inferior complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality-find itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation, that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes white as he renounces his blackness his jungle. (18)

Colonial unconscious is a most powerful contribution to the creation of an effective anti-colonial discourse. Fanon classifies that the relationship between East and West is based on colonial unconscious that differentiate between the western culture and language and the eastern culture and language. While differentiating these two contestants, the former one is placed at superior position and the later is placed to inferior position.

These numerous representation of the east by the west is also the outcome of the colonial unconscious that creates hierarchy between the east and the west.

Likewise, the editors of *Key Concept in post-Colonial Studies* view about the misrepresentation of non-westerners as cannibal:

This term for an eater of human flesh is of particular interest to post-colonial studies for its demonstrations of the process by which an imperial Europe distinguishes itself from the subjects of its colonial expansion, while providing a moral justification for that expansion. This definition is itself a very good demonstration of two related features of colonial discounted factures of colonial discourse: the separation of the 'civilized' and the 'savage', and the importance of the concept of cannibalism in cementing this distinction. To this day cannibalism has remained the west's key representation of primitivism, even through its first recording, and minded most subsequent examples, have been evidence of a rhetorical strategy of imperialism rather than evidence of an objective 'fact'. (29)

The Easterners are always misrepresented by the Westerners to classify that they have been always superior. It is marked that the orient is romantically represented as exotica land with cannibal people.

Although this is not intended to relegate other construct to the sidelines or to say that decolonization has nothing to offer the rethinking of colonial period, the colonized people can't be free from the grip of colonial unconscious. In *Key Concept of Post-colonial Studies* Ashcroft et al claim; "Hegemony initially a term referring to the domination of one state within a confederation, is now generally understood to mean domination by consent (116). Although the colonized people are politically

independent, they represent everything about non-western as inferior, barbaric, other, uncivilized and irrational due to the colonial unconscious. Furthermore, Western discourse has always functioned as power to dominate the orient. This discourse has not only shown how Europeans exercised institutionalized power over the non-Europeans to rule them but also an instrument to create to centralize them and inferiorize the colonized people.

Postcolonial writer and critic seem to be more radical on this issue. They view that western hegemony and ideology created so-called reality about the other. Considering the same issue, Ashcroft et al in *Key Concepts in Post-colonial studies* write about hegemony as:

The term is useful for describing the success of imperial power over a colonized people who may far outnumber any occupying military force, but whose desire for self-determination has been suppressed by hegemonic notion of greater good, after couched in terms of social order, stability and advancement, all of which are defined by the colonizing power. (116)

When non-western world is being represented in literacy text, it fulfills the western interest and purpose because of the western hegemony. Even if the westerners claim for representing the non-westerners or "Others" in the response of the non-westerners, a substantive acting for representation becomes impossible because the western hegemony compels to accept to their inferior condition in relation to the west. The emergence of multiple postcolonial literary theories and critics has provided us numerous opportunities to interpret a text from various views and perspectives.

In this way, colonial literature created channels for the exchange of colonial images and ideas. This is concerned that how non-western people speak and measure

their life by the virtue of suspend traditions. Colonial literature exhibits colonial unconscious and perception and is written from the imperial perspective although it is heterogeneous in its reflection. Colonial discourse emphasizes how western discourse about the non-western imposes west's will to govern the other and how it shares colonial perspective. Through discourse, westerners exercise their power over the "Other". By inverting the colorful perspective, postcolonial critics have forcefully deconstruct the colonial discourse that support colonizing process which produces colonizing myths about irrationality and uncivilized of the non-westerners. In this regard Bhabha says:

The discourse of post-Enlightenment English colonialism often speaks in a tongue that is forked, not false. If colonialism takes power in the name of history, it repeatedly exercises its authority through the figures of farce. For the epic mention of the civilizing mission, human and not wholly human in the famous words of Lord Rosebery, 'write by the finger of the Divine' often produces a text rich in the traditions of *trompe-la-œil*, irony, mimicry and repetition. In this comic turn from the high ideals of the colonial imagination to its own mimetic literary effects mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge. (85)

The discourse of west, representing west's desire to govern, to dominate and to control the other the westerners believe that the easterners are not able to govern themselves. Colonial discourse serves the colonial purpose in an effective manner because it attempts to design the fixed geographical, cultural and political concept about the non-western people in the mind of the readers. They believe that non-western people are passive, barbaric and emotive and they also assume that every scantier and

technological discovery is made the west. They try to legitimize the life style, culture, history and literary tradition of non-western world because they think that west is the source of everything.

The colonial writers always follow the fixed and stereotyped construction while representing the countries and people they had once colonized. As Said has said in his *Culture and Imperialism*; "non-western world has no life, history or culture to speak of no independence or integrity worth representing without the west" (XIX). Said strongly claims that non-western world also have their own lives, histories and cultures with integrities equally worth representing as the western one. With this imaginary evidence about the orient, the west tries to justify their mission of colonization. In this regard Boehner views:

Colonization did not in every case mean a complete take over; indeed, colonial power was far from a smooth extension outwards from far from a metropolitan center thought this was naturally how it chose to represent itself. Nor was the colonizer unproblematically at home in the lands he occupied. The symbolism of the other therefore was not merely the product of confident authority. The native portrayed as primitive, as insurrectionary force, as libidinous temptation, as madness, was also an image redolent of extreme colonial uncertainty.

(90)

Colonial unconscious is inherent in a discourse, which defines our identities always in relation to what we are not, and, therefore, what we are not must be demolished as "Others". Thus colonial unconscious deliberately produces "the other" in order to create its identity and imposes its power over the non-western.

The colonial unconscious has created 'Other' to institutionalize west's power over the 'other' so; 'the other' always has the shifting quotation in colonial discourse. The identity of the orient as 'the other' always goes on changing in relation of it with the westerners. Colonial unconscious represents when it draws attention to the ways of speaking and thinking that colonialism employed to create the idea of the inferiority of the colonial subject and to exercise hegemonic control over them through the control of the dominate models of representation. It contended that essentialist cultural categories were flawed.

### **Representation of Other**

The representation is just a created medium for the colonization. They misrepresent the east in order to prove that they are not in fact, willing to govern the easterners but it is a compulsion for them. So, they exhibit colonial unconscious, experience and perception from the imperial perspective. In this way, colonial unconscious has created channels for the exchange of colonial images and ideals. One of the key contributions made by this research is to demonstrate the vulnerability of imperialist and colonialist power that are never fully realized by the colonized people. Colonial discourse energizes the meanings, significance and value of colonialism. Thus, the colonized people have to accept the concept that is constructed by western power: "under colonialism, negative contractions of the colonized other established certain structure of domination through which the colonizer triumphed" (Jacobs 2).

Westerners think that they are the creator and savior of easterners. Some colonial writers try to express their colonial unconscious towards the subservient colonized people along with their sense of superiority, which always resides in the core of their minds. E.M. Forster, Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad etc. represented the east as the land of "Other" in various forms. In *Passage to India*, Foster

misrepresents the Indian people who are represented as barbaric, uncivilized, other and mysterious. Colonial discourses produce a kind of stereotype of the non-westerners describing as an object of legitimized "Other". In this regard Slemon says:

The foundational principle for this particular approach to the field of colonial criticism is at heart a simple binarism: the binarism of Europe and it's others, of colonizer and colonized, of the west and the Rest, of the vocal and the silent. It is also a centre/ periphery model with roots in world system theory and also as so often happens with simple binary systems. (56)

Westerners think that it was their burden to civilize them, to educate them and to make them human. For this purpose, they always created hierarchy between the colonizers and colonized as the superior race and inferior race respectively.

In *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*, Ashcroft et al argue about anti-colonialism as; "it was often articulated in terms of radical Marxist discourse of liberation, and in constructions that sought to reconcile the internationalist and anti-elitist demands of Marxism with the nationalist sentiment of the period" (15). Anti-colonialism is frequently perceived resistance that products fixed and definitive relationship in which colonizer and colonized were in absolute and implacable opposition. Anti-colonialism signifies the point at which the various forms of opposition become articulated as a resistance to the operation of colonialism in political, economics and cultural institution. Fanon views that it emphasizes the need to reject colonial power and restore local culture, language and tradition. Elecke Boehmer, in *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* writes on Fanon as:

Fanon's theories were specifically geared to the Algerian anti-colonial struggle. However, especially in *The Wretched of the Earth*, his



characterization of resistance was influential in other contexts, and thought in Africa and the Caribbean more than in India. Unlike earlier Negritude attempts to reverse racist stereotypes, Fanon argued that the struggle against the colonizer should take as its aims not only complete national autonomy but the transformation of social and political consciousness. The colonized had to 'insult' and 'vomit up' the white man's values. Culture, therefore, was chosen by Fanon, amongst others, as a central arena of transformation, the site where psychology and spiritual freedoms might be won. (183)

This representation is extended by various writers to the institution through which colonized individual achieved a sense of inferior identity through the ideas of culture, race and nation. The mission of knowing subject to civilize the other and by that means to fulfill the imperial motive developed only one side, one perspective methodology and discourse that ultimately was established as the norm.

The only legitimate way of obtaining knowledge became the imposition of this norm to create the master narrative of the west. In *The World the Text and the Critic* Said views that colonial relation is maintained and guided by colonial discourse that licensed with power that becomes the sole force of colonialism (47). So, the non-western world is governed and dominated by discourse produced by Orientalists rather than material, military or political power. Due to the colonial unconscious, colonized people never want themselves to be independent because they always wait to be imposed by the authority of the colonizers. Said's *Orientalism* is also based on the similar issue that how the colonial literature produced the stereotypical images of the non-west as the 'Other'.

Edward Said, in his book *Orientalism* claims; “the relation between occident and orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying of a complex hegemony . . .” (5). He says that cultural discourse and exchange within a culture is commonly circulated is not truth but only the misrepresentation. These researchers simply consider the politics associated with the very concept of representation, different circumstances. Therefore, the condition of the represented whether they can speak or not within particular social structure is still another great problem in the field of representation. According to Radhakrishnan, “all representation is an act of violence and inauthentic” (42). The notion of representation has very different applications depending on what is being made present or considered present and in certain circumstances. What his research attempts here is not just an accurate definition, but a way of doing justice to the application of representation in a cultural context. In *The World the Text and the Critic*, Edward W. Said says that the western discourse confines non-European culture as an inferior. He states:

[...] the methods and discourse of western scholarship confine inferior non-European cultures to a position of subordination. Oriental texts come to inhabit a realm without development or power, one that exactly corresponds to be position of colony for European texts and culture. (47)

The binary representation constructs a conditions, a category between the two cultures that are equally important but colonial unconscious creates binary oppositions between colonizer, white, human and civilization and colonized, black, and uncivilized respectively. According to the editors of *Key Concept in Post-colonial studies*: "Clearly, the binary is very important in construction ideological meanings in general, and extremely useful in imperial ideology" (25). In this context, who does

the representing is more important than what is being represented because of the unequal distribution of power among cultures, and that ultimately affects representation of one culture by the other: what is obvious is what representation does: what is obvious is that representation does not take place in a social vacuum.

Colonial regimes were trying to define the constituents of a certain kind of society. They embedded that act of creation within a notion that society was a natural occurrence and self-conscious projects of collecting and organizing knowledge could be applied. In Africa, European colonial rule, knowledge and power are imposed through colonial discourse. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Staler argue in the same ideas that how power and knowledge of Europe dominate the "Others":

Our interest is more in how both colonies and metropolis shared in the dialectics of inclusion domain was distinct from the metropolitan one.

We hope to explore within the shared but differentiated space of empire the hierarchies of production, power, knowledge that emerged in tension with the extension of the domain of universal reason, of market economics, and of citizenship. (3)

The relationship between western and non-western is maintained and guided by colonial discourse, which is created by western power and imperialism. Michel Foucault's insistence on the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power has had a major impact on the last decade of colonial scholarship. His works has long emphasized the conscious way in which a model colonial regime went above creating the categories in which western and non-western were to define them. Similarly Said borrows the idea from Foucault's theories and said that no discourse is fixed for all the time because discourses change according to the time and the space.

The discursive practices have no universal validity because it is historically and culturally associated colonial discourse is produced and it is manipulated the power in order to maintain, the sense of superiority and authority over the "Other". It is an instrument of power, which is used to govern the "Other". Euro-centric discourse not only creates truth to rule the others, but it also contains the possibility of resistance from the "Other". This research claims that the production of otherness is essential for West for its own existence, yet, it is charged with internal contradictions, because it produces the possibility of resistance in the other precisely at the moment when it tries to impose its captivating power over the "Other".

Representation is the western experience of east or western thought about the orient. In this regard, Edward Said says about *Orientalism* and representation that they are the style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinction made between the orient and the occident. According to Said, post-colonial criticism like *Orientalism* attempts to reexamine the colonial relationship and colonial perspective employed in discourse of cultural representation and the text dealing with colonial relation. The political purpose of representation is to expose the falsity of this mode of presenting the colonial subject as another to the self of dominant colonial culture. Likewise, Edward Said's *Orientalism* argues that representation is a discourse formed by the west about the non-west. It is created and made by the West to govern the East. The history of representation goes back to the Greek period Homer in his *Iliad* and Euripides and Aeschylus in their books. *The Persian* and *The Bacchae* respectively demonstrated Asian's loss and Europeans' victory. Dante also used the same stereotypic images and representation in his work *Inferno*. He presented the prophet Mohammed being eternally chained from brain to anus in his book. The tradition of

representation is still continuous in various forms. Jeremy Hawthorn in *A Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory* claims:

'Discourse' is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; values and categories these beliefs constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience 'ideology' in the neutral, non-pejorative sense. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which discourse is embedded. (90)

The western authors of different centuries have been representing the easterners, in the history, according to their interest. The modern western authors as well as politicians create the image of the Muslim and non-western people as terrorists in their texts, television, serials, newspaper and programmed. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said strongly claims; "the orientalist texts emphasis on the evidence that is by no means invisible for such representation as representations not as natural depiction of the orient" (19). Moreover, they show sympathy towards the easterners and exploit their sentiment. Considering the fact that Ramen Selden and Peter Widdowson say the models of western thought and literature have dominated world nature, marginalizing or excluding non-western traditions and forms of cultural life and expressions (189).

The postcolonial critics attempt to reexamine the colonial relationship, emerged in resistance to colonial representations and the text dealing with colonial relations. Through discourse and ideology, the western beliefs, values and categories impose to the non-western people. The identity of the non-western people is depending on the mercy of the westerners. The easterners are not what they are but what the westerners represent them. Edward Said comments; "*Orientalism* is western

style for dominating restructuring and having authority over that orient" (3). It means that *Orientalism* exposes how the East is created through western discursive, practice, and assumed as inferior or as the other. Post-colonial criticism attempts to re-examine the colonial relationship that emerged in resistance to colonial perspectives employed in discourses of cultural representation and literature dominate world culture and marginalizes non-western traditions and forms of cultural life and expression.

The term representation is always related to the notion of interpretation that pervades each and every cultured phenomenon. Regarding the same issue, Stephen Slemon has quoted Edward Said as: "What brought that purely conceptual space into being, argue Said, is a European " style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction" made between the Orient and the Occident (111-112). In the theory of post colonialism, representation is connected to the Foucauldian concept of discourse as representation. For Foucault, discourse is power because it is based on certain knowledge that helps to form power. In *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin elaborate Foucault's view about discourse and representation as: "Discourse is important, therefore, because it join power and knowledge together. Those who have power have control of what is known and the way it is known, and those have such knowledge have power over those who do not" (72). The discourse by West about East is based on the knowledge they have gained about the east during the period of colonization.

The strong foundation of today's hierarchical discrimination between the high culture and lower culture and civilized and uncivilized began to be manifested since the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with the expansionist venture of the power of western imperialism. Though some of the writers pretend to show their sympathy to the non-western people and their situations, they are in fact motivated by

their will to dominate the orient. This term "Other" is used to dichotomize the 'West' and the 'Rest'. In *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin argue on the same vein as:

In general terms, the 'other' is anyone who is separate from one's self. The existence of others is crucial in defining what is 'normal' and in locating one's own place in the world. The colonized subject is characterized as 'other' through discourses such as primitivism and cannibalism, as a means of establishing the binary reparation of the colonizer and colonized and assisting the naturalness primary of the colorizing culture and world view. (169)

So, the term is relevant with the cultural identity and power relation. Bill Gray, the protagonist, views his life in the context of social relationships with Europe. His horizon of understanding is related with Europe and its political as well as cultural ideology. The term is also relevant to the culture. The western culture always tries to justify itself as the superior or the centre and the non-western culture as inferior or the other.

Westerners think that it is their duty to civilize the Easterners and the Easterners also accept that they have to be civilized by them because of their colonial unconscious. By its effect, they create hierarchy between "superior" and "inferior". Colonial unconscious is centered on the power relation between the East and the West. Boehmer views that the white men represent non-westerners as "Others" and themselves as the archetypal workers and provident profit-makers (39). Thus, colonial unconscious always has represented the white as intellectual, superior, civilized, masters of the world and apostle of light and the non-white as degenerate and barbaric. In the same vein, Said in *Orientalism* views about misrepresentation of

orient by the westerners; "It is Europe that articulate the orient; this articulation is the pejorative, not of a puppet master, but of a genuine creator, whose life giving power represents animates, constitutes the other wise silent and dangerous space beyond familiar boundaries" (56). The play of identity and difference become conspicuous in the process of standing for the other because ". . . representation is always of something or someone, by something or someone" (Lentricchia 12). The relationship between western and orient is maintained and guided by colonial discourse which is created by power and ideology. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Staler argue in the same ideas that "how power and knowledge differentiated space of empire, the hierarchies of production that emerged in tension with the extension of the domain of universal reason" (3).

The change in worldview brought about and consolidated by the rebirth of knowledge in Renaissance resulted in the dramatic change in the general pattern of thinking and perception. The invention of gun powder, clock, compass, and printing press all cumulatively helped to deepen the gulf between the "self" and "other" categories rather than brining them. Arguing in the same vein, Bill Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies* view about Gayatri Spivak's concepts as:

This term was coined by Gayatri Spivak for the process by which imperial discourse creates its 'other' where as the other corresponds to the focus of desire or power (the M other or Fathers – or Expire) in relation to which the subject is produced, the other is the excluded or 'mastered' subjected created by the discourse of power. Othering describes the various ways in which colonial discourse produces its subjects. In Spivak's explanation, Othering is a dialectical process



because the colonizing other is established at the same time as its colonized others are produced as subjects. (171)

European expansion that started in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century with Columbus reaching America in 1492 and Vasco DaGama sailing around Africa in 1498, the "west" put itself in a position of absolute domination and control. The master narrative of west is to become the master narrative of the whole world because of the colonial discourse. Thus, the agents and regimes of colonial discourse always play a constitutive not a reflexive role. In other words the opinionated perspective of the agents violates the very essence of the notion of discourse. The westerners always create binary opposition by representing the orient as always away from mainstream in every aspect. The colonial discourses helped to form the images and stereotypes of Bill Gray. Of course, his story contacts western and non-western cultures that based on the premises of different religions or different ideological systems. In case of western Jacobs emphasizes the colonial discourse and its dependence on the concept of fixity as:

The accounts persecuted of these sits and their cultural politics of production are not univocal. To avoid univocal is not simply to say many people set out place in different ways. Or to establish a new more conversant binary, as Said does in his notion of an atonal contrapuntal interplay of self and other . . . in particular have worked to trouble fixed nations of identity and difference. (8)

By that parameter it becomes manifested to everybody that the western culture is superior to the eastern culture, white to black, civilized to uncivilized, high culture to low culture- each of the central element of the binary opposition referring to the west.

The value imposed upon the world by the west was so firm that for a couple of centuries it remained the baseline of the world vision. It became the all-powerful taken-for-granted fact of the era.

### **III. Colonial Unconscious and Representation of Other in *Mao II***

#### **Colonial Unconscious in *Mao II***

Bill Gray, the protagonist, represents the native land, family and people as exotic, terrifying, barbaric and uncivilized underdeveloped and uneducated. The European ideology plays important role for him because he represents that everything related to white or European is superior, adventurous and courageous. This unconscious has suggested that there is no narrative interest without European involvement and intervention. This research analyzes how the western writers shape their discourse within the frame of history and ideology without losing sight of the necessity of questioning their exotification to the contemporary postcolonial world and its people:

In societies reduced to blur and glut, terror is the only meaningful act. There's too much everything, more things and messages and meanings than we can use in ten thousand lifetimes. Inertia-hysteria. Is history possible? Is anyone serious? Who do we take seriously? Only the lethal believer, the person who kills and dies for faith. Everything else is absorbed. The artist is absorbed, the madman in the street is absorbed and processed and incorporated. Give him a dollar; put him in a TV commercial. Only the terrorist stands outside. The culture hasn't figured out how to assimilate him. (157-58)

It manages to represent another reality, questions and presents from a different perspective the official versions and rules that how the western writers impose on the viewer or the reader and makes us think both of the capacity to depict the specific ideology within the power/knowledge relation and discourse of terrorism constructed by them. The identity as human beings is only fertile in western land because Bill

Gray thinks that his individual identity as human beings is only fertile in western land. He believes that orient people have lacking individual identity.

The western writers in the novel express the colonial mentality as the Western people are superior to the non-western. Through the characterization of Western writers, we can observe how such colonial discourses encourage the Westerners to colonize the orient people whether in the cultural or political form. The westerners find orient people's life, culture, religion, custom, and language as inferior because they see all things from the western ideological point of view. Bill Gray's is affected by the colonial unconscious because he is a colonizer who never wants orient to be independent. He always imposed the authority of west.

Likewise, Bill Gray always thinks that Europe is a land of opportunities where he can experience his ability and transform it into art. We can find inequalities in various modes and process of representation that unmask the ideological disguises of imperialism reciprocal relationship between colonial power and knowledge: "Where are your sympathies? With the colonial police, the occupier, the rich landlord, the corrupt government state? Or with the terrorist?" (130). The binary representation constructs a conditions category between the two cultures that are equally important but colonial mentality creates binary oppositions between colonizer, white, human and civilization and colonized, black, and uncivilized respectively. Moreover, his unconscious feels that only the western writer can provide the method of communicating ideas, feelings and poetic imagination. Through the protagonist, westerners, this research is able to present how western ideology has expressed the success of imperial power over a colonized people without occupying military force and how it has suppressed the desire for self-determination.

On the one hand, the colonial unconscious intends the readers to know the colonizer's concepts and attitude to the colonized people and how they represent them as the Other, on the other, the colonized people accept colonizers' superiority and their own culture, language, religion and custom as inferior. Then he goes back to compare the writer's job to the role that terrorists play in contemporary society: "It's the novelist who understands the secret life, contemporary society: "the rage that underlies all obscurity and neglect. You're half murderers, most of you" (158). While the new terrorist figures in American fiction acquire some new characteristics, such as Middle Eastern ethnicity, they frequently preserve leftist political ideology, and hence continue to perpetuate the anti-left ideology of the American mainstream: "The way they determined how we see them" (157). This is the case even with the postmodern novel, which deliberately attempts to undermine all metanarratives about truth, reality, and history because, as this research points out, some of the most acclaimed postmodern novels rewrite historical events, or they have been tied to some version of real or current events.

The colonial unconscious thinks that west is the source of everything and he compares his life style in relation to the orient. He acknowledges as if the non-western world's regions as Said puts in *Culture and Imperialism*, "have no life, history, culture and desire to be independence" (XIX). He always ignores the fact that his native worlds also have their own histories, lives and cultures with integrities equally worth representing as the western one. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said views as; "orient people's desire to be independence is based on the independence of us" (XVIII). The westerners internalize the ideology and ready to create harmony by accusing them as terrorists. They create colonial discourse that stereotypes the orient people as irrational, barbaric, and emotive. In this way, the colonial discourse deliberately

produces the concept of terrorism in order to create its identity and to impose the colonial power over the Other. Maureen Whitebrook discovers political matters in this fiction as: "this novel present 'discusses'-such political matters as the individual and the, the nature of leadership, terrorism, and the problem of political agency and responsibility" (764).

Bill Gray's colonial unconscious, in fact, focused on the dichotomy relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Bill Gray points out the various manifestations of anti-communism sentiment, illustrating the extent to which prejudice impacts the daily lives of the orient members of the community. These prejudices are both subtle and overt, and the prosecution's characterization of Bill who has repeatedly returned to the stereotype of the orient: "They are not an invention of Europe. They are not making race to go to God. We do not train them for paradise. No martyrs here" (233). Traditionally in the novel leftists/terrorists and terrorists/leftists are portrayed as almost exclusively male. *Mao II* follows this pattern. Abu Rashid explains the lack of women around him with the fact that his wife and his two older sons were killed in the fighting by the Phalangists. Although this is the only information that the reader learns about Rashid and women directly, the novel does not completely abandon the images of sexual "dysfunction" and violence towards women relatively abundant in *Libra*. Rashid's statements, such as "Women carry babies, men carry arms. Weapons are man's beauty," (234) display not only obvious sexism, but a patriarchal male envy of 'women's power to have children that is counteracted by equating weapons with power and reveals the connection between sexuality, gender, and violence.

The colonized are always shown as inferior, uncivilized and in need of leadership, incapable of self-governance and in managing their resources. The western

critics, philosophers and scientists are always at the apex of everything, and source of every significant activities. Western writers have always dichotomized orient people as the terrorists and the westerners as the center of everything. They claim that they are searching for a method of creating peace, order, harmony and truth in multicultural community. As Charlie Everson had already done in London, Bill decides to run away from George's logic and face alone what he will find in Lebanon, but he does not get to Beirut because, as I have already noted, he dies on the ferry. His quest for identity ends up a complete failure. The famous writer who used to live hidden from everybody disappears. On the ferry somebody steals all his documents and what is left of him is just a nameless corpse on a boat and a series of pictures. At the end of his life, and without looking for it, Bill Gray is transformed into the thing that he had wanted to avoid: a silent image with a writer's name.

The novel is centered on the colonial mentality of the western writers because they try to impose the western ideologies in the forms of politics, identity, culture and language. They follow the Euro-centric assumptions that white are superior and migrant people are uncivilized. Therefore, *Mao II* creates marginalized, mysterious, but deadly, Leftist/terrorist dichotomy that are essentially only sexual perverts, snitches, and murderers. As sexual perverts, they threaten their own bodies and the bodies of others; as snitches they betray not only their respective countries but also their immediate Leftist communities, and as murderers they are willing to commit the ultimate transgression against humanity. DeLillo's Oswald does not undermine Cold War and mass culture portrayals of what a 'leftist' is. From early childhood DeLillo's Oswald reads much Marxist literature and dreams of becoming a revolutionary martyr. Later, the conspirators who break into his room finds: "socialist literature strewn about. Speeches by Fidel Castro. A booklet with a Castro quotation on the

cover: *The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought*. Copies of the *Militant and the Worker*. A booklet, *The Coming American Revolution*. Another, *Ideology and Revolution*, by Jean-Paul Sartre. Books and pamphlets in Russian. Flash cards with Cyrillic characters" (179). His dubious understanding of these readings and his mechanical mouthing of Marxist rhetoric ironically do not make him less of a 'leftist' in the reader's mind since these behaviors fit the Cold War culture portrayals of leftists as unreasonable people who slavishly and unthinkingly follow a dangerous ideology.

The colonial unconscious represents the European language; literature and culture are superior to the "others". In *Mao II*, Bill Gray manages to give life to his own game of lights and shadows and gives the reader a perspective of the various clichés of contemporary society and culture. It is supposed that the writer is the intellectual who acts in a specific context. The western intellectual who in the novel is obviously unable to change or influence society and is silenced by the circumstances that are already out of control and goes on talking and writing to construct their superiority. Abu Rashid's description begins innocuously enough; he is in "his sixties and wears clean khakis with shirtsleeves rolled neatly to the elbows. He has gray hair and a slightly darker mustache and his flesh is a ruddy desert bronze" (231). However, in the very next sentence, in this description of a distinguished looking older man, quickly creep marks of otherness: "He is bony-handed, maybe slightly infirm, and has gold-rimmed glasses and a couple of gold fillings" (231). While 'gold rimmed glasses' and 'gold fillings' seem to mark his age as well as his wealth, and display his power, the description clearly contrasts images of the bombed out Beirut just introduced in the narrative; they also distinctly allude to a possibility of infirmity in Abu Rashid.

The non-west things are rejected to give any significant role. If any role is given, that is always a negative impact for colonial unconscious. DeLillo's main character thus offers us an opportunity to start reflecting on the relation that writing maintains with subjectivity without, at the same time, losing sight of a committed vision of writing itself. It is not going to go back to the idea of the universal intellectual - although we think that DeLillo from time to time does consider yielding to the temptation; what I want to stress rather is how DeLillo's text manages to reflect the transformation of the idea of the writer as a universal intellectual into the idea of the writer as a specific intellectual. It views that white race is presented as clear, direct, noble, mature, rational, virtuous. This unconscious always represents oriental people as unruly inscrutable or malign. As Ashcroft et al defined ambivalence along with Bhabha's lines as; "It describes the complex mix of attraction and reputation that characterizes the relationship between colonizers and colonized. The relationship is ambivalent because the colonized subject is never simple and completely opposed to the colonizer" (12). Colonial unconscious represents the orient as the liar, suspicious lethargic. The accusation of terrorism expands without diminishing accusations that in the foundation of terrorism lurks leftist ideology; in other words, the 'leftist' as murderous 'Other' is replaced with a broader category of terrorists with leftist leanings. Steffen Hantke views *as* conspiracy fiction: "In *Mao II* readers are again and again confronted with the figure of the infinitely adaptable trope conspiratorial violence" (21). In *Mao II*, terrorists multiply; in addition to the new group of terrorists, a group of Lebanese Marxists, and their leader Abu Rashid, the reclusive novelist Bill Gray, the main character, is accused of practicing the craft of writing akin to terrorism.



Politically therefore, postmodernism offers a critique of all ideological positions, but that "even-handed" critique ultimately only serves those who are in power, since it undermines hope for viable alternative political views. In the years since *Libra's* publication, global events certainly reveal many disastrous consequences of the erasure of the Left, from the unrelenting globalization that continues to impoverish the Third World to the unstoppable, deadly march of western imperialism. Oriented is not what it is but it is orientalized by the colonial unconscious. One might be tempted to argue that since 1991, the focus of political persecution somewhat shifts from leftists as terrorists to terrorists of all kinds-this shift presumably occurs because of the end of the Cold War as well as domestic events, since the biggest terrorist attack on American soil before 9/11 was undeniably the Oklahoma City bombing by Timothy McVeigh, a member of a fight wing militia. However, while many American postmodern novels inevitably portray 'leftists' as terrorists during the Cold War, rather than abandoning the mostly imagined connection between the 'left' and 'terror' after 1991, they just flip the terms of the equation by portraying most terrorists as leftists (Velcic 2). Being affected by this unconscious, Bill Gray breaks his ties with home and country, struggles to establish an identity, and give up as a writer. It is an awkward if not entirely miserable age for him. Rashid's words, therefore, contrast his previously mentioned arguments that he does not raise the boys for martyrdom; he raises them to "die for the people and the nation", to die Maoist, "massive and intense" deaths. However, even though the boys do not "Die for the oppressors, die working for the exploiter and manipulators die selfish and vain" (236), they still end up dead and Abu Rashid and his leftist philosophy become their murderers.

Bill Gray's colonial unconscious creates gulf between the orient and the west and between his representations and the actual reality. The distinctive features of the

borderland are based on the fact that people cross the traditional boundary of closure and engage themselves in free play of boundaries. It is necessary to challenge their notion of recovery model (which is bad because it is regressive) and the older notion of self/other, centre/periphery and boundedness of ideology: "Political Other is an irrational and confused creature" (Velcic 4). In forming their personal identities, the individuals share certain group characteristics such as culture, religion, gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality, which help to specify the subject and its sense of identity. In recent times the political identity thus formed by the ideology of a kind is not limited and accountable to the territorial nation state.

Bill Gray further misrepresents about native land and can't be able to find about the gap between what he reads in books about orient and what he actually finds about it. The western writer's representation is, obviously, subjective and their personal experience reflects what they absorb from the totality of the images. For this reason, while they are watching the news on the student rebellion in China in May 1989, they simply notice the enormous portrait of Mao Tse-tung:

They show the portrait of Mao up close, a clean new picture, and he has those little mounds of hair that bulge out of his head and the great wart below his mouth and she tries to recall if the wart appears on the version Andy drew with a pencil that she has on the wall in the bedroom at home. Mao Zedong. She likes that name all right. But it is funny how a picture of what? She hears a car alarm go off in the street.

(DeLillo 177-8)

Bill Gray's colonial unconscious cannot allow him to be aware about his own identity culture and existence and can't distinguish between his dream and the real one. An interesting exoticization operates in the equation between novelists and terrorists; both

could be "shapers of sensibility and thought" (157) and both can potentially "alter the inner life of the culture" (41). However, this logic, which perceives writers as a real danger, operated before terrorists replaced writers. In the 'new tragic narrative' (157), the novel "gives way to terror, to news of terror, to tape recorders and cameras, to radios, to bombs stashed in radios. News of disaster is the only narrative people need. The darker the news, the grander the narrative. News is the last addiction . . ." (42). Western ideology becomes the instrument of dominance and measuring rod of rewriting the civilization and culture of the non-western world.

The West shapes the politics as well as the economy of the non-west. Brita, who has switched from photographing writers to photographing terrorists-underscores the irrelevance of writers-in the middle of a war-torn city visits and photographs Abu Rashid and his group. With the exception of a couple of pages in the previous sections of the novel in which Bill Gray relatively unsuccessfully attempts to imagine and describe scenes between the hostage poet and his boyish captor and torturer. In this section the reader directly encounters terrorists and hears them speak. Since everything becomes 'incorporated,' related to mass consumer society, the novel that "used to feed our search for with its 'Latin mass of language character, occasional new truth' is replaced with 'something larger and darker' the news of terror" (72). Colonial unconscious represents the unconscious bias as clarified by Said in *Orientation*:

In my instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as delivered presence, but a represent or a representation. The value efficacy, strength, apparent variety of a written statement about the orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instruct mentally depend, on oriented as such on the contrary, the written statement is a presence to the render by virtue of the having excluded, displaced mode supererogatory any such real thing as "the orient".

Thus all of orientation stands forth and among from the orient that orientation makes sense at all depends more on the west than on orient. And these representations rely upon institution, traditions, agreed upon codes under standing for their effects, not upon a distant and amorphous orient. (21-22)

Said presents canonical view of *Orientalism* that is supposed to have been existed even in the time of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope and Byron. Colonial unconscious has certain stereotypes to represent land, people culture and politics of non-western world. However, the conflict heightens the sense of the boundary between the centre (Rightist) and periphery (Leftist) and we can see the formation of 'terrorism' in which the particularity of its own identity is diminished:

What terrorist gain, novelists lose. The degree to which they influence mass consciousness is the extent of our decline as shapers of sensibility and thought. The danger they represent equals our own failure to be dangerous. And the more clearly we see terror, the less impact we feel from art. (157)

Said's *Orientalism* presents how the western image produces myths about the laziness, decadence and irrationality of the orient. Similarly, Bill Gray eager to copy life style of orient thinkers and has always thought himself clever but discovers that is not enough to present misery or even assure his existence. By bringing parallelism between the writer and the terrorist, the western writers exoticize Mao.

Bill and George represent two sides of contemporary culture. The writer and the terrorist are two mythical figures within our cultural codes who, through the dynamics of history we see their roles and places completely changed in contemporary society. If the writer has lost the power of influencing the social fabric with his work, then the terrorist has learnt to use the society of spectacle and of

images in his favor. Bill is fear and doubts. His nostalgia for the writer/intellectual that used to be society's conscience:

Here we have the discourse of what is considered true; in this case it is the interpretation that George gives of Mao's discourse which is repeated until it becomes the only valid one, that is to say the discourse of terrorism. For this reason, this discourse becomes a myth and takes for granted an ahistorical and immortal dimension. (162)

Bill Gray speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination that is dominated by colonial unconscious. The colonial unconscious, not only suppresses his attitudes but it also kills the possibility of resistance to it from the westerners. *Mao II* would not be complete if it were to fail to point out that Abu Rashid is not only a political other but also an ethnic other. Not only is he from the Middle East but he also categorizes his movement as a movement against the West, despite the roots of Maoism in Marxism. Rashid argues that "as long as there is Western presence it is a threat to self-respect, to identity" (235), and he justifies taking hostages by explaining that they "put Westerners in locked rooms . . . so [they] don't have to look at them. They remind us of the way we tried to mimic the West. The way we put up the pretense, the terrible veneer. Which you now see exploded all around you" (235). This passage represents a perfect opening to the postcolonial issues that mark the Lebanese Civil wars; however, *Mao II* refuses to truly venture into Third World territory.

This state of ideological change (i.e. communism) can be defined by the phenomena called transculturation - the process of merging and converging two or more cultures. DeLillo elaborates and contextualized the process of transculturation in the context of ideological encounter. He elaborated the concept of transculturation in political contact, emphasizes that western writers' construction of subordinated

'Other':

Only the terrorist stands outside. The culture hasn't figured out how to assimilate him. It's confusing when they kill the innocent. But this is precisely the language of being noticed, the only language the west understands. the way they determine how we see them. The way they dominate the rush of endless streaming images. (157)

Bill's interest is thus directed not towards the prisoner but towards an idea in danger, the idea of the writer as intellectual and thinking being: "You put a man in a room and lock the door. There's something serenely pure here. Let's destroy the mind that makes words and sentences' (161). The exorcization of terror in the novel is that the captured poet is used by everyone - nobody is interested in him as a human being. George theorizes on the hostage's position, the terrorists think of him simply as a means to obtain something for their cause and Bill, in his own way, does the same. None of these people talk of the poet as a person; each of them sees him in an absolute way, whether as the price that society has to pay for a cause or as a way of recovering a lost identity. The representation of "other" is needed for colonial unconscious. We may thus, say that 'the other' in order to represent its identity and, then, consolidate colonial power over the other. In *The World, the Text and the Critic*, Said argues; "the method and discourse of western scholarship confine non-European cultures to a position of sub-ordination. Oriental texts come to inhabit a realm without development to be position of colony for European texts and culture" (47). Bill Gray's colonial unconscious always in the process of creating conflict in relation between colonizer and the colonized which represents the problems of establishing intimate and meaningful relationships between two social and cultural groups. Bill

decides to leave his hiding place and agrees to be photographed by Brita, a professional photographer who only takes pictures of writers.

Bill Gray capitulates the pressures of the outside world and he tells Brita as; "There's a curious knot that binds novelists and terrorists. In the West we become famous effigies as our books lose the power to shape and influence. Do you ask your writers how they feel about this?" (41). Why after so many years of isolation does Bill Gray decide to publish his photograph and not his book? As we already know, Bill has a conflictive relation with his novel, which is to say with the text he is writing. This text does not recognize him as the author but as somebody. When Bill feels that he has lost his identity as a writer what he desperately needs is another identity. The camera can give him what he needs at this moment, an image which is able to tell him that, in spite of everything, he still exists as Bill Gray, the writer.

In this context, who does the representing is more important than what is being represented because of the unequal distribution of power among cultures, and that ultimately affects representation of one culture by the other: what is obvious is that representation does : what is obvious is that representation does not take place in a social vacuum. The protagonist Bill Gray projects the image of orient as the other world like the colonial writers Joseph Conrad who is branded as 'though racist' by Chinua Achebe and he has made a sever critique of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in his paper entitled "An image of Africa": Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as:

*Heart of Darkness* projects the image of Africa as "The Other world" the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by opens on the River Thames but the actual story will take place on the River Congo, the Very antithesis of Thames. The River Congo quite

decidedly no river and enjoys no old-age pension. Who are told that going up river was like traveling back to the earliest beginning of the world. (1373)

Conrad is also victimized by colonial unconscious because he not only dichotomizes and uncivilized; but also implicated that Thomas has overcome its darkness and bestiality, whereas Congo is still in darkness and bestiality and it needs guidance, help and light from European rational civilization to rescue its people from the barbaric situations. No discourse is fixed for all time because discourse change according to time and space. Bill tries to rebel against for a young poet who has been in Maoist group in Beirut. But the press conference that Charlie thinks of organizing in London is mere spectacle:

I want one missing writer to read the work of another. I want the famous novelist to address the suffering of the unknown poet. I want the English-language writer to read in French and the older man to speak across the night to his young colleague in letters. Don't you see how beautifully balanced? (98)

The London meeting fails because a bomb explodes in the place that the British police had chosen for the conference. Nonetheless, it is in London that Bill starts to relate to a mysterious man, George, an intellectual who lives in Athens and who is the contact with the terrorists in Beirut.

### **Representation of Other in *Mao II***

The discursive practices have no universal validity because it is historically and culturally associated. Colonial discourse is produced and it is manipulated by the power in order to maintain the sense of superiority and authority over the Other: "Of course he's innocent. That's why they took him. It's such a simple idea. Terrorize the



innocent" (129). It is an instrument of power, which is used to govern the 'Other'. This novel does it by exposing how the mainstream writers constructs the discourse of 'terrorism' by taking recourse to the essentialist tendencies of ideological legacy and reveal the impact of racially prejudiced thinking of communism as they consider them as terrorists. The editors of *Key Concept of Post-colonial studies* view about literary hegemony that "the power of English literature as a vehicle for imperial authority" (117). They further quoted the view of Gauri Viswanathan as:

The strategy of locating authority in these texts all but affected the sordid history of colonialist expropriation, material exploitation, and less and race oppression behind European world dominance . . . the English literary text functioned as a surrogate Englishman in his highest and most perfect state. (117)

Colonial unconscious compels the characters that they have to believe the Eurocentric values assumptions, beliefs, attitudes and western writers as superior. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in *Key Concept of Postcolonial studies* say "the colonized subject understands itself as peripheral to those Euro-centric values" (117). Bill Gray always likes to talk about western writers cultures and western literary traditions because he thinks that western traditions are only the source of imagination and feelings and evoke life experience.

Bill gives up his privacy and agrees to be transformed into an image and, significantly, the person who does it is a woman photographer who left her previous field of research to devote herself of going around the world taking pictures of writers. Through her job the impossibility of writing is transformed into a collection of images of people:

It took me a long time to find out what I wanted to photograph. I came to this country it's fifteen years. And I roamed the streets first day, taking pictures of city faces, eyes of city people, slashed men, prostitutes, emergency rooms, forget it, I did this for years [. . .] But after years of this I began to think it was somehow, strangely - not valid [. . .] I Then you know what you want to do at last [. . .] I will just keep on photographing writers, every one I can reach, novelists, poets, playwrights. This is what I do now, Writers. (24)

The society in which the protagonist of the book lives hidden from everybody is dominated by postmodern pastiche, images and spectacle. We find DeLillo's writing interesting not only because it represents a committed criticism of contemporary culture and society but also because this criticism is carried out within a text where the frustrated quest for identity of the American hero merges with the representation of a postmodern world which DeLillo synthesizes in the portraits that Andy Warhol did of Mao Tse-tung, Marilyn Monroe and Gorbachev, icons of a society where images and myth prevail. The hero, in spite of his desperate quest, and in betrayal of the American tradition, is incapable of finding a new identity - let alone his old one - and ends up dying on a boat where nobody knows him while going from Greece to Lebanon, from the West to the East.

The protagonist, Bill Gray marginalizes the culture and religions in comparison to westerns. Due to his colonial psychosis, the European religions are center and the native are shown to be longing to equalize with those European religions. The western writers also impose western discourse and ideology to dominate the orient people. In this way, the orient has to internalize the western ideology. While *Mao II* plays with the similarities between writers and terrorists to

ultimate replace writers with terrorists, these terrorists, such as Abu Rashid and his group and their sympathizer George Haddad, follow tradition of the 'Other'. George Haddad, definitely the more innocuous of the two, as an intermediary between Abu Rashid's group and the outside world, serves as a bridge to the Other, and as such lacks the details that usually surround main characters. On one hand, he is a Lebanese political scientist who seemingly lives a normal middle class life with his wife and kids in Athens; on the other hand, he is just like Oswald and Others, a figure from the margins, a spokesman for the terrorist group holding the Swiss poet as a hostage. He shows up in London where Bill and Charles are getting ready to publicize the poet's plight in an attempt to effect his release, as George himself had urged them to do previously, not to help and further their cause but to warn and threaten them about further bombings in the moment when they narrowly escape a first bomb blast that derails their efforts. Thus, western writer has endowed with the hegemonies feeling or the feelings of superiority. He always represents the natives as superstitious, powerless, uncivilized and desiring to acquire the so-called civilized religions. As a result, Bill Gray is victimized by the Eurocentric beliefs of the western that present themselves as superior and the natives as the inferior.

Being victimized by colonial unconscious, Bill Gray in DeLillo's *Mao II* legitimizes his own orient people as uncivilized. For justifying the superiority of the Europeans, he misrepresents his orient people as other and explains the non-western land as the territory of uncivilized people. Bill Gray decides to reject the publicity, runs away from London and flies to Athens to go on acting on his own. In Athens he meets George and it is during a conversation that the two men hold in George's place that all the main elements present in the novel converge; in a few, solid, vigorous pages the intellectual, and through him the terrorists, face up to the writer. By going

away from London and from the press conference Charlie Everson had organized, Bill tries to rebel against the society that transforms. By bringing parallelism between the writer and the terrorist, the western writers exoticize Mao. Everything into spectacle and himself into the image of a writer; he tries to take back his own destiny and so demonstrate to himself that he still exists as a committed intellectual. Little by little, his quest for his lost identity becomes desperate. From his point of view, the strength of ideas has fallen to the force of violence because of the exoticization of the orient politicians. The book that Bill Gray is writing is a text that, significantly, he thinks will never be finished:

The language of my books has shaped me as a man. There's a moral force in a sentence when it comes out right. It speaks the writer's will live. The deeper I become entangled in the process of getting a sentence right in its syllables and rhythms, the more I learn about myself. I've worked the sentences of this book long and hard but not long and hard enough because I no longer see myself in the language.

(11)

By evoking the Eurocentric self, he claims that everything that relates to Europe is rational and non-Europe is the irrational. He thinks that his future is meaningful only in relation to Europe which discursive formations worked to create a complex field of values, meanings and practices through which the European self is positioned as superior and non-Europeans are placed as an inferior, but necessary, other to the constitution of that self; "such metropolitan constructs of self and other were integral to the territorial, military, political and economic extension of European power across the globe, the processes known as colonialism and imperialism" (13). The colonizers'

construction of self and other is integral to the territorial, military, political and cultural extensions of western power across the globe.

DeLillo claims that social construction of other is not mental exercises of the colonizers but also necessary for the Eurocentric self. As such, George plays a double game, similar to Oswald, who is portrayed as both pro-and anti-Castro in *Libra*; he participates in the efforts of the normal world, yet he sympathizes with terrorists. Rashid does not only see his son as an extension of himself but also the other boys in his group of youthful fighters: "The boys who work near Abu Rashid have no face or speech. Their faces are identical. They are his features. They do not need their own features or voices. They are surrendering these things to something powerful and great" (234). Rashid accomplishes these goals quite literally by making all boys wear hoods that hide their faces and T-shirts with a photo of Abu Rashid pinned to them to replace their effaced identities. A policeman in the novel perhaps best categorizes him: "George is an interesting sort of academic. His name appears in an address book found in an apartment raided by police somewhere in France—a bomb factory. And he has been photographed in the company of known terrorist leaders" (131). Again, an ability to easily switch political sides and allegiances, i.e. turncoatism, echoes in this description of George, and this ability is not just a quality associated with a postmodern identity crisis but has a 'left' political dimension. Not only do Bill and Charles find out through George that Abu Rashid's group is not 'fundamentalist' but 'communist' (123), but George declares to himself that he "sympathizes with their aims if not their methods" (128).

Legitimizing other is at the very heart of uneven material and political terrains of imperial worlds as the work shown the nexus of colonial discourse and ideology within the imperial process has been explained, so many of the conceptual binaries

that were illustrated as fundamental to its structure of power have been problematic. While Nicholas Branch, hired by the CIA "on contract to write the secret history of the assassination of President Kennedy" lacks the fame of Bill Gray, he, just like Bill, toils hidden from public view (15). He toils for fourteen long years and is almost literally buried under the mountain of documents about JFK's murder that fail to make sense just like Bill Gray in *Mao II*, whose drafts litter his study, his garage, and his special rooms. And finally just like Bill, who tries unsuccessfully to identify with terrorists, Nicholas Branch's attempts to understand Lee Harvey Oswald ultimately fail. Both the novels therefore expose the general failure of writers to deal with their subject. However, in *Libra*, the writer still outlives the 'leftist/terrorists' while in *Mao II* the terrorists survive the writer. Therefore, while Rashid does not beat women directly like Oswald, who systematically beats Marina, violence explodes against Brita when she on an impulse decides to pull the hood off Rashid's son. Instead of Rashid, his son attacks Brita physically.

Admittedly Rashid commands the boy to stop when he is getting ready to continue attacking Brita, but he is not exonerated from violence because he sees the boy as an extension of himself: "I am lucky to have a son who is so young, able to learn. I call myself father of Rashid" (234). Binary oppositions like core/periphery, inside/outside and self/other have given way for legitimizing the identity of powerless people. In the first part, for example, Bill Gray lives with two young persons who take care of him and look after the house, Scott and Karen. Karen lives obsessed by images and the news is the only thing she watches on television; she watches it without the sound, she simply looks and is not interested in listening.

For some time now I've had the feeling that novelists and terrorists are playing a zero-sum game. 'Interesting. How so?' 'What terrorists gain,

novelists lose. The degree to which they influence mass consciousness is the extent of our decline as shapers of sensibility and thought. The danger they represent equals our own failure to be dangerous'. And the more clearly we see terror, the less impact we feel from art. (129-30)

The colonized people's identity is not stable because the colonizers legitimize it through their own perspective. Moreover, the colonizer's identity has no origin in him and is not a fixed entity but is differential in relation to the western discourse about the other.

The identity of the self can only become a reality after the legitimization of other because the Eurocentric self is constructed in interaction with others and with the Other. Bill Gray exposes to the authorial figure that compares writers and terrorist as: "Do you know why I believe in the novel? It's a democratic shout. Anybody can write a great novel [. . .] One thing unlike another, one voice unlike the next. Ambiguities, contradictions, whispers, hint. And this is what you want to destroy" (159) gets lost in a society dominated by rules which regulate the spectacle and transform everything into an image of terrorist. Thus, *Mao II* assigns to the leftist Rashid's group the impulse to construct a 'fictional,' postmodern identity for his young followers that is eerily similar to the impulse of right-wing conspirators in JFK's murder who create Oswald's identity out of scraps in *Libra*. Rashid claims, contrary to the conspirators who do not care about Oswald, that he is helping the boys, as evidenced in the following paragraph:

We teach them identity, sense of purpose. They are all children of Abu Rashid. All men one man. Every militia in Beirut is filled with hopeless boys taking drugs and drinking and stealing. Car thieves. The shelling ends and they run out to steal car parts. We teach that our

children belong to something strong and self-reliant. They are not an invention of Europe. They are not making a race to go to God. We don't train them for paradise. No martyrs here. The image of Rashid is their identity. (233)

Due to the colonial unconscious, Bill Gray, the protagonist violently distorts the pulse of the reality of the natives and rationalizes his mission of finding truth. After distorting the colonized people's language and culture, Bill Gray evokes his desire to construct the orient people as other or uncivilized. In DeLillo's version of history, Oswald's motivation to kill the president remains obscure and contradictory throughout the novel; it mirrors his confused sexuality and his constant changes in political alliances. His perturbed sexuality mirrors his turncoatism. He starts with two contradictory interests: the reading of Marxist literature alongside of the Marine Corps Manual. He wants to join a communist cell but instead joins the Marines. As a marine he goes on to pursue his "Leftist" interests and learns Russian, manages to get into the Soviet Union, and renounces his American citizenship, only to change his mind and return to the United States with his new Russian wife.

The colonized subjects have to be legitimized by the colonizer whose duty is to do study and research on them. In the process of research on colonized people, violence and exploitation become the important method to generate the truth. In this way, who are the natives is less important than what the colonizer says about them. Marks of 'Otherness' are quickly reinforced with descriptions of Abu Rashid as a psychologically unstable, insecure madman. Several times during his conversation with Brita, Rashid halts and asks her, "Tell, me, do you think I am a madman living in this hellish slum and I talk to these people about world revolution?" (233). Then a bit later, when he talks about his son who has joined his band of youth fighters, he



demands again, "Tell me if you think I'm mad. Be completely honest" (234) and soon again, "You must tell me if you think I'm totally mad" (236). While the repetition of these words in the short passage reveals Rashid's psychological insecurities, it is even more interesting that he displays his insecurities in front of a woman.

The colonial discourse assigns truth and imposes their ideology on the natives to exercise their power. The truth about other is depended on the self that is the strategy of the westerner's ideology that victimized the protagonist, Bill Gray. DeLillo's narrative transforms the legitimate struggle of people for liberation in Marxist philosophy always based on economic and historical circumstances, into terrorism. If we keep on following the concept of representation in relation to postcolonial studies, we could even say that the image transforms the referents, which in our case are represented by the portrayed writers — into a simulacrum of what they used to mean at another historical moment. In other words, we think that the idea that we receive from the picture of the writer can be related to a misrepresentation, to something that has already disappeared and does not exist any more. A photograph, that is to say through an image that has been emptied of any other meaning: "The book is finished but will remain in typescript. Then Brita's photos appear in a prominent place. Timed just right. We don't need the book. We have the author" (71). Images occupy quite an important place in the narrative of *Mao II* and in one way or another all the characters relate to them. Indeed, Rashid's interpreter explains to Brita that terror is what we use to give our people their place in the world:

What used to be achieved through work we gain through terror? Terror makes the new future possible. All men one man. Men live in history as never before. He is saying we make and change history minute by

minute. History is not the book or the human memory. We do history in the morning and change it after lunch. (235)

The western ideology is designed to construct the other by the colonial unconscious of the colonizers that evokes the colonial allegory. The allegory of the colonial discourse legitimizes the binary opposition of cannibalism or barbarism and civilization. In ancient period, the people who could not speak Greek language correctly called barbarous and after wards the Greeks legitimized the word to the brutal and cruel mannered.

The western writer, Bill Gray in *Mao II* always justify that he is not misrepresenting the orient but he uplifts the orient. Behind the mission of writing, he always lays the intoxication of the orient. He is not glorifying the Eastern thinkers but to legitimize them as terrorists. This research questions the imperial endeavor of representing the Leftist as 'political Other'. In the United States he continues to waver: on one hand, he passes out leaflets in support of Castro, and even gets beaten up because of that, and on the other hand he accepts the advances of both the FBI and the CIA to work for them, and he actively seeks out involvement with the obviously anti-Castro group headed by Guy Banister and David Ferric.

The dominant model of power relation in colonial societies is the opposition between the superiority of the European and supposed inferiority of the orient and the Leftist. The colonialist representation has been based on binaries like – white/black, good/evil, superior/ inferior, self/other, subject/object, civilized/ barbaric and so on. The colonialist is motivated by the desire to conquer and dominate. The colonialist like Bill Gray legitimizes the colonial realm as a confrontation based on differences in race, language, social and ideology. The misrepresentation of the Leftist is the product of the European desire to prolong the colonial period. The so-called terrorism is

nothing more than the colonizers' imposition. Furthermore, Mao is portrayed not as relatively innocuous cult leaders like the Reverend Moon, who officiates over mass weddings, but as directly connected with violence. Rashid argues, "Mao regarded armed struggle as the final and greatest action of human consciousness. It is the final drama and final test. And if many thousands -die in the struggle? Mao said death could be light as a feather or heavy as a mountain" (236).

Moreover, they used to call the non-Greece people are barbarians. The so-called word barbarians are also the western construction that is used to legitimize the western civilization as superior and non-western as inferior or other. Thus, barbarian is a fixed constructed western discourse. It is the colonial unconscious that projects the meaning of the barbarians. DeLillo's *Mao II* refers to the colonizer's waiting for the other like Bill Gray to impose the western ideology. The novel therefore does not question the idea of the Cold War narrative that the left is associated with "terrorism," but reinforces it. Abu Rashid's group is described as Marxist although the main combatants in the Lebanese civil war were not of Marxist persuasion. The novel actually even acknowledges that Rashid's group is not large: "Barely movement actually. It's just an underground current at this stage, an assertion that not every weapon. Ain has to be marked Muslim, Christian, or Zionist" (128-29), but since the Marxist group is chosen of all the groups in Lebanon to be represented, its viciousness in the conflict is established, and the Cold War patterns are reinforced; after all, Rashid's group "Terrorized the- innocent" (129) by taking a poet for a hostage.

Bill Gray follows the fixed and stereotypical construction while representing the place and people of the orient. In other words, the orient people are represented as barbaric, savage, uncivilized, terrorists and so on. Colonial discourse shows the colonizer's will to govern the other by exercising institutionalized power over non-

Western world. The western writer's duty is to investigate the meaning by imposing and maintaining their codes of the colonial domination over the rest of the worlds. The colonial discourse regarding civilization and barbarism does not signify the real relationship between the self and other that is lurking at the very centre of imperial discourse. Western writers are manifesting the dreams, desire and vision that are deposited in their mentality. Their attempt of finding truth is guided by their own unconscious desire. In order to reinforce Rashid's hold over his boys, DeLillo selects a specific Marxist philosophy, the Maoist cult of personality, almost as if Marxists have a specific monopoly on the manipulation of children. Interestingly, the identification of Rashid's group with Maoism comes after the narrative establishes that every crowd is equally problematic and can be "replaced by another" (177). The novel has long sections describing a Moonie mass wedding, murderous soccer crowds, crowds during Khomeini's on the Tienanmen Square, so the crowd of boys around Abu Rashid completes the already established pattern; "The future belongs to crowds" (6). Binaries are at the heart of *Mao II*. The binary of Europe and it's others, of colonizer and colonized, of the West and the rest, of the vocal and the silent and the civilized and terrorist.

Colonial discourse is seen as a political economy designed to ensure one-way flow of thought about the orient people as terrorists and irrational. Colonial discourse suppresses the fact that the colonizers exploit the colonized people through the ideology of colonialism. Colonized people are shown to be capable only of feminine thoughts but the colonizers are shown as they have the masculine thought and education. Once more the act of seeing and the gaze are presented as basic elements in the balancing game the two men are playing while the ghosts of unknown hostages - whose pictures can be transformed into a lethal weapon-are fluctuating between them:

"Gain the maximum attention. Then probably kill you ten minutes later. Then photograph your corpse and keep the picture handy for the time when it can be used most effectively" (165). The dialectical confrontation between Bill and George shifts between two different levels: while the first talks of contents, the second never stops relating the content to the image. Images are the weapon left those who, according to George, fight in the name of justice: "But this is precisely the language of being noticed, the only language the West understands" (164).

Colonial unconscious reveals the repressed desires of the sovereign subject of the colonizer rather than the fixed nature of the natives. In fact, the word "barbarian" becomes a constructed concept imposing to the orient people. Colonizer's discourse is an enormously problematic category that is by definition historically and unspecific. DeLillo researches for the alternative locations for observing the non-western culture by distorting the image or substituting a real image of the orient people and tries to give true voice that gives colonized people its ontological consistency and its fundamental structure. As mentioned above, George Haddad has already established that Abu Rashid's philosophy is not the raving of a megalomaniacal madman but that it has clear roots in leftist philosophy. When George asserts that Abu Rashid's group is not fundamentalist but "communist" (123). Bill and Charles are not surprised because "there's a Lebanese Communist Party. These are leftist elements... aligned with Syria. The PLO has always had a Marxist component and they're active again in Lebanon" (123-24). The postcolonial discourse shows the ways in which discursive formation worked to create a complex field of values, meanings, and practices through which the colonizer's self is positioned as superior and colonized as placed as an inferior.

*Mao II* focuses on so-called civilization, authority, humanism and investigation about the orient people by disclosing contradictions within these notions. Bill Gray, the representative of empire is the security man who arrives to investigate the communism of China:

Mao Tse-tung's writings are the exotization of the idea of the author as creator of meaning, a concept that George shares and considers of basic importance for the development of a revolutionary thought:

"There are different ways in which words are sacred [...] Mao said this. And he wrote and he wrote. He became the history of China written on the masses. And his words became immortal. Studied, repeated, memorized by an entire nation'; 'Incantations. People chanting formulas and slogans' (161-2).

Being legitimized by colonial unconscious, Bill Gray misinterprets the colonized for imposing the definition of inferiority to defend their own civilization. Around the same time, when he decides to work for Banister's anti-Castro group, he participates in a radio show on which he eloquently defends Castro and Cuba's right to self-determination. Ironically, Oswald defends the rights of Marxist Cuba and implicitly attacks U. S. imperialist policy with the values of the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution. In the context of the novel, the Marxist and the patriot Oswald, as well as a plethora of other Oswalds-irrational, childish, psychotic-exist simultaneously, and the reader and/or critic, just like the conspirators, has to accept Oswald as "a man who harbors contradictions: without hope for a resolution" (319).

It is the Eurocentric self that centered towards the colonizer's mission to prolong it for fulfilling their desire. They wish to define themselves as superior and civilized by calling the colonized as inferior and barbaric. The process of defining the

Othering is the colonizers as well as the colonized unconscious that is victimized by the Eurocentric power and ideology. Barbarism is within the colonizers themselves and they impose their barbarism to the orient people. Even more than his often violent encounters with women, Oswald's sexual confusion are visible in his hateful, but dependent, relationship with his mother, which borders on incestuous and in his halfhearted submission in a homosexual incident with his anti-Castro friend, David Ferric, in Ferric's apartment a month before the assassination (341). This scene, written in the third person but from Oswald's point of view, and situated 'in the dark,' reveals Oswald's disjointed thinking as well as his inability to come to terms with his desires. Oswald seems unable to make up his mind whether his unease comes because he suffers a rape, as the grappling at the beginning of the scene seems to suggest, or because he feels guilt in his willing transgression of the heterosexual social norm, as the sentences in the scene's resolution suggest.

In this way, the binary opposition between civilization and barbarism has no valid definition. As a result, the so-called legitimization of Self (civilization) versus Other (barbarians) is futile. George is looking for - and defends - the elimination of difference: he wants an ideology in which unity can be encountered and totality analyzed. If we see things from this point of view, from the perspective of any totalitarian discourse or from the perspective of other so-called democratic discourses, we should not be surprised that the only viable project is the terrorist one, that is to say the discourse of the elimination of difference either through assassination by the terrorist or by a State that declares itself democratic: "It's an idea. It's a picture of Lebanon without the Syrians, Palestinians and Israelis, without the Iranian volunteers, the religious wars. We need a model that transcends all the bitter history. *Something enormous and commanding A figure of absolute being*" (158).

Like the colonizers in DeLillo's *Mao II*, Bill Gray legitimizes the native people as exotic, terrifying, barbaric, and uncivilized. For justifying the barbarism of orient people, he misinterpreted them. For him, the non- western land is the territory of barbarians. By evoking the Eurocentric self he claims that everything related to Europe is superior, adventurous and non-European as passive, feminine, and barbaric. He thinks that the individual identity as human beings is only meaningful in relation to Europe. He further claims that the orient people have no identity, history and culture. This research ironizes on the institutionalized exploitation in the name of civilization. The imperial power and discourse is not mission of constructing the truth and civilization but legitimized the non-European as inferior. As Ziauddin Sardar has suggested Ashis Nandy claims in the same vein as:

The imperial powers also created a self-image for those who were being husbanded by colonialism. In as much as this self- image is a dualistic opposite, it is and remains in essence a western construction. Colonialism replaced the Eurocentric convention of portraying the other. An incomprehensible barbarian with the pathological stereotype of the strange but predictable oriental. He was now religious but superstitious, clever but devious, chaotically violent but effeminately cowardly. (16)

This research asserts no civilization has a monopoly on goodness and humane values. Every civilization shares certain basic values and culture that derive from the social context. Thus, certain values and traditions of particular society determine the life style of the people.

Social, cultural and political history is allegorically enveloped in this novel. The colonial history fictionalized the narrative of empire itself and legitimizes the



Other. Postmodern novels deal with the subject of terrorism because the discourse of 'terrorist' threat is daily perpetuated by those in power, and in depicting this novels reinforce the eternal attitude of American culture, which continues to see connections between terrorists and leftists even in times when the Left is practically defunct:

"sacred is how George defines it. What is sacred and mythical has to be accepted as a dogma; it deletes history and lays the theoretical bases of Discourse One: 'The Little Red Book of Quotations. The book was the faith that people carried everywhere'" (161).

This novel addresses unprecedented imperialism attraction in DeLillo's attentions. The emphasis of much of this text is decidedly cultural, emerging as it does from literary studies, but its effects has reached into a wide range of disciplinary fields. Narrative strategies employed in Don DeLillo's is the construction of the 'Other', as an irrational, confused, and devious creature, who ultimately fits the cultural pattern of a monster Leftist who murders. DeLillo introduces his Oswald as a creature who likes riding on the New York subway for hours: "he liked the feeling they were on the edge. [. . .]. It gave him a funny thrill [...] on the edge of no-control" (13). In the last part of the novel, the enormous tragedy is described through the images that Bill sees from the window of his car. There are no comments and despair on people produced by wars, just a list of images of people and of the war that merge: "The streets run with images. They cover walls and clothing - pictures of martyrs, clerics, fighting men, holidays in Tahiti" (DeLillo229).

#### IV. Conclusion

The colonial discourse shows the ways in which discursive formation works to create a complex field of values, meanings and practices through which the colonizer's Self is positioned as superior and the colonized as an inferior. This binary opposition is possible due to the colonial unconscious of the colonizers. Discourse of terrorism marked by gender, class, ethnicity and sexual preference. Therefore, the identity construction in *Mao II* does not depart significantly but follows a pattern similar to the construction of the Other. Rashid is a person marked with insecurity, on the verge of madness; he is shown as betraying the people/children around him by making them follow him blindly. He is also a murderer because his real purpose is 'terror' and 'death'. Abu Rashid, the terrorist who follows Mao, has, therefore, all the marks given by the discourse of 'Other'. He is more successful than Oswald because the latter fails in his mission while Rashid succeeds in his, at least in the context of DeLillo's novels.

The western writers always follow the fixed and stereotyped construction while representing the countries and people of the Orient. The discourse of West represents its desire to dominate and control the others. The Westerners believe that the Easterners are not able to govern themselves. They believe that non-western people, especially Muslims and Communists are terrorists. With this imagine about the terrorist, the West tries to justify their superiority. Colonial discourse and power has operated through a complex intersection of social constructs that affects the psychology of the colonized people.

Moreover, Bill Gray is the orientalist who views Europeans as the superior, powerful, and the ruler. He also wants to share the same attitude with the colonizers. Due to the colonial psychosis, he does not think that he is victimized by the westerns. Orient is an exotic terrific, barbaric and mysterious land for Bill Gray. As a result, Bill

Gray does not present the orient land and people without being guided by the colonial unconscious. Colonial ideology is inherent in a discourse of the western writer, which defines orient identities always in relation, and therefore what orient presented as 'Others'. Thus colonial discourse deliberately produces 'the other' in order to create its identity and imposes its power over the non-western. Most significant, the citizens have been forced to reflect on both the elements of the alleged crime and the history of prejudice and racism that has preceded it. The writer feels displaced as an intellectual, and his writing loses the capacity of representing the reality in a world that is dominated by terrorism. Each character symbolizes an aspect of a society which apparently has lost all unity but which, paradoxically, is representing in a single direction.

In fact, DeLillo's novel establishes a unity among the different parts into which it is divided through the world of images and their tendency to transform every human action into spectacle. George here uses the image to see to refer to terror, but terror belongs to the sphere of feelings and the terrorism is only the discourse of westerners for conforming their superiority over the orient thinkers. The consistent portrayal of Leftists as terrorists or potential terrorists is not limited to American popular culture and mass media, which mimic official governmental discourse, but also appears in contemporary American novels. *Mao II* reveals that ideological construct that reinforces the connection between terror and the left, thereby revealing the left as the typical political 'Other' in the American narrative consciousness. Western writers presents leftist characters as paradoxically and at the same time they are undermined a cultural paradigm according to which Leftist voices and characters fit in the mold of the Other or terrorists. Since the Left shares shifting, multiple identities with others, its "difference" is erased at the very moment of its

confirmation-a postmodern ideological position that corresponds to celebrate of the end of all master narratives.

Their stereotypical identity of the Communists and Muslim fundamentalists as terrorism is the false notions. The stereotypes constructed by the mainstream policies about them are the main focus of the study. It illustrates the picture of leftists who are fixed as the terrorists by the western writers. Therefore, the representation of leftists as terrorist or 'Other' is colonial unconscious of the western writers.

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